



# LUCY'S BOOK

A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir

Edited by  
Lavina Fielding  
Anderson



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Family Memoir**

**Lavina Fielding Anderson, editor**

"Am I indeed the mother of a prophet of the God of Heaven?" Lucy Mack Smith asks readers in the rough draft of her memoir. She answers in the affirmative. Yet her question conveys an intimacy that is absent from the polished, final version of her book. Dictated to a scribe, her spontaneity creates an ambiance that allows readers to picture her sitting in her rocking chair in Nauvoo, Illinois, reminiscing with a friend. This sense is heightened by her scribe's phonetic rendering of frontier slang. For instance, Lucy worries about "the measels and other ketchin diseases," rendered as "contagious disease" in the final version. She describes her son coming "upon a green sward under an apple tree," saying that, "Here he lay down"—flattened in the printed version, eliminating the word "sward." Where Joseph's brother says, "We must keep to work," this becomes in the published edition, "We must not slacken our hands."

But literary issues aside, Lucy's original narration carries significance due to what it says, and does not say, about Mormonism's founding, in corroborating what other family members and early converts reported. For instance, she uses the terms "dream" and "vision" interchangeably. She remembers that her son's famous first vision occurred in his bedroom at night, echoing the well established tradition of her husband's own prophetic dreams. The line dividing the physical and spiritual blurs further when Lucy tells that when her son retrieved the gold plates of the Book of Mormon, he was accosted three times by three different individuals, each of whom jumped up from behind a log, struck Joseph "a heavy blow" with a gun, and then allowed him to escape. The reader is left to wonder whether these were men or devils.

Not that such distinctions between the supernatural and material world would have mattered to

*(continued on back flap)*



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Edited by  
Lavina Fielding Anderson

Introduction by  
Irene M. Bates

Signature Books • Salt Lake City

*To Maude D. Fielding  
and Herman J. Fielding—  
My Lucy, my Joseph*

Frontispiece photo courtesy Utah State Historical Society

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*Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir*  
was manufactured in the United States of America and was printed  
on acid-free paper.

05 04 03 02 01 6 5 4 3 2 1

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA  
Smith, Lucy, 1775-1856

Lucy's book : a critical edition of Lucy Mack Smith's family memoir  
/ Lucy Mack Smith ; edited by Lavina Fielding Anderson, introduction  
by Irene M. Bates.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-56085-137-6 (cloth)

1. Smith, Joseph, 1805-1844. 2. Mormon Church—History.
3. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—Presidents—Biography.
- I. Anderson, Lavina Fielding. II. Bates, Irene M. III. Title.

BX8695.S6 S65 2000

289.3'092—dc21

[B]

99-047372

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### THE HISTORY OF JOSEPH SMITH BY LUCY MACK SMITH

[Editor's note: Because the 1853 edition of *Biographical Sketches* follows the 1845 fair copy in its chapter breaks, I assume that the following chapter titles, from the 1853 edition, represent more or less what Lucy Smith intended. Following Chapter LIV and the appendix are miscellaneous papers which were not included in the published book. Substantive differences between the manuscript and chapter divisions are identified in footnotes in the text.]

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As a lover of history and self-trained historian, I would be remiss in not acknowledging how much I have learned from unconscious mentors, while absolving them from the responsibility, which I alone bear, for this work's limitations and failings. I salute and honor Leonard J. Arrington, whose love for Mormon history extended to everyone, of whatever degree of training, who also loved it. He welcomed to his historical table all who wanted to be there with him, and his faith that more knowledge would produce greater love is one of Mormonism's shining testaments.

I have been inspired by Dean Jessee's state-of-the-art editing standards, by the painstaking work in Mormonism's New England period by many scholars such as D. Michael Quinn, Richard L. Anderson, Larry Porter, Dan Vogel, H. Michael Marquardt, and others, and by the insightful analyses and creative insights of interpreters like Jan Shipp, Richard Bushman, D. Michael Quinn, Richard S. Van Wagoner, Linda King Newell, and Valeen Tippetts Avery. I am particularly indebted to Quinn and Vogel, whose encyclopedic scope has made their books a ready compendium of earlier research. Generously sharing source material and skills were H. Michael Marquardt, Larry E. Morris, Susan Staker, and William Shepard. I express sincere thanks to David J. Whittaker, curator of Brigham Young University's Western and Mormon manuscripts, who loaned me his personal copy of the Lucy Mack Smith manuscript, a photocopy of the 1844-45 rough draft, which he had purchased in 1986 from Deseret Book. Working with this manuscript greatly facilitated the process of producing a typescript.

I express appreciation to Ronald E. Romig and Sue McDonald at the Community of Christ Library-Archives for responding to research inquiries, to the consistently energetic staff at the LDS Historical Department Archives, to the staff of Signature Books, especially designer Connie Disney and proofreader Jani Fleet, for encouraging and materially aiding this project, to typewriter Brent Corcoran for creating so technically challenging a work, to George D. Smith whose steady fascination with the Nauvoo period excludes no Smith, and to Irene M. Bates for loving Lucy too and for combining that love with an intelligent and diligent analysis of the documents.

I have learned much from my son Christian, who willingly lent his computer skills to this project while encouraging me to acquire them for my own but especially for understanding the importance of "getting it right." My greatest appreciation goes to my own partner and companion, Paul, who has been supportive in a thousand ways.

## FOREWORD

### Lucy Mack Smith—First Mormon Mother

Irene M. Bates

Lucy Mack Smith, mother of the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith, was a remarkable woman. We have three reasons to be grateful for her story, which she wrote following the deaths of sons Joseph and Hyrum Smith in June 1844: first, because we are given a picture of Lucy's early life as well as a description of her own crucial role in the Mormon restoration. Without her account I'm sure we would have known little about her. (How much *do* we know about the mothers or wives of our leaders?) Second, we are able to see through Lucy's own words how beautifully she matches the ideal of the "republican mother" described by several historians of post-revolutionary America. Third, she gives us a first-hand account of the whole family's involvement in the restoration of the LDS church and in the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. Our official histories are enriched because of her efforts.

Although the full title of the 1853 publication of Lucy Mack Smith's story is *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations*, there were three previous titles. As noted by Jan Shipps, the copyright description of Lucy's book reads, in part, "The History of Lucy Smith, wife of Joseph Smith, the first Patriarch of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, who was the father of Joseph Smith, Prophet, Seer and Revelator; containing an account of the many persecutions, trials and afflictions which I and my family have endured in bringing forth the Book of Mormon and establishing the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints . . ." (*Mormonism*, 104). The 1845 fair copy made by Howard and Martha Jane Coray is titled "History of Lucy Smith, Mother of the Prophet," while "History of Mother Smith, by Herself," also graced a secondary title page for the 1853 edition. Revised editions of the book in 1901-03 by the *Improvement Era* and many editions by Preston Nibley, beginning in 1945, however, were published under the title *History of the Prophet Joseph Smith*. These title changes signal that the book's worth to the institutional church is primarily as a record of Joseph Smith, not as a record of Lucy, even though reading the book itself shows that Lucy's book is certainly *her* story. It illuminates her own background, her preparation for the part she

played in the restoration, and the kind of woman she was, as she recounts the activities of her family during the early days of the church.

Lucy's reminiscences reveal a great deal about her early religious conditioning and broader patterns of post-revolutionary American culture. The proliferation of evangelical religious sects in early nineteenth-century America and the pre-Victorian emphasis on the family as a moral force shine through Lucy's narrative. In the rural areas of northern New England where the Smiths lived, these patterns were especially significant. Migrants to this area had taken with them the revolutionary spirit of political independence. They had also encouraged the breakdown of the old order of religious domination. "The grip of colonial religious culture was broken and a new American style of religious diversity came into being." Such a setting became fertile ground for religious experimentation and the birth of indigenous religious sects, some of which "undertook to redefine social and economic order through the model of the extended family." Without stable institutional structures, the family thus became the "crucible" for forming "primary identity, socialization, and cultural norms for rural life" (Marini, 7, 56, 31). Lucy was a product of this environment.

Lucy Mack was born on 8 July 1775, in Gilsum, New Hampshire, during an era of political, economic, and social change. The second half of the eighteenth century had seen a slowly evolving shift of responsibilities within the American family. Even though the Revolutionary War would accelerate that shift, the initial impetus came from the changing economic scene. According to women's historian Linda Kerber, the growing market economy and "industrial technology reshaped the contours of domestic labor" (7). This shift toward commercialism pushed the father's work farther away from the home, with the result that the mother now took over the father's former role of final responsibility for the children's education and for their moral and religious training (Bloch, 113). Magazines and educational publications heralded mothers as "the chief transmitters of religious and moral values" (Bloch, 101). William Buchan's 1804 *Advice to Mothers*, one of many such publications, described the importance of this new emphasis on mothers:

Everything great or good in future life, must be the effect of early impressions; and by whom are those impressions to be made but by mothers, who are most interested in the consequences? Their instructions and example will have a lasting influence and of course, will go farther to form the morals, than all the eloquence of the pulpit, the efforts of the schoolmasters, or the corrective power of the civil magistrate, who may, indeed, punish crimes, but cannot implant the seeds of virtue. (Bloch, 112)

Kerber maintains that "Republican Motherhood . . . guaranteed the steady infusion of virtues into the Republic. . . . The mother, and not the masses came

to be seen as the custodian of civic morality" (11). "Challenging the traditionally vaunted moral, and often even intellectual, superiority of men, authors increasingly celebrated examples of female piety, learning, courage, and benevolence" (Bloch, 116). Churches, too, played their part. "Even New England clergymen regarded 'the superior sensibility of females,' their 'better qualities' of tenderness, compassion, patience, and fortitude, as inclining them more naturally toward Christianity than men" (Bloch, 116, see also n60). Since the majority of their parishioners were women, New England clergymen also "helped to formulate a new definition of female character . . . endorsing female moral superiority in exchange for women's support and activism" (Wolloch, 120). Mothers could "generate those moral tendencies which cover the whole of existence," wrote one minister in the *Ladies Magazine* (Wolloch, 118). Historians Nancy Cott and Elizabeth Pleck point out that "evangelical works of the 1790s, claimed that female piety and sincerity would bring 'effectual reformation . . . in every department of society' because 'all virtues, all vices, and all characters, are intimately connected with the manners, principles and dispositions of our women.'" In fact, "the collective influence of women was an agency of moral reform" (166). As Bloch suggests, "Women came to be perceived as, essentially, 'moral mothers,' not only in relation to their children, but also in their other major supportive and didactic roles as teachers, charity workers, and sentimental writers" (120).

Despite these accolades, Kerber tells us that educator Benjamin Rush "was careful not to include a claim to political power," when he pointed out that "our ladies should be qualified to a certain degree, by a peculiar and suitable education, to concur in instructing their sons in the principles of liberty and government" (229). Educator Sarah Pierce, in an 1818 address, stressed "mothers' responsibility for maintaining republican virtue and morality," and Joseph Emerson, at the dedication of his seminary in 1822, said, "Let the female character be raised, that she may elevate her sons." Educational reformer Thomas Gallaudet believed that a mother's influence on her child was "inferior only to God; and she is the instrument He employs" (Cott, 120). In her study of sixty-five New England sermons delivered during 1792-1837, Nancy F. Cott found that the churches' "portrayal of women's roles grew in persuasive power because it overlapped with republican commonplaces about the need for virtuous citizens for a successful republic." According to "prevailing conceptions of republican virtue, this was a task having political impact" (147-48). The rhetoric of post-revolutionary New England constantly combined Christian piety and patriotism.

This dynamic becomes evident in Lucy's own story. She speaks with pride of her father's involvement in the Revolutionary War. Even though Solomon

Mack was not committed to any religious belief system, he certainly appreciated the diligence of his wife in attending to the spiritual and educational needs of their children. "All the flowery eloquence of the pulpit," he said, could not match the influence of his wife on their children (chap. 1). Lucy's mother, Lydia Gates Mack, was an example of the kind of "moral mother" increasingly celebrated during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Lucy's older brother Jason became a "seeker" and eventually formed his own religious community; her two older sisters each had a visionary confirmation that their sins were forgiven and that God called them to "witness" to others of the need for repentance. Such gestures of piety were expected in the highly charged revivalist climate of the day. As historians have noted, clergymen "encouraged people to induce 'visions'" (Buel, 11). Lucy's father, after a period of acute suffering in body and mind, underwent his own religious conversion in 1810.

When Lucy married Joseph Smith Sr. in January 1796, she brought not only the housewifely skills learned from her mother, plus a wedding gift of \$1,000 from her brother Stephen and his business partner, John Mudgett, but also the ideal of a strong, responsible, pious mother. Lydia Gates Mack was a model whom Lucy would emulate and even enlarge in her own family life. As a true republican mother, Lucy assumed the responsibility for the moral and religious guidance of her children as well as for their secular education. As a result, she emerges as a major influence in preparing them for their involvement in the charismatic movement which early Mormonism represents.

Lucy tells of her own epiphany and her consequent allegiance to the cultural ideals of her day. After six years of marriage, Lucy became very ill, was diagnosed with "confirmed consumption," the disease from which her sisters Lovisa and Lovina had died, and was given up by the doctors (chap. 11). Lucy did not feel prepared for death and judgement: "I knew not the ways of Christ, besides there appeared to be a dark and lonesome chasm between myself and the Saviour, which I dared not attempt to pass." By making a gigantic effort, she perceived "a faint glimmer of light." She spent the night pleading with the Lord to spare her life so she could bring up her children (Alvin and Hyrum) and "be a comfort" to her husband. She vowed that, if her life was spared, she would serve God with all her heart, whereupon she heard a voice advising her, "Seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you. Let your heart be comforted; ye believe in God, believe also in me." From that point on, Lucy began a long search for a religion that would teach her the way of salvation. In so doing, she was following the precepts of her culture. During this post-revolutionary period, religious speakers constantly emphasized the "cultivation" of female piety so that women might more ably fulfil their role as a "moral mother" (Bloch, 118).



Lucy also continued to educate her children in secular as well as spiritual matters. Dr. John Stafford of Palmyra, interviewed in 1880, remembered that Lucy “had a great deal of faith that their children were going to do something great” and also recalled that Lucy taught her eight children from the Bible. Stafford did not comment on the spiritual precepts they thus garnered but rather on the children’s educational achievements. Joseph Jr. had been “quite illiterate,” he said, but “after they began to have school at their house, he improved greatly” (Vogel 2:122). Were Lucy’s ambitions for and faith in her children’s abilities unusual for a mother of that period? Linda Kerber tells how the republican mother was to “encourage in her sons civic interest and participation. She was to educate her children and guide them in the paths of morality and virtue” (283). Nancy Wolloch, notes that ministers, after “discarding predestination as an axiom, now suggested that mothers not God, were responsible for their children’s souls” (121). Lucy certainly seems to have taken such responsibilities very seriously in her own family. William Smith later affirmed that Lucy was

a very pious woman and much interested in the welfare of her children, both here and hereafter, [who] made use of every means which her parental love could suggest, to get us engaged in seeking for our souls’ salvation, or (as the term then was) “in getting religion.” She prevailed on us to attend the meetings [the Methodist revival being preached by George Lane], and almost the whole family became interested in the matter, and seekers after truth. . . . My mother continued her importunities and exertions to interest us in the importance of seeking for the salvation of our immortal souls, until almost all of the family became either converted or seriously inclined. (Vogel 1:494-95)

It is quite clear that Lucy’s piety and high principles were the major moral influence in her children’s lives, but she also was concerned about her husband’s spiritual well-being. New England ministers declared that a wife’s conversion could also help her perform “her great task of bringing men back to God” (Welter, 162). Various publications of the early nineteenth century pointed out:

Religion or piety was the core of women’s virtue, the source of her strength. . . . Religion belonged to woman by divine right, a gift of God and nature. This “peculiar susceptibility” to religion was given her for a reason: “the vestal flame of piety, lighted up by Heaven in the breast of woman” would throw its beams into the naughty world of men. (Welter, 152)

According to Nancy Wolloch, “Female converts outnumbered male converts three to two in the Second Great Awakening in New England. . . . By 1814, for instance, women outnumbered men in the churches and religious societies in

Utica, and they could be relied upon to urge the conversion of family members" (121).

It was Lucy who took the initiative in trying to involve her family in seeking the "true church." In light of Joseph Sr.'s indifference, she sought consolation in earnest prayer that the gospel would be brought to her husband and was reassured by a dream that her husband would be given "the pure and undefiled Gospel of the Son of God" (56). About this time Joseph Sr. began having visionary dreams with highly symbolic content, obviously related to his ambivalence about religious faith and sometimes presaging events to come. These dreams continued after the family's move to Palmyra, New York, until he had had seven in all; Lucy remembers five well enough to quote in detail.

Lucy's efforts to find the true religion did not slacken in Palmyra. She went from sect to sect; and shortly afterwards, she and three of her children, Hyrum, Samuel, and Sophronia, attended the Presbyterian church, the only church with a meetinghouse in Palmyra. Although Lucy longed for her family to be united in their religious faith, she could not persuade her husband to join them. Thus, when young Joseph had his theophany, followed by the coming forth of the Book of Mormon attended by other heavenly messengers, it was the means of making Lucy's dream of a family united in religious harmony come true, a dream that was part of prevailing cultural expectations.

Throughout the turmoil of the revivals, Lucy had revealed her anxiety and her determination that her family would "get religion," so she shares her joy in the eventual unity of faith which young Joseph brings to the Smith family with his vision of a "restoration." Lucy tells the story very movingly. Three years after the first vision of young Joseph, she observes, "I presume our family presented an aspect as singular as any ever lived upon the face of the earth—all seated in a circle, father, mother, sons and daughters, and giving the most profound attention to a boy, eighteen years of age, who had never read the Bible through in his life" (chap. 19). She relates how Alvin, on his deathbed, counseled Joseph to "be faithful in receiving instruction and in keeping every commandment" (chap. 20).

While Lucy still continued attending meetings at the local Presbyterian church, young Joseph refused to attend; and when he finally obtained the promised gold plates which told of the history of the early inhabitants of the American continent, Lucy stopped going to meetings herself. She said, "We were now confirmed in the opinion that God was about to bring to light something upon which we could stay our minds, or that he would give us a more perfect knowledge of the plan of salvation and the redemption of the human family. This caused us greatly to rejoice, the sweetest union and happiness pervaded our house, and tranquillity reigned in our midst" (chap. 19). Much of

Lucy's consciousness during this period was that her *family* was to be the instrument in bringing salvation to the whole human family. It was clearly a Smith family enterprise. As Jan Shippo has pointed out, Lucy employs the pronouns *we*, *ours*, and *us* rather than simply referring to Joseph's particular role (*Mormonism*, 107).

When converts were baptized into the new church, Lucy expanded her motherly consciousness to include them as well. En route to Kirtland, Ohio, when the women in the group—and even the men—behaved like improvident, sulky children, Lucy used a combination of parental firmness and encouragement, took over the charge of feeding those who had come without supplies, disciplined and watched over the children of the negligent, and found housing for them as well. During a moment of grumbling, she reminded them, “Have any of you lacked? Have not I set food before you every day, and made you, who had not provided for yourselves, as welcome as my own children?” (chap. 39). It was a telling comparison, outlining as it did the role she played in the church at a time when the institution provided nothing similar. In Kirtland, Lucy shared her home with newly arrived immigrants, sometimes sleeping on the floor herself when the house was full. She also continued in her missionary work, even daring to stand up to a Presbyterian minister in defense of her faith.

When Joseph Jr. called his father as the church's first patriarch in December 1833, he emphasized the familial nature of the early Mormon movement. Likening his father to Adam, the prophet said, “So shall it be with my father; he shall be called a prince over his posterity, holding the keys of the patriarchal priesthood over the kingdom of God on earth, even the Church of the Latter Day Saints” (qtd. in Bates and Smith, 34). In this calling Father Smith was to give patriarchal blessings to the Saints; and when he attended the blessing meetings, he insisted that Lucy accompany him (chap. 44). On at least one occasion, Lucy added her blessing or confirmed what had already been received (Crosby).

During the Missouri period when Joseph and Hyrum were imprisoned in Liberty Jail, Lucy was a tower of strength to her husband and other church members. Only in Nauvoo, Illinois, with floods of converts rising like a tide over the New York stalwarts who were left and with Lucy largely isolated in caring for her dying husband did her sense of her role falter. She still felt like a mother but was less often recognized as such by her “children” in the church. Perhaps the most important meaning in Joseph Sr.'s dying blessing on Lucy was to reaffirm her role and status: “Mother, do you not know that you are the mother of as great a family as ever lived upon the earth. . . . They are raised up to do the Lord's work” (chap. 52). He was telling her that her influence, fo-

cused on her biological children, was the seedbed for a larger spiritual family. A century later, sociologist Max Weber would name the phenomenon of family charisma.

Ironically, it was Joseph Jr.'s experiments with expanded family models through polygamy that sent rifts shivering through that foundation. Even as Lucy bravely held on to her vision of the family as instruments in the hands of God, her prophet and patriarch sons were killed on 27 June 1844. When Lucy saw the bodies of her martyred sons, she cried "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken this family?" (chap. 54)

For Lucy as a republican mother, her family had been the instrument in the hands of God in restoring Jesus Christ's true gospel to the earth in the latter days. The Second Great Awakening had seen an emphasis on restoring the primitive church of Christ; and Lucy, it appears, truly thought that her family was performing that service. Republican motherhood had bestowed on women the responsibility of teaching Jesus' pure gospel to their children and of leading their husbands back to the fold. Lucy had been successful in meeting that challenge. Joseph Smith Jr. had become the prophet and president of Christ's church and Hyrum had been the patriarch and associate president. Lucy's whole family, including her late husband as the first patriarch, had been faithful in sustaining the church through times of persecution and great hardship. They had also served as missionaries. Lucy herself had received revelations from the Lord and had played an important role in the entire process. And now this. Lucy recalls, "I was left desolate in my distress. I had reared six sons to manhood, and of them all, one only remained, and he too far distant to speak one consoling word to me in this trying hour" (chap. 54). William, the surviving son, was on a mission in New York.

It was perhaps inevitable that there would be a crisis of leadership in Nauvoo in 1844. Although it is generally assumed that the church carried on in the tradition of its founder, in reality its basic organization shifted during this period of transition. Leonard Arrington has noted that "the conditions under which Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles assumed leadership assured a hierarchical structure designed along authoritarian lines. . . . The theophanous works of Joseph Smith were canonized into doctrine, and the doctrine and organizational structure became more dogmatic and inflexible" ("Intellectual," 18).

Lucy Mack Smith, it appears, was a tenuous link between these two phases of the church's history. She became a symbol of continuity, assuming greater importance at that time because of the strained relationship between Brigham Young and Joseph's widow, Emma. Hosea Stout noted in his diary on 23 February 1845 that Lucy spoke at a church meeting. All present were deeply moved

as she spoke “with the most feeling and heartbroken manner” of “the trials and troubles she had passed through in establishing the Church of Christ and the persecutions and afflictions which her sons & husband had passed through” (1:23). Lucy also asked permission to speak at the October 1845 general conference. After she had recited the sufferings of her family on behalf of the church, she asked if they considered her a mother in Israel. Brigham Young made it the formal conferring of a title by saying: “All who consider Mother Smith as a mother in Israel, signify by saying ‘yes’. One universal ‘yes’ rang throughout” (HC 7:470-471).

Lucy’s *History* contains no comment about the difficulties she encountered with church leaders during the transitional period—troubles which, without doubt, were exacerbated by her son William—but they are suggested in the few letters and second-hand accounts that have survived (Quaife, 246-48). Lucy’s story ends following her sons’ martyrdom with these words: “Here ends the history of my life, as well as that of my family. . . .” (chap. 54). What Lucy’s *History* provides is a very clear picture of the role that the whole Smith family played in the Mormon restoration—a family centered around a mother who prepared the way for such a restoration and who displayed an unshakable faith in her mission.

Lucy is a model of the early nineteenth-century republican mother, a “moral mother” who displayed piety, dispensed values, shaped character at the domestic hearth, and brought up her sons in the paths of civic virtue. She had done her part, yet the Republic, as guarantor of religious freedom, had failed to do its part. In the new call to domesticity issued to Mormon women in the closing days of the twentieth century, Lucy’s story speaks to a new generation of her spiritual granddaughters.

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

### The Domestic Spirituality of Lucy Mack Smith

When New England's first poet, Anne Bradstreet, sought words to express her sorrow at the death of her mother, Dorothy Dudley, in 1643, she created this moving epitaph:

Here lies

A worthy matron of unspotted life,  
A loving mother, and obedient wife,  
A friendly neighbor, pitiful to poor,  
Whom oft she fed, and clothèd with her store;  
To servants wisely awful, but yet kind,  
And as they did so they reward did find;  
A true instructor of her family,  
The which she ordered with dexterity;  
She public meetings ever did frequent,  
And in her closet constant hours she spent;  
Religious in all her words and ways,  
Preparing still for death, till end of days:  
Of all her children, children lived to see,  
Then dying, left a blessed memory. (Bradstreet, 147)

Every syllable of this tribute—with the possible exception of the reference to servants—fits like skin over the life of New England's granddaughter, Lucy Mack Smith, Mormonism's "First Mother," in Irene M. Bates's telling phrase. Lucy's life centered in her family; and because God had called her sons to greatness, Lucy carried her own religious fervor seamlessly into supporting her husband as first patriarch and her sons as prophets, patriarchs, and missionaries. The evidence lies in the book that she wrote, partly as a vindication of their missions, partly as a defense of her family's life, and almost incidentally as Mormonism's first family history and Mormonism's first female autobiography.

Although Lucy's book has long been used as a sourcebook for early Mormon history, that is not its main usefulness. A quick comparison of the outline history of the church that Mormon children learn in Sunday school and that missionaries repeat to converts establishes a long list of missing items—and underscores the surprising extent to which her story is a family memoir. She omits

her son's "first vision," the restoration of the Aaronic priesthood by John the Baptist, the restoration of the Melchizedek priesthood by New Testament apostles Peter, James, and John, the fact and date of her own baptism, the Word of Wisdom, the School of the Prophets, the dedication of the Kirtland temple, the appearance of Moses, Elias, and Elijah, the "second vision" in which Jesus Christ accepted the temple, the importance of Zion's Camp as priesthood training, the selection of the Quorum of the Twelve, the organization of the Seventies, Danite activity in Missouri, the establishment of bishops, the law of consecration, the crucially important missions of the Twelve to Great Britain (1837-38, 1840-41), the creation of wards, the organization of the Relief Society, the practice of polygamy, and Joseph's U.S. presidential campaign. Beyond the publication of the Book of Mormon, she does not mention the publication of Emma's hymnal, the Book of Commandments, the Doctrine and Covenants, or any of the early Mormon periodicals with the exception of Don Carlos's involvement with the *Messenger and Advocate*.

Although Lucy was endowed, sealed, and had received her second anointing, she does not allude to any of these events nor to the major Mormon doctrines of premortal existence, marital and parent/child sealings, the three degrees of glory, the preexistence, or the nature of God as a glorified man. Nor does she mention vicarious temple ordinances (although she records Joseph Sr.'s pleasure at hearing that Alvin can be baptized by proxy). Although she expresses support for Brigham Young, she does not report the miracle of the "mantle of Joseph" that reportedly transformed Young momentarily into her son and certainly would have sealed her loyalty irrevocably to him.

What Lucy does tell, in poignant and gripping detail, are the sacrifices and sufferings of her family to bring forth the Book of Mormon and restore the gospel, the vitality of continuing revelation, the rejection and persecution inflicted on true followers of Christ as the Second Coming approaches, and the realities of faith, the gifts of the Spirit, and the enmity of the "world."

Meriting much more study is the extent to which Lucy's narrative reveals a tribal feeling, not only about her family, but also about the church. The line between the two is, in fact, quite thin.<sup>1</sup> Speaking to the assembled

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1. D. Michael Quinn begins his magisterial two-volume work on the Mormon hierarchy with the observation: "Before it was an organization, Mormonism was a private religious awakening in a single family" (*Origins*, 1). Richard L. Bushman stresses the "family" component of early Mormonism. "It . . . began with one family. . . . Three of the six original organizers were Smiths, just as previously three of the eight witnesses to the golden plates were family members. . . . As a boy and youth, Joseph was almost entirely under the influence of his family and a small circle of acquaintances. . . . [His] culture was predominantly family culture. . . . The Smith family as a whole more than any single individual stood at the center of the story—its hardships, triumphs, sorrows, and happiness. Lucy's pride was the pride of family" (*Joseph*, 3-4, 10).



Saints in October 1845, most of whom, she acknowledges, are converts too recent to know the early history of the church, she not only recounts the better-known sufferings and martyrs' deaths of her sons but also focuses briefly on her three daughters who are among the most invisible members in the pre-1844 church. She describes their poverty—"I have 3 daughters at home they have never had anything"—and their commitment—"but have worked for the Church" (Lucy Smith, Minutes, Bolton version, p. 10).<sup>2</sup> Her rough draft also contains ample evidence of the equation she made between family and church:

The people were anxious to have us the elders preach again. . . .

Father Johnson offered him a horse for he was a kind old man and would do anything in his power for Joseph or any of our family. (chap. 42)

. . . persecutors of the church my family who are the enemies of the church . . . (chap. 54)

Another examination yet to be made is a rhetorical and literary analysis of Lucy's narrative technique. Some elements are:

- Suspense: "We were expecting him [Martin Harris] every moment. We waited till nine, and he came not—till ten, and he was not there—till eleven, still he did not make his appearance" (chap. 25).
- Colloquial expressions: When Thomas Marsh warns her not to sing or pray en route to Kirtland or "we should be mobbed before the next morning," Lucy reports her retort with a slangy relish: "'Mob it is, then,' said I, 'we shall attend to prayer before sunset, mob or no mob'" (chap. 39).
- A well-developed sense of dialogue, as in this exchange with their hostess for an evening outside Buffalo:

"What be you?" said she. "Be you Baptists?"

I told her that we were "Mormons."

"Mormons!" ejaculated she, in a quick, good-natured tone. "What be they? I never heard of them before."

"I told you that we were 'Mormons,'" I replied, "because that is what the world call us, but the only name we acknowledge is Latter-Day Saints."

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2. Willard Richards, writing Joseph Jr.'s diary on 9 January 1843, records his visit to Samuel's and Katharine's families in Plymouth, Illinois. Richards describes Katharine's impoverishment: "My heart was pained to witness a lovely wife and sister of Joseph almost barefoot and four lovely children entirely so in the middle of winter. Ah! thought I, what has not Joseph and his father's family suffered to bring forth the work of the Lord?" (Faulring, 291).

"Latter-Day Saints!" rejoined she, "I never heard of them either." (chap. 39)

- Regionalisms: "Here we found an own sister . . ." (Lucy is quoting but also paraphrasing John Smith, her brother-in-law.)
- An earthy and sarcastic humor: She obviously enjoys the irony of the prosecuting attorney becoming ill and "vomit[ing] at the feet of the Judge," stressing the Missouri nickname of "pukes." Darker is her comment after the martyrdom that "the mob had the *kindness* to allow us the privilege of bringing them home" (53, 54).
- A spontaneous use of King James English at moments of heightened emotion for formal effect. Although these pastiches of scriptural allusions and what Northrup Fry calls "high demotic" are almost invariably edited down or out of the rough draft, they suggest that Lucy had an impressive gift for spontaneous sermonizing. For example, she reproaches the three men who have purchased their farm by fraudulent means of thrusting the family "straightway into the common air like the beasts of the field or the fowls of Heaven with naught but <the> earth for a resting place and the canopy of ~~He~~ the skies for a covering." Compare Daniel 2:38 ("the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven"), Numbers 10:33 ("a resting place"), Proverbs 20:14 ("it is naught . . . but"), and Psalms 105:39 ("a cloud for a covering"). Lucy also quotes or alludes directly to many other scriptures; I have referenced some (see text notes) that constitute direct quotations from the Bible, but surely she was also familiar with them through the King James language of the Book of Mormon and secondarily as filtered through hundreds of scripture-based sermons that she had heard in her life.
- Exhortation: The economy of structure and effect of her spontaneous sermon to her light-minded Fayette company en route to Kirtland deserves detailed attention which it cannot receive here; but she moves with greatest skill within a few paragraphs from rebuke through a series of rhetorical questions to reminders of God's goodness, a stirring testimony of the Book of Mormon, and a focusing of the company's faith on a miracle—the literal parting of the ice before them (chap. 39).
- Exposition: On four separate occasions, Lucy explains the Book of Mormon to a listener, including some quotations from herself: (1) to Deacon Beckwith, when he and a delegation from the Presbyterian church try to persuade her, Samuel, and Hyrum to renounce the Book of Mormon; (2) to the old Quaker who arrests Joseph Sr. for debt because he will not agree to burn the books; (3) to a curious inquirer on the shore as their

canal boat passes by en route to Kirtland; and (4) to Reverend Ruggles at Pontiac, Michigan, when he patronizes Joseph as a “poor, foolish, silly boy” (chaps. 32, 34, 39, 40). In each case, Lucy’s defense is not only well-organized exposition but is also stirringly eloquent: “‘Deacon Beckwith,’ said I, ‘if you should stick my flesh full of fagots, and even burn me at the stake, I would declare, as long as God should give me breath, that Joseph has got that Record, and that I know it to be true’” (chap. 32).

- Polarization. The undeniable vigor of Lucy’s devotion to her family and, by extension, to the church has a shadow side of sharply polarized thinking. With the exception of a few kindly Gentiles, whom she holds in grateful remembrance, she sees the world in terms of “the members” and “the mob,” with an uneasily shifting border between the two occupied by “the apostates.” Obviously one purpose of her book is to take a vicarious revenge on the enemies against whom she is physically helpless—by recording their names for the obloquy of posterity. In fact, in one revealing passage, she regrets not recalling the name of one persecutor so that it can be recorded.

Lucy’s narrative has a complicated history of composition and printing. It also bears the dubious distinction of being the first—and so far only—work published under an apostle’s direction to be publicly denounced and censored by one president of the church and authorized for revised reprinting by another. (See “The Textual History of Lucy’s Book,” which follows.) The relevant documents include the resulting two major manuscript sources, the first published version, and numerous variant printings from various sources by individuals who, because of the official censorship, felt a certain amount of liberty in making textual emendations of their own.

I remember picking my way through Preston Nibley’s 1945 *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother* when I was six or seven in Idaho’s Lost River Valley. Our small family library was housed in a simple two-shelf glass-fronted bookcase. I would not see a public library until I was thirteen, but I had been reading since I was four, and I was desperate for anything containing words. Because this volume was with my parents’ religious books, I assumed it was somehow scriptural. I never remember hearing it quoted from in lessons or talks at church. In the mid-1970s while I was employed as an editor for the LDS church’s magazine for adults, the *Ensign*, I learned about the troubled history surrounding the book’s 1853 publication and first looked at the slim black volume in the Historical Department Library. On my first trip to Independence, Missouri, as part of the Mormon History Association annual meeting, I eagerly purchased a copy of the 1969 reprint of the 1912 RLDS edition in the Auditorium’s bookstore. Occasionally during the

1970s, I talked with Richard L. Anderson,<sup>3</sup> my former BYU New Testament teacher, while I was at the *Ensign* and he was at Brigham Young University, about his upcoming projects. They always included an edition of Joseph's and Emma's letters and the publication of what he called Lucy's "preliminary manuscript." Many projects interrupted these plans including, I confess, articles that he wrote by invitation for the *Ensign*. The last time we talked, in 1989, Lucy's manuscript was still on Richard's list.

However, by 1988, I had begun a serious search, not just for Lucy's record, but for her authentic voice. I had, in a sense, lived with Lucy all of my literate life; but only as I began researching and reading in the period, and particularly as Dean Jessee's stunning series of Brigham Young and Joseph Smith papers began to appear, did I realize how many other voices overlay Lucy's. *Lucy's Book* is the first one-volume history<sup>4</sup> to arrange the earliest known manuscript source of the text Lucy dictated in 1844-45 with the version printed in England in 1853 by Apostle Orson Pratt.

The notes draw on a second important manuscript which has never been published, a "final" or fair copy, carefully handwritten by Martha Jane and Howard Coray with chapter divisions in a bound volume of lined paper. This manuscript, the duplicate of the one from which Pratt printed the 1853 book in England, is in the LDS Church Archives. Other textual emendations, described in the notes, come from the energetic fist of George A. Smith, who annotated and corrected both the fair copy and the printed version. His first cousin Elias Smith also made marginal corrections on the 1853 volume. (See "Textual History.") Other textual changes appear in other editions and printings by the RLDS church, the LDS church, and various private and commercial publishers. Considering the book's stormy history, however, the sum total of "corrections" is surprisingly small, a tacit concession to the accuracy of Lucy's memory and the worth of her memoir.

Although the reality of the Smith family's lived experience is almost certainly more complicated than that captured by Lucy's book, even the most cas-

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3. A confusing number of Andersons is involved in early Mormon research. I join Richard Lloyd Anderson, attorney, New Testament scholar, and Mormon historian; his brother, Karl Ricks Anderson, whose life in Kirtland has led him into Mormon research; Rodger I. Anderson, who prepared an important edition of documents on Joseph Smith's New York reputation; and psychiatrist Robert D. Anderson, who reads the Book of Mormon as Joseph Smith's psychological attempts to deal with his childhood and youth. With the exception of Richard and Karl, none of these Andersons is related.

4. Dan Vogel has published a fine and carefully researched parallel-column arrangement as part of his larger project, but the Lucy Mack Smith material ends with the move to Kirtland, Ohio (chap. 39 of the Pratt printing). See *Early Mormon Documents*, Vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 227-450. This book builds on his work.

ual reader cannot fail to be caught up by the passion of Lucy's convictions and engaged by her marked gifts as a story-teller.

Long an icon, Lucy has received ritual regard for her success in Mormonism's most revered role for women: that of mother. She is praised for her fertility as the mother of many children, her tenderheartedness, her willingness to follow her husband to new locales, her eagerness to accept the gospel preached by her son, and for her faithful life. She is seen, in other words, primarily as she has pictured herself: in relation to her most famous son. Secondly, she exists as half of the Joseph-and-Lucy couple—a more successful image of marital harmony than Joseph and Emma.<sup>5</sup> Then she typically drops out of sight in Mormon accounts. Her failure—and it is seen as a failure—to come west with Brigham Young, the fact that her history ends in 1845, and the comparative seclusion and illness of her last decade are erased from Utah Mormon consciousness.

Almost universally overlooked is the perhaps unconscious way that Lucy Mack Smith has functioned as a model of domestic spirituality, a model drawn directly from her New England culture about proper behavior for pious women, but one that extends unbroken to the present day. In fact, it is possible to argue that Lucy's model is currently, though unconsciously, being urged on Mormon women through authoritative discourse with an insistence that is new since the modest steps toward equality made during the 1970s and 1980s. In a way, it is surprising that Lucy's life has not been mined more deeply and more consistently as a manual for today's Mormon women, given the intense role anxiety generated by recent church pronouncements on "the family." As one who has long desired an expanded role for women in Mormonism, I make this observation with a certain irony: Lucy, as she presents herself in her family history, represents the ideal Mormon woman in five ways: (1) She is a "good" citizen, devoted to patriotic ideals of republican virtue and civic responsibility. (2) She has remarkable executive and managerial skills but defers consistently to male authority. (3) She is focused on her husband and household, expressing ill-concealed contempt for women who are not. (4) She has impressive spiritual gifts and is a woman of intense piety, but these qualities are manifest only

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5. Shortly before breaking ground for the Nauvoo, Illinois, temple on 24 October 1999, LDS and RLDS descendants of Joseph Sr. and Lucy Smith (along with "a group of members") dedicated the "Nauvoo Legacy Gardens" as "a place of beauty and culture to display special memorials to events and personalities that played a significant role in the history of Nauvoo," according to Hortense Child Smith, wife of Eldred G. Smith, LDS Patriarch Emeritus and, at ninety-two, the oldest living descendant of Joseph Sr. and Lucy. The garden includes a bronze statue of Joseph Jr. (in shirtsleeves with an axe) called "Pioneer Prophet," by Dee Jay Bawden, and a three-ton Vermont granite stone with a memorial plaque featuring the faces of Joseph Sr. and Lucy. (Greg Hill, "Rebuilding of the Magnificent Temple," *Church News*, 30 October 1999, 6-7; Genelle Pugmire, "Gardens Dedicated in Honor of Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith," *ibid.*, 12.)

in relation to her family. (5) And crowningly, her self-identification is overwhelming that of a Christian mother.

## LUCY AS GOOD CITIZEN

Irene Bates's biographical essay sets Lucy illuminatingly in the context of republican motherhood, an important ideal of the time. It goes far toward explaining why Lucy included such extensive accounts of her father's and brothers' martial exploits. But it is also important to recognize the message she was communicating by introducing herself as the daughter and sister of unquestioned patriots. Lucy's insistence on beginning with nine chapters of material on her family and Joseph Smith Sr.'s genealogy has mystified readers who expect to plunge directly into Joseph Smith Jr.'s life. As a child and teenager, I regularly skipped these chapters to begin with Lucy's marriage to Joseph Sr.

But Lucy's use of her father's autobiography<sup>6</sup> is instructive. Solomon's own point in writing his autobiography concentrates on his religious awakening, an inspirational story in its own right. His spiritual reflections began in the winter of 1810-11 when he was "confined with rheumatism." He began to study the Bible and eagerly conversed with his wife, Lydia Gates Mack, whose piety he had always praised. His anxious and fervent prayers were rewarded: He saw "a bright light . . . heard a voice calling to me again" and "passages of scripture" came "to my mind" (Richard L. Anderson, *New England*, 51). He particularly drew comfort from the scriptural promises: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burthen is light" (Matt. 11:28-29). He ruefully confessed that he was "so stupid" he had to ask Lydia if this passage was in the Bible. He prayed sincerely for mercy and received a sign: All of his rheumatic pain disappeared for a blessed night (55). He rejoiced in his conversion: "Everything appeared new and beautiful. Oh how I loved my neighbors. How I loved my enemies—I could pray for them. Everything appeared delightful. The love of Christ is beautiful. . . . Oh, come, come; how sweet is the love of Jesus—how beautiful is the love of God" (56-57).

Given the religious focus of her memoir, it is remarkable that Lucy does not quote from this affecting spiritual biography. Rather, she selects only those

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6. *A Narratve [sic] of the Life of Solomon Mack, Containing An Account of the Many severe Accidents He Met with During a Long Series of Years, Together with the Extraordinary Manner in which he was Converted to the Christian Faith* (Windsor, VT: Solomon Mack, [dated at 1811 by Richard Lloyd Anderson], reprinted with modernized spelling and punctuation in his *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 30-58.

portions that show her father's patriotism, recounting his activities as a combatant during the French and Indian War and later during the Revolutionary War. Similarly, she stresses the Revolutionary War service of her teenage brother, Stephen. She was not laying a groundwork to show that her family had a prophetic heritage into which her son's later visions, creations of scripture, and founding of a church would fit—although such a purpose would have been thoroughly comprehensible. Rather, she was painting a picture of her family as impeccably loyal to the institutions and values of the young American Republic. This stance explains her repeated shock, indignation, and outrage that her family's legal and political rights were violated, that they were deprived of their rights as American citizens, and that the pledged faith of the state of Illinois to keep her sons safe was false.

This stance also reveals that Lucy Mack Smith envisioned a shape and organization to her narrative from the very beginning. That shape is a prophetic lament for the corruption of her country as shown by its rejection of the prophets and patriarchs—her husband and sons. She starts with the godly ideal of patriotic sacrifice and virtue and ends with its betrayal. In a lengthy and somewhat disjointed letter that she dictated on 23 January 1845 to William Smith, then in the East, she lamented:

By What By Whom am I deprived of my children and made a Widow my health destroyed and my peace of mind blasted for, [sic] ever on Earth ~~and~~ Angels Patriotic men and Gods declare that it was by malicious persecution & the dagger of the dark assassin where is my last remaining son the solace of my age. [Alas?] he is a pilgrim in a strange land traversing the Earth to preach salvation to those who if they do not rize up as advocates of equal & constitutional rights will hold up their hands to Heaven in the day of judgemen<t> dyed like crimson with your brothers blood . . .

And in a final peroration that Coray (and therefore Pratt) severely condensed, she denounces the United States for tyranny:

You suffered my husband & children to [be] robbed imprisoned and murdered untill f the cries of 5 widows and 24 orphan children were lifted to <you> in vain and we are still chased before ~~our~~ a law less banditti ~~of~~ from one kingdom to another people although I am now 70 years of [age] and a Native of the united states and although My Father and my brothers Fought hard and struggled manfully ~~for~~ to establish a government of liberty and eaqual rights upon this ~~the~~ home of my birth and notwithstanding I have violated no law yet I in common with many thousand ~~qually~~ equally innocent with me am commanded <by a mob> to leave the country at or stop here at the [peril?] of our lives and last of all and most to be deplored ~~the rulers of~~ those who are chosen to enforce and execute the Law declare that the proceedings are outrageous but that we must of



necessity submit to them for our countryman [sic] have all become so corrupt that there are none to defend and maintain the sacredness of the Law . . .

Oh, for a lodge in some vast Wilderness some boundless contiguity of shade where rumor of oppression and [...] might never reach me more let me leave the [...] of bones of my fathers and brothers ~~who~~ and the bones of my martyrd children and go to a land where never man dwelt fare well my country. Thou that killest the prophets and hath exiled them that were sent unto thee once thou were fair once thou wert lovely. . . . nothing can cleanse it but judgements of <him> who is a consuming fire

This approach is the same strategy that the Mormons had used earlier in failed attempts to claim their legal rights. As Clark V. Johnson summarizes the contributions of the 773 Missouri redress petitioners, they "tell the story of a people wrongfully deprived of their rights as free men and women under both the constitution of the state of Missouri and the Constitution of the United States of America" (xxxiv). Repeatedly these petitions assert their right to redress for "loss of property & health & Sitizen Ship," as William Batson wrote (Johnson, 133; see also 131, 147, 157, 331, 360). Truce Brace who, with his wife and six children, had been driven first from Jackson County, then from Clay, and then from Caldwell, catalogued his losses and beatings, then penned a passionate postscript: "in the revalutionary war my father Was ingaged fiting for liberty which is all that i clame according to the constitucion & that I am determid . . . i am redust so that my tax is small but i am sure to havet to pay & little or much it goes to suport you Judges & law givers you miletary forces from which i demand protection so i remane a well wisher to my country" (145). Eliza R. Snow picks up the same theme of the "blood stained flag" and God's inevitable and infallible judgement upon the "guilty land" in her commemorative poems about the assassinations of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. (See Appendix.)

Furthermore, when the Council of Fifty was organized on 11 March 1844, it was charged to consider the "best policy for this people to adopt to obtain their rights from the nation and insure protection for themselves and children; and to secure a resting place in the mountains, or some uninhabited region, where we can enjoy the liberty of conscience guaranteed to us by the Constitution of our country, rendered doubly sacred by the precious blood of our fathers, and denied to us by the present authorities, who have smuggled themselves into power in the States and Nation" (HC 6:260-61). Clearly, in writing this appeal against tyranny, Lucy was drawing on conventions well-known to her American audience.

#### LUCY AS EXECUTIVE AND MANAGER

Colonial historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich sees the role of "deputy husband" as one of the socially defined and socially acceptable ways for women in



the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to exercise executive, entrepreneurial, and managerial talents:

A woman became a wife by virtue of her dependence, her solemnly vowed commitment to her husband. . . .

One can be dependent, however, without being either servile or helpless. To use an imperfect but nonetheless suggestive analogy, colonial wives were dependent upon patriarchal families in somewhat the same way seventeenth-century ministers were dependent upon their congregations. . . . They owned neither their place of employment nor even the tools of their trade. No matter how diligently they worked, they did not expect to inherit the land upon which they lived. . . . Skilled service was their major contribution, secure support their primary compensation. . . . They could not resign their position, but then neither could they be fired. Upon the death of a husband they were entitled to maintenance for life. . . . Almost any task was suitable for a woman as long as it furthered the good of her family and was acceptable to her husband. This approach was both fluid and fixed. It allowed for varied behavior without really challenging the patriarchal order of society. . . . Because wives remained close to the house, they were often at the communication center . . . given responsibility for conveying directions, pacifying creditors, and perhaps even making some decisions about the disposition of labor. (37-39)

Lucy, with suitable expressions of modest demurral, shows herself capable, resourceful, and even charismatic in her forays into the public sphere. When Joseph Sr. goes ahead of the family to Palmyra, she competently prepares for the departure, pays off last-minute debtors who claim they were not paid by Joseph Sr., refuses the offer of a subscription, fires their incompetent teamster, forestalls his attempt to take their team and wagon, assists through cookery and handicrafts in reestablishing the family finances, represents her husband in negotiating to try and save the farm, goes to Martin Harris at Joseph Jr.'s request to inform him about the Book of Mormon plates, tries to get Solomon Humphrey and Thomas B. Marsh to lead the New York converts' migration to Ohio but takes over without confusion or self-deprecation when they refuse, arranges for the construction of a schoolhouse/meeting house in Kirtland that Reynolds Cahoon had failed to carry out, and at her own request addresses a congregation of 5,000 in Nauvoo to promote her book, among other causes. (See "Lucy as Mother" below.)

In all of these activities, she defers to male authority. In her lengthy quest for a church, she goes to male ministers and preachers. She acts only as a representative of her husband and son in the financial negotiations on the farm. She asks her husband's permission before launching the project of completing the meetinghouse/schoolhouse. She prophesies only in private and only about members of her own family. She gives the names and birth dates of her seven

named sons but does not mention the births of her three daughters and frequently omits the mention of her daughters on occasions when they are present. Often, even when addressing or describing a mixed group, she uses only the term "brethren."

Although the Relief Society was an institutional form in which Mormon women could expand their participation in church life, Lucy does not mention it in her history even though she attended several meetings, spoke occasionally, and bore her testimony at least once. She was received by vote as a member of the society on 24 March 1842, the first meeting after its organization on 17 March.<sup>7</sup> She spoke twice during that meeting. The first time, "Mother Lucy Smith arose and said she rejoiced in view of what was doing—as she came in and look'd upon the sisters it gave her feelings of deep interest—Wept—said she was advanc'd in years and could not stay long—hop'd the Lord would bless and aid the Society in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked—that her work was nearly done—felt to pray that the blessings of heaven might rest upon the Society." The second time, she returned to the theme of sisterly love: "This Institution is a good one—we must watch over ourselves—that she came into the church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to do good—to get good, and to get into the celestial kingdom. She said we must cherish one another, watch over one another, comfort one another and gain instruction, that we may all sit down in heaven together" ("Record").

At the third meeting, on 30 March 1842, as Emma dealt decisively with innuendos of Joseph Smith's sexual impropriety, Lucy

rose and said she was glad the time had come that iniquity could be detected and reproach thrown off from the heads of the church—We come into the Church to be sav'd that we may live in peace and sit down in the kingdom of heaven—If we listen to, and circulate every evil report we shall idly spend the time which should be appropriated to the reading the Scriptures, the Book of Mormon—we must remember the words of Alma—pray much at morning, noon and night—feed the poor &c.—She said she was old—could not meet with the Society but few times more—and wish'd to leave her testimony that the Book of Mormon is the book of God—that Joseph is a man of God, a prophet of the Lord set apart to lead the people—If we observe his words it will be well with us; if we live righteously on earth, it will be well with us in Eternity.

Sarah Cleveland, Emma's counselor, responded by thanking her "for her

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7. Other relatives who joined the association at this meeting were Agnes Smith (Don Carlos's wife), Lucy Millican (*sic*), and Mary Bailey Smith (Samuel's wife), plus several women who were or would become plural wives of Joseph and Hyrum. Temperance Mack and Almira Covey, widow and daughter of her brother Stephen, joined on 19 April 1842.

testimony and counsel—express'd many good wishes, that she might receive much comfort and consolation in this Society—that the Lord would lengthen her days—that she may cheer the Society with her presence, aid it by her counsels and prays long before she shall take her departure to sit down by the side of her beloved Partner.”

At the opening of the fourth meeting on 19 April 1842, Emma asked the women “to occupy the time” while she and the other officers “were examining petitions of various persons who applied for membership.” Nothing loathe, they did so, “much to the edification of those present, by Mother Smith and others, by way of exhortation, admonition, encouragement &c. &c.” Later during that same meeting, Sarah Cleveland blessed the sisters in tongues. Patty Sessions, who gave the interpretation, mentioned Lucy by name, “saying that the prayers of father Smith were now answered upon the members of the Society, that the days of Mother S. should be prolonged and she should meet many times with the Society, should enjoy much in the society of the sisters & shall hereafter be crown'd a mother of those that shall prove faithful &c.” The testimonies continued for some time, “and the spirit of the Lord like a purifying stream, refreshed every heart,” wrote Eliza R. Snow, the secretary. Lucy gave the closing prayer at this meeting. At this point, Lucy had been a widow for eighteen months and, despite the misgivings about her health expressed a month earlier, was obviously well enough to attend meetings regularly, as the minutes show.

On 16 June 1843, Lucy had been among “several” who had called on a Sister Mills, apparently in need, earlier that day. One of the other women in the group bore witness of the “glorious manifestation” that Sister Mills had received (“Record”).

A month later on 21 July 1843, “the case of Mother Smith was then mentioned that she was in the decline of life and that she requested the prayers of the Society that she might yet be enabled to prove a Blessing to those who may enquire of the things of the Kingdom,” but it is not clear whether she was present. There is no record of Lucy's participation or attendance at any other meetings before its suspension after its last meeting on 17 March 1844. Mary Bailey Smith “said her husband had given her the privilege of donating weekly one bushel of corn meal for the poor—wish'd to know where it should be deposited (30 March 1842). Lucy Millikin contributed a quarter on 19 April 1842. However, there is no record that Lucy Mack Smith ever made a contribution. Given her generous heart, this inability, which seems to point to diminished financial standing, must have pinched her as much as the poverty itself.

## LUCY AS WIFE

**Lucy's Relationship with Joseph Sr.**

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's analysis of the role of "Consort" (106-25) in her magisterial analysis of the roles of New England colonial women explains: "As consorts, women balanced the often contradictory demands of chastity and affability, modesty and desirability, spirituality and sexuality" (238).

The quality of Lucy's and Joseph's marriage is an important issue. Psychiatrist Robert D. Anderson has argued, in a provocative extended analysis, that the Book of Mormon can best be explained as Joseph Jr.'s attempts to deal with his family's dysfunction and his own childhood trauma—the unaesthetized triple operations on his leg at about age seven.<sup>8</sup> An important part of Robert Anderson's argument about the family's dysfunction rests on his assumption that Joseph Smith Sr. was an alcoholic and that Lucy was subject to chronic depression. How convincing are these arguments?

Robert Anderson is not breaking totally new ground in his evaluation. As early as 1988, C. Jess Groesbeck had hypothesized that both Lucy and Joseph Sr. may have suffered from clinical depression and also identified alcohol abuse as "both a manifestation and source of Joseph Sr.'s depression" (Groesbeck, qtd. in Quinn, *Early*, 108, 440). He has continued this interpretation of the Smith family. In the summer of 1999, he asserted that Joseph Sr. was "very, very dysfunctional," had a "serious alcohol problem," and may have been involved with other women. Lucy was an "overfunctioning mother," and Alvin became the "real father" by his economic contributions. This reinforces his earlier hypothesis that "one of the most important and remarkable tasks Joseph, Jr., performed in his early years, including the time when he had his earliest and most significant visions, was to mediate what were, at times, irreconcilable conflicts within the marriage of Joseph Smith, Sr., and Lucy Mack Smith" ("The Smiths," 1988, 22). Dan Vogel, using a family systems approach, comes to similar conclusions ("Joseph Smith's Family Dynamics").

In 1998 William D. Morain, a plastic surgeon with a specialty in children's surgery, published a study with the American Psychiatric Press that analyzes Joseph Jr.'s traumatic surgery, complicated by family dysfunction and Alvin's death, as the sources of posttraumatic stress disorder and dissociation. He, like Anderson, sees these traumatic events being reworked psychically to emerge as

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8. Robert D. Anderson, *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999); see especially chap. 2 for his discussion of family dysfunction. The discussion that follows summarizes arguments I made to Anderson during the process of editing his interesting and provocative book for publication in 1997-98. I repeat them here in the interest of a healthy and vigorous dialogue.

n major themes in the Book of Mormon. While both Anderson and Groesbeck  
a are trained psychiatrists (Anderson is a Freudian, Groesbeck a Jungian), I still  
h hesitate to agree that the evidence of family dysfunction is conclusive. (The  
e extended manifestations of Joseph Jr.'s trauma in the Book of Mormon, while  
f fascinating, are beyond the scope of my analysis.)

There is considerable, though uneven, evidence that Joseph Sr. and other  
r male members of the Smith family drank. Was Joseph Sr. an alcoholic? Al-  
t though the disease can take many forms, there are considerable dangers in di-  
ε agnosing the dead (to borrow Steven Harper's phrase) and considerable frus-  
t trations in attempting to prove a negative (that Joseph Sr. was *not* an alco-  
l holic). Joseph Sr. is repeatedly described in the Palmyra affidavits as drinking  
1 to excess (Vogel 1:470). Can we assume that they were all telling the truth?  
Probably not. Can we assume that they were all lying? Probably not.

Palmyra grocer Lemuel Durfee's account book records "the sale of numer-  
ous barrels of 'cider liquor' to Joseph, Hyrum, and Samuel Smith during the  
years 1827-29" (Rodger Anderson, 108). Robert Anderson makes the telling  
point that the simplest explanation for seven-year-old Joseph Jr.'s adamant re-  
fusal to take any kind of wine or spirits as an anesthetic is that he had internal-  
ized an intense and ongoing contest between his parents involving alcohol—  
although, as a teenager and adult, if other reports can be believed, including  
the *History of the Church*, Joseph Jr.'s aversion had diminished considerably.

The most conclusive piece of evidence about Joseph Sr.'s drinking is his  
single direct admission of overindulgence. At a family blessing meeting on 9  
December 1834, he first lamented: "I have not always set that example before  
my family that I ought," but praised them: "Notwithstanding all this my folly,  
which has been a cause of grief to my family, the Lord has often visited me in  
visions and in dreams." By "folly," was he referring to intemperance? Perhaps,  
but the context suggests rather a lack of religious seriousness: "I have not been  
diligent in teaching them the commandments of the Lord, but have rather  
manifested a light and trifling mind." Dan Vogel hypothesizes that he may be  
expressing regret about his Universalist philosophy. (Vogel 1:468). As the  
meeting continues and he gives Hyrum the first blessing, Joseph Sr. said:  
"Though he [meaning himself] has been out of the way through wine, thou  
hast never forsaken him nor laughed him to scorn."<sup>9</sup> Joseph Jr.'s entry on 23  
August 1842 in "The Book of the Law of the Lord" contains an entry of reflec-

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9. Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 208n55, suggests: "Since there is no evidence of intemperance after the organization of the church, Joseph Sr. likely referred to a time before 1826 when Hyrum married and left home." Although of highly uneven reliability, LaMar Petersen's compendium includes anecdotes about drinking by most of the Smith men, including Hyrum and Joseph Sr., after 1826.

tion about his dead father. One partial sentence which he has marked out reads: "~~Let the faults and the follies~~[-]" Was he referring to Joseph Sr. here? It is not clear since the sentence immediately afterward is about himself: "Let his soul, or the spirit my follies forgive." What is clear is the reverence and affection that breathes through the rest of the entry for his father: "He was a great and a good man. The envy of knaves and fools was heaped upon him, . . . all the days of his life. He was of noble stature, and possessed a high, and holy, and exalted, and a virtuous mind. . . . He never did a mean act that might be said was ungenerous, in his life, to my knowledge. I loved my father and his memory; and the memory of his noble deeds, rest with ponderous weight upon my mind; and many of his kind and parental words to me, are written on the tablet of my heart" (Vogel 1:174-75).

Since the evidence is shaky that Joseph Sr. regularly and repeatedly drank to intoxication, I find even less persuasive the assertions that he was an alcoholic. Marquardt and Walters point out that Hyrum and Joseph Sr. as coopers and as day laborers "took their wages in credits toward their purchases." Furthermore, while most of these purchases were barrels of cider, the account book also includes other provisions (122-23). LaMar Petersen, compiler of *Hearts Made Glad*, a light-hearted, uncritical, but quite thorough compendium of reports about alcohol and the Smith family, takes a reasonable position about his own anecdotes:

The traducers of Baurak Ale (one of Joseph's spiritual names in the Doctrine and Covenants 103:21, 22, 35; 105:16, 27) were not satisfied with less than his complete immersion in the ale barrel; his defenders with less than his complete hostility to such refreshment. . . . There is not a vice with which his critics did not load his name, and not a virtue which his friends failed to ascribe to him. (27)

Rodger Anderson, while conceding the drinking, separates the two issues: "The fact that his father had a drinking problem is unfortunate but ultimately irrelevant to the religious claims of Joseph Smith [Jr.], just as Smith's own occasional indulgences do not prove his visions mere subjective fantasies" (110).

The evidence seems persuasive that the Word of Wisdom did not advance beyond the status of "counsel" to the male members of the family. Some of the numerous anecdotes—but certainly not all—may have been prompted by malice. Furthermore, from my own abstemious values and family experience, I am probably over-prepared to agree that any kind of indulgence in any kind of recreational alcohol or drug use can cause social, familial, and personal strain. However, Lucy mentions drinking in connection with her family only in two examples, both of them negative. In the first, Stevens of Royalton babbled the facts about cheating Joseph Sr. over the ginseng deal because he was so drunk that he could not resist bragging to Joseph's brother-in-law. In the second,

Lucy compares the exemplary behavior of her menfolk with that of the sons of a Palmyra minister's wife who frequented the "grog-shop" (chaps. 12, 17). Is her silence about drinking episodes that can be documented by others caused by embarrassment (and was this, in fact, the reason for omitting the Palmyra tea-party from the Coray fair copy during the revision stage?) or does she simply omit drinking on the part of her husband, sons, and sons-in-law from the record because it was neither unusual nor a "trial"? A third possibility—that she was both an enabler and in denial about it—assumes his alcoholism, which returns us to the already mentioned problems of diagnosing the dead.

As for Lucy's two episodes of what Robert Anderson and Jess Groesbeck describe as clinical depression, I am equally hesitant to declare myself persuaded by the evidence. The first episode occurred after the lingering deaths of two sisters; Lucy had taken nearly full responsibility for the care of the second and attended her deathbed. Lucy describes herself as stricken by "grief," "pensive and melancholy," often thinking "that life was not worth possessing" (chap. 3). It seems to me that depression at such a time would be altogether normal, not clinical. The second depressive episode occurred in Randolph, about 1802 or 1803. Since Sophronia was born in May 1803, Lucy could have been pregnant or have given birth in connection with this episode. Her symptoms were a "severe cough" with "hectic fever," which was diagnosed as "confirmed consumption." After watching two sisters die of consumption, it does not seem unreasonable that Lucy, especially if dealing with the hormonal changes of pregnancy and/or birth, would have feared her own death from the same cause (chaps. 8-9). Furthermore, this episode was the last "depression" that I can identify from her record, which covers the next forty-two years. Although after Alvin's death "it seemed impossible for us to interest ourselves at all about the concerns of life," Lucy nowhere differentiates herself from the family, using first person plural pronouns throughout this period and noting in the next chapter, "The shock occasioned by Alvin's death, in a short time passed off, and we resumed our usual avocations with considerable interest" (chaps. 20, 21). Grief and ill health can certainly contribute to episodes of depression; but do they provide evidence that Lucy was chronically or clinically depressed? And from two episodes that may or may not have been clinical depression, is it safe or responsible to hypothesize a continuing condition? It seems decidedly circular to assume that Lucy's silence on the subject is a manifestation of repression and denial (although both are possible) and not quite good history to require those who do not accept the assumption of depression to prove a negative when the absence of evidence is read as confirming the presence of depression.

In fact, Lucy's book provides countering evidence that she did not find depression a familiar state. Lucy herself had been so "weak" (her term) during her illness in Randolph that the family was required to walk in stocking feet and



speak in whispers in her room and the loud knock of the Methodist exhorter "so agitated" her that it took "a considerable length of time before my nerves became altogether quieted again" (chap. 11). Would not this experience make her sympathetic and understanding toward other women afflicted by the same ailment? On the contrary, she expresses brisk impatience with her niece, Lovisa Mack Cooper, and her sister-in-law, Temperance Bond Mack (widow of her brother Stephen), for withdrawing from social life and family conversation because of "nerves," lectures both women vigorously about their self-indulgence, cuts through social niceties by all but accusing them of taking this form of avoiding discussing matters of their souls' salvation, and challenges them to drive away the "bad spirit" by strengthening the good (chaps. 11, 41).

Is the term "nervous" a nineteenth-century equivalent for "depressed"? In April 1829, seeing a vision of Joseph and Hyrum, who have just escaped from a Missouri jail, sleeping on the prairie without food or blankets, she paces the floor with the vision still before her, longing to provide food for them. Joseph Sr. attempts to soothe her, "saying that I was nervous; but it was impossible for me to rest—they were still before my eyes" (chap. 51). Is her agitation a sign of depression? She had been quite happy the previous day, having been assured by the Spirit that she would see her sons within twenty-four hours, and she spent the next day in calm and happy preparations for their arrival. If they had *not* come, she might have been precipitated into depression (though would it have been clinical depression?), but they arrived as her vision promised.

After the murders of Joseph and Hyrum, she describes herself as shocked, agonized, horrified, suffering, and grief-stricken but not as prostrated, crushed, or overwhelmed. To my mind, this does not sound like someone who is subject to clinical depression. John Stafford, interviewed by William H. and Edmund L. Kelley in 1881, remembered that the parents and children "were peaceable among themselves," which does not fit a picture of alcoholism and chronic depression (Vogel 2:122). While leaving the door open for other interpretations pending new information, I do not see in Lucy's memoir persuasive evidence to support these psychiatric arguments that the Smith family was dysfunctional because of an alcoholic father and a depressed mother.<sup>10</sup>

On the contrary, I see the marriage of Lucy and Joseph Sr. as a healthy and

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10. Robert Anderson also postulates that the family's extreme poverty and the large number of children meant that Lucy resented Joseph Sr. for causing such frequent pregnancies and that the children were in competition, not only for parental affection and attention, but also for enough food (chap. 2). While Lucy's record and affidavits left by Palmyra neighbors of mixed motives amply attest to the family's poverty, I see no evidence that the children went hungry or that they were neglected. (For a general analysis of the reliability of the Hurlbut/Howe affidavits, see Richard L. Anderson, "Reliability.")



affectionate companionship. The passages in Lucy's history describing her relationship with Joseph Sr. almost certainly omit the jars and disagreements that are inevitable in any marriage. She acknowledges that she could read nuances in Joseph Jr.'s behavior to which Joseph Sr. seemed oblivious, and she twice acknowledges having information that she did not share with him: once when he desires Joseph's presence with him and Father Knight at breakfast when Lucy knows that Joseph Jr. and Emma are not yet back from the midnight errand of receiving the gold plates, and again in Kirtland when she calls Jared Carter to account for engaging in apostate activities, bewildering her husband, who did not know what Jared had been up to.

Except for these few incidents, her history expresses affection, trust, and companionable interdependence with her husband. Edward Stevenson characterized Joseph Smith Sr. as "not a man of many words, but sober-minded, firm, mild and impressive" (qtd. in Richard L. Anderson, *Investigating*, 142). Lucy presents no examples of quarrelsomeness, household dictatorialness, or husbandly harshness. Certainly the fact that she is recollecting her husband after four years of widowhood would encourage a focus on the positive and affirming portions of that relationship. Still, from her history, Joseph Sr. emerges as hard-working and strongly attached to his children, though subject to bad luck economically. In recounting their repeated financial failures, she blames others for deceiving them, not Joseph for poor management. Probably both factors were involved, but the exact balance cannot be determined without more documentation. She laments the loss of the "comfortable" old age for which she had been planning since age forty, but she does not express bitterness over her circumstances from Palmyra on. She explains, with appropriate pride, that her efforts at painting oilcloth "furnished all the provisions for the family" and replenished "our household furniture," then immediately adds that Joseph Sr., with the assistance of nineteen-year-old Alvin and seventeen-year-old Hyrum, was clearing thirty acres, building a log house, and earning enough cash to pay the first year's contract.<sup>11</sup>

When the family, after moving to Palmyra without Joseph Sr., is reunited, Lucy describes the emotional, affectionate greeting: "The joy I felt in seeing throwing myself and My children upon the care and affection of a tender Husband and Father doubly paid me for all I had suffered The children surrounded their Father clinging to his neck and covering his face with tears and kisses that were heartily reciprocated by him—" For herself, she says, without money, a home, or household goods, she was "perfectly happy in the society of my family"

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11. Other records indicate, however, that the family did not contract for the land until July 1820 (Vogel 1:277n75; 3:424-25).

(chap. 27). In another place, she characterizes Joseph Sr. as "an affectionate companion and tender father, as ever blessed the confidence of a family" (chap. 36) and recalls in sorrow: "I seem again to press the warm hand that I then held within my own and rest my weary head upon that affectionate breast that supports it now no more" (chap. 39). When Joseph Sr. is arrested and, though sick, is forced to sit in the sun, in a cart, while the official eats Joseph's breakfast, Lucy exclaims: "Wives! who love your husbands and would sacrifice your lives for their's, how think I felt at that moment I will leave you to imagine" (chap. 36).

Lucy's grief at Joseph Sr.'s death, even expressed four years afterward, is still deep:

and I returned to my desolate home; and I then thought, that the greatest grief which it was possible for me to feel, had fallen upon me in the death of my beloved husband. Although that portion of my life, which lay before me, seemed to be a lonesome, trackless waste, yet I did not think that I could possibly find, in travelling over it, a sorrow more searching, or a calamity more dreadful, than the present. But, as I hasten to the end of my story, the reader will be able to form an opinion with regard to the correctness of my conclusion. (chap. 52)

Other textual evidence of Lucy's standards as a wife come in her appraisals of other women. (Her standards of motherhood are discussed below.) Her dominant feeling for Martin Harris's hostile and officious wife is irritation. Lucy H. Harris "kept a private purse," meddled in her husband's affairs, suspiciously assumed, when her deafness made it impossible to hear a conversation, that people were speaking against her, and "was a woman who piqued herself upon her superiority to her husband." Lucy describes all of these traits with obvious disapproval. Mrs. Harris denies her husband access to her bedroom and uses her own daughter as a bargaining chip to manifest her hostility to Joseph Jr. When Joseph refuses to show the importunate Mrs. Harris the gold plates, he tells her frankly, "and as to assistance I always prefer dealing with men rather than their wives," a statement that is at best tactless and possibly downright rude. Lucy quotes it with no sign of disapprobation. When Martin Harris leaves for Pennsylvania without telling his wife, to avoid her importunity, Mrs. Harris makes Lucy the object of her wrath; Lucy, in defending herself, not only denies the charge but counters by telling Mrs. Harris "that the buisness of the House which were the natural cares of a woman were all that I attempted to dictate or interfere with unless by my Husbands or sons request." Mrs. Harris launches a legal inquiry against Joseph, during which Lucy does not scruple to describe her as a witch: "[she] flew though the neighborhood like a dark spirit" (chaps. 24-25; see also James). Lucy would not have been kindly disposed toward anyone who hindered the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, but she seems particularly offended by Mrs. Harris's lack of womanly qualities.

There are more examples. In describing the activity of Kirtland apostates, inspired by revelations received through a "black stone" by a young woman, Lucy describes her in demeaning terms: "she would jump out of her chair and dance over the floor, boasting of her power, until she was perfectly exhausted" (chap. 45). Obviously, in addition to apostasy, Lucy is offended by the girl's unbecoming conduct. When Lucy expresses dismay at Sidney Rigdon's lack of steadfastness, she calls him "always as faint hearted as any woman and far more so than his <own> wife for had his faith patience and courage been as genuine as Sister Rigdons he would not have been where he is now" (chap. 47).

### The Question of Polygamy

In the context of marriage, an important question for Mormon history is how the question of polygamy impacted Lucy and her husband. Polygamy, the restoration of an Old Testament patriarchal marriage form, was practiced by Joseph Jr. as early as 1833 and was secretly preached and expanded to a circle of intimates in Nauvoo until his death in 1844 (see Compton; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*).

In the summer of 1839 when the Smith family reached Nauvoo, Lucy was sixty-four and Joseph Sr. was sixty-eight and in failing health. He died in September 1840. It is perhaps significant that Martha Jane Coray took hasty notes on a sermon Joseph Sr. preached in Nauvoo, date unknown. In it occur these sentiments about the sanctity of companionate marriage:

I wonder how men find forgiveness for making light of the things of God or women you must be careful the sealings are the sacred women are the jewels of God. Does a man love a woman less because she has a wrinkle or gray hair ~~now~~ or turn to a fair face although she has borne children—no be to her faults a little blind<sup>12</sup>—cherish love and take care of her.<sup>13</sup>

It is well known that Joseph Jr. was posthumously sealed to an unknown but very large number of women. I am aware of only one such sealing for Joseph Sr., his father, perhaps an indication of a popular perception that Joseph and Lucy were a self-contained unit as a couple. Elias Smith, son of Joseph Sr.'s brother Asael, recorded in his diary on 1 January 1855 that Brigham Young summoned him to his office in the morning and told him that

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12. This quotation is a fragment from a popular eighteenth-century poem, *An English Padlock* (1707), by Matthew Prior (1664-1721). The poem itself is satiric in tone, though Joseph Smith Sr. communicates no such intent here. The quatrain in which these lines appear reads: "Be to her virtues very kind / Be to her faults a little blind. / Let all her ways be unconfined, / And clap your padlock on her mind."

13. Martha Jane Knowlton Coray, "Joseph Sen.," Notebook (Nauvoo), 1840s, Coray Family Collection.

my uncle Joseph Smith had no legal heir of sufficient age to represent him in the ordinance of marriage, that is of his own descendants, that his grandson John Smith [son of John and Clarissa Smith] the legal Patriarch was too young, and that he he [sic] had avised a woman named Clark whose miden name was Ann Elizabeth Shaffer about 70 years of age to be seald to my uncle Joseph. and that I, as as [sic] the oldest of his kindred in the Church ought to act as the representative of his heir in the matter. I told the President that I would not refuse to do any thing that was required of me by the laws of the Kingdom of God and the ceremony was attended to before my return to the office.

Lucy knew women who were her son's plural wives and/or knew their relatives. She names in her history Edward Partridge, the father of Emily Dow Partridge and Eliza Maria Partridge; Mrs. Lawrence, the mother of Sarah and Maria Lawrence; Alvah Beaman, the father of Louisa Beaman; both Heber C. Kimball and Vilate Murray Kimball, the parents of Helen Mar Kimball; Joseph Knight, the father-in-law of Martha McBride Knight; Eliza Roxcy Snow, whom Lucy identifies as "Miss Snow, the poetess"; and Agnes Coolbrith, wife of Don Carlos, who was married after his death to Joseph Smith and to George A. Smith successively (Compton, 145-71).

Certainly Lucy could have been acquainted with other women married to Joseph Smith without giving them a place in her book; but it also seems likely that she did not mention them because they literally did not fit in her history. She was fully occupied in Nauvoo nursing her dying husband, then in dealing with her grief at the loss of her companion of forty-four years plus the deaths of three grandchildren and Don Carlos, even before the closely spaced deaths of Joseph, Hyrum, and Samuel. Lucy probably saw some of these women at public gatherings, including meetings of the Relief Society; but there would have been no social reason for her to mingle with these younger women, even when she was living in the city. And there would have been absolutely no *family* reason for these girls to have sought out their unwitting mother-in-law, given the secrecy in which polygamy was held.

Would Emma have confided in her? Almost certainly not for two reasons: First, Emma's intense sense of privacy has been well documented. How could she have confided this cruel paradox to her husband's mother—that either Joseph was committing adultery or that she was withstanding the commandments of God—without presenting Lucy with exactly the same paradox to resolve for herself? Second, if Emma hoped, as she certainly seems to have, that Joseph would abandon the principle, then she would have thrown Lucy into turmoil for nothing. Martha Jane Coray had known about polygamy since the summer of 1843; did she also refrain from asking Lucy for an opinion or from passing on that portion of the city's news during 1844-45?

In the RLDS edition of the 1853 Pratt *Biographical Sketches*, an unsigned footnote reads: "The course that Brigham Young and the Twelve with him took after the death of her sons Joseph and Hyrum, was not approved by Grandmother Smith. She always spoke in kindly terms of the men, but steadily and persistently refused to give credence to the doctrine and policy adopted by them. In this she did not waver to the end of her life" (chap. 37). Lucy's grandson, Joseph Smith III, was one of the three men who prepared this work for the press and therefore either wrote or approved this note. Its content is no surprise, given Joseph III's intense antipathy to any suggested link between plural marriage and his father; but there is also no evidence of which I am aware documenting that he or anyone else ever discussed the topic with Lucy before her death in 1856.

When Joseph III or another RLDS official invited Katharine Smith Salisbury, Joseph Jr.'s only surviving sister, to give her views in April 1893 on Nauvoo polygamy, she testified: "I was at his house in Nauvoo a great many times, and I conversed with him about many subjects, but I never heard him at any time mention such a thing as the plural-wife system or order. And I heard nothing of such a doctrine existing until a year after his death" (RLDS 5:207). In light of the existing evidence for the pre-1844 practice of plural marriage, Katharine's testimony simply means that the secrecy in which the practice was shrouded actually worked in her case. It is, therefore, not impossible that it also worked in Lucy's situation. An alternative explanation is offered by the case of William Smith who, when he was writing his memoirs in 1882, received counsel from Joseph III that he would be "wise" if he "fail[ed to] remember anything contrary to the lofty standard of character at which we esteem these good men" (Launius, *Pragmatic*, 208-09). William, who had been married to ten women, five of them plurally, included nothing about pre-1844 polygamy in his published recollections.

Yet Lucy's knowledge seems to have been curiously selective, raising the question about whether she was consciously censoring her history. She knew that M. G. Eaton had reported on a meeting of conspirators against Joseph Smith; but the *History of the Church* account (6:279-80) makes it clear that the meeting was about spiritual wifery. How could she know about one item and not the other? She recounts that John C. Bennett "left the city" but does not mention its cause—the rumors of sexual misbehavior swirling in his wake, or the sexually explicit exposé he later published.

Bearing her testimony at a Relief Society meeting on 18 April 1842, when Joseph had married at least eight plural wives, Lucy said

. . . she was glad the time had come that iniquity could be detected & reproach thrown off from the heads of the church. We come into the church to be saved

that we may live in peace & sit down in the Kingdom of heaven. If we listen to, & circulate every evil report, we shall idly spend the time which should be appropriated to the reading of the scriptures, the Book of Mormon. . . . Wished to leave her testimony that the book of mormon is the book of God. That Joseph Smith is a man of God, a prophet of the Lord set apart to lead the people. If we observe his words it will be well with us; if we live righteously on earth, it will be well with us in Eternity. (Woodruff 2:203)

The Relief Society was only four weeks old at this point and already it had investigated at least two complaints against the morals of prospective members whose names had been linked sexually to Joseph Smith. Joseph had spoken at the previous meeting, warning the women against "excessive zeal." In the very meeting at which Lucy was speaking, he had agreed that the sisters must "put down iniquity" but adjured the women to "concentrate their faith and prayers for, & place confidence in those whom God . . . has placed at the head to lead" and, even more pointedly, for wives to treat husbands "with mildness & affection" (Woodruff 2:199). Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, in their biography of Emma Smith, analyze this series of Relief Society meetings as a coded contest between Joseph and Emma, with Emma subtly using her office and moral authority to fight against plural marriage while Joseph used his public statements to counter her resistance. Was Lucy's testimony of support wholly unconscious of these undercurrents? Or did its two halves—repudiation of iniquity and unqualified support for her son—stem from conflicted feelings. Was she trying to warn Joseph even as she lined up solidly with him?

Furthermore, on 17 August 1845, William Smith made a public discourse in Nauvoo entitled, "The First Chapter of the Gospel by St. William," wherein he made a "full declaration of his belief in the doctrine of a plurality of wives &c." William later said that, in fear for his life, he preached this controversial sermon "to allay the feeling" that he intended to cause a division in the church and to placate Brigham Young (W. Smith, "A Proclamation," 1). If his effort was sincere, it was singularly ineffective. This announcement was not only shocking to his listeners but was a breach of fellowship with the other apostles, since the official position up to that point had been denial and secrecy. Fellow council member and apostle John Taylor, who was present during Smith's address, "felt pained and distressed when Wm. was speaking, as did a great many of the congregation, and many of the people left, being disgusted at the remarks he made" (qtd. in Bates and Smith, 91). Was Lucy not present at this meeting? Did none of the scandalized reports reach her?

The question of what Lucy knew about polygamy, though an intriguing one, must remain unresolved.

## LUCY AS A WOMAN OF FAITH

Carrying on the tradition from the Mack family, Lucy Mack Smith presents herself in her history as a woman of faith, piety, and remarkable spiritual gifts. Although her narrative has been mined for inspirational stories, it has not been specifically studied for the insights it brings about her personal spirituality.

Beyond piety and faithfulness in the performance of religious duty lies a category of intense and charismatic spiritual manifestations that are called "gifts" because they cannot be produced by diligent effort alone. The Bible specifies such gifts as faith, the "gifts" of healing (presumably both to heal and to be healed), "the word of wisdom," "the word of knowledge" (both presumably the ability to present scriptural argument and testimony to bolster faith or to answer attacks on faith), "miracles," "prophecy," the "discerning of spirits," and tongues and their interpretation (1 Cor. 12:8-10). To these the Book of Mormon adds being "visited by the Spirit of God," conversing "with angels, and having been spoken unto by the voice of the Lord," "the gift of preaching," the Holy Ghost, translation, and teaching (Alma 9:21; Moro. 10:9-17). Doctrine and Covenants 46:11-25 repeats many of the items on this list and adds other gifts: the knowledge "that Jesus Christ is the Son of God," faith in those who have such knowledge, "differences of administration," and "diversities of operations."

Significantly, she is known only once to have exercised the gift of tongues, perhaps the most common public manifestation of spirituality by Mormon women (Newell). Published in the January 1834 issue of *The Evening and the Morning Star* is a Book of Mormon dirge that, according to William Smith, she sang in an unknown tongue. Levi Hancock provided the interpretation, although it is not clear who recast it as regularly scanning iambic quatrameter couplets:

## Moroni's Lamentation

I have no home, where shall I go?  
 While here I'm left to weep below  
 My heart is pained, my friends are gone,  
 And here I'm left on earth to mourn.  
 I see my people lying round,  
 All lifeless here upon the ground;  
 Young men and maidens in their gore,  
 Which does increase my sorrows more.  
 My father looked upon this scene  
 And in his writings made it plain,  
 How every Nephite's heart did fear,



When he beheld his foes draw near.  
 With ax and bow they fell upon  
 Our men and women, sparing none;  
 And left them prostrate on the ground,—  
 Lo here they now are bleeding round.  
 Ten thousand that were led by me  
 Lie round this hill called Cumorah;  
 Their spirits from their bodies fled,  
 And they are numbered with the dead.  
 Well might my father in despair  
 Cry, "O, ye fair ones, once how fair,  
 How is it that you have fallen? O,  
 My soul is filled with pain for you.  
 My life is sought, where shall I flee?  
 Lord, take me home to dwell with thee;  
 Where all my sorrow will be o'er,  
 And I shall sigh and weep no more."  
 Thus sung the son of Mormon, when  
 He gazed upon his Nephite men;  
 And women, too, which had been slain,  
 And left to moulder on the plain.<sup>14</sup>

An overview of Lucy Mack Smith's personal spiritual experiences and the circumstances in which they were received demonstrates clearly the domestic nature of her exercise of such gifts. Here is a partial list:

1. *Preparation for death.* The New England Congregational "covenant" required each seeker to feel "convicted" of personal sin, to seek redemption through the mercy of Jesus Christ, and to be able to testify about the circumstances of that receipt of salvation—often but not always a personal epiphany, vision, or voice. A remarkable share of Lucy's history relating to her family of origin deals with this Christian duty to prepare to meet God as maker and judge. Chapter 3 deals almost exclusively with the spiritual experiences, visions, inspired hymns, and Christian resignation of her two sisters, Lovisa and Lovina, during their protracted deaths from consumption. Lucy expresses concern that her brother Stephen died almost before anyone realized that his ill-

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14. W. Smith, *Mormonism*, 34-35. For singing in tongues, see Hicks, 35-38, 50n9, including his comment on the "jangling rhymes" of "Moroni's Lamentation" (36). Levi Hancock and his brother Solomon frequently sang for the Prophet Joseph at his request (38).



ness was fatal, suggesting that he had “barely a moment’s warning” before being “called away” (chap. 4).

Lucy, as a young mother fearing death when she does not recover from a disease diagnosed as terminal, is filled with anxiety for the state of her soul and dreads the visit of a Methodist exhorter because she knows she cannot answer his questions about her spiritual preparation for death (chap. 9). When Lucy’s mother bids her a final farewell as the family departs for Palmyra, her parting words, spoken through bitter tears, are a loving reminder that Lydia herself will not live long but must “exchange the things of this world for those which pertain to another state of existence, where I hope to enjoy the society of the blessed; and now, as my last admonition, I beseech you to continue faithful in the service of God to the end of your days, that I may have the pleasure of embracing you in another and fairer world above” (chap. 17).

Lucy’s narrative lingers over Alvin’s dying farewells to each member of the family, even to baby Lucy who was only two years and four months old. The older children also received his admonitions to be kind to each other and to take care of their aging parents (chap. 20). Although these statements were not religious in nature, they were strongly ethical. The death scene of Joseph Sr. is devoted to his blessings upon and admonitions to each child, as well as to his son-in-law Arthur Millikin. His benison on Lucy herself, twice repeated, as “one of the most singular women in the world” for her success as a mother, is a valediction spoken, as it were, from beyond the veil and reinforced by the fact that his last view is of the dead Alvin (chap. 52).

2. *Conversion.* Although Lucy had begun seriously praying and reading the scriptures in a search for the “change of heart” that would betoken conversion soon after Lovina’s death (chap. 8), she did not receive the experience she sought until after marriage and the births of two children, when she believed herself to be dying. Thinking of her husband and children, she

made a solemn covenant with God, that, if he would let me live, I would endeavour to serve him according to the best of my abilities. Shortly after this, I heard a voice say to me, “Seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. Let your heart be comforted; ye believe in God, believe also in me.” (chap. 9)

Although she had been too weak to speak, this experience had such an immediate effect on her that the change was apparent to her mother and Lucy was able to have a conversation with her.

The visible signs of such grace were considered to be a godly walk and conversation—personal piety, attention to prayers, Bible reading, adherence to the Ten Commandments, kindness to one’s neighbors, and a willingness to perform one’s Christian duties. Lucy seems to have fulfilled these require-

ments. She often mentions reading the Bible and other scriptures. Like her own mother, Lydia, she taught her children to read using the Bible. According to John Stafford, interviewed by William H. and Edmund L. Kelley in 1881, young Joseph had been "quite illiterate" but "improved greatly in this home-schooling program" (Vogel 2:122).

The family daily held the "usual services" of reading the scriptures, singing hymns, and kneeling in prayer (chap. 31), both in the mornings and the evenings. About 1875 William Smith wrote a series of notes on a copy of *Chambers' Miscellany*, taking exception to some of his statements about the rise of Mormonism. They included his memory of family devotionals, which he dates only as "in my younger days." He was sixteen when Joseph Jr. brought home the plates, and says "we always had family prayer since I can remember." He recalls that seeing Joseph Sr. groping in his vest pocket for his spectacles was the well-understood signal to prepare for prayer (Vogel 1:512):

My Fathers religious Customs often become eark some or tiresome to me. . . . I was Called upon to listen to Prays boath night and morning. My Fathers favourit <evening> hymn runs thus The day is past and gone / The evening shades appear / And may we all / Remember well / The night of death draws near[.] Again and again was this hymn sung while upon the bending knees[.] My . . . Father and Mother poud out their Souls to God the doner of all Blessings, to keep and gard their children & keep them <from> Sin and from all evil works. . . . My Mother was a Preying woman. (Vogel 1:487)

In his forty-one-page autobiographical booklet, William's recollection of this period hinges on Lucy's determination to seek out the truth:

My mother, who was a very pious woman and much interested in the welfare of her children, both here and hereafter, made use of every means which her parental love could suggest, to get us engaged in seeking for our souls' salvation, or (as the term then was) "in getting religion." She prevailed on us to attend the meetings, and almost the whole family became interested in the matter, and seekers after truth. I attended the meetings with the rest, but being quite young and inconsiderate, did not take so much interest in the matter as the older ones did. This extraordinary excitement prevailed not only in our neighborhood but throughout the whole country. Great numbers were converted. It extended from the Methodists to the Baptists, from them to the Presbyterians; and so on until finally, almost all the sects became engaged in it; and it became quite a fashion to "get religion." My mother continued her importunities and exertions to interest us in the importance of seeking for the salvation of our immortal souls, until almost all of the family became either converted or seriously inclined. (*Mormonism*, 6-7)

Lucy's devoutness and religious zeal became negative characteristics in the writings of some who decried Mormonism. Orsamus Turner, a printer, Mason, and regional historian in western New York who knew the Smiths personally,

attributed Mormonism's rise to Lucy. In a crudely satiric sketch, he characterizes her as "a woman of strong uncultivated intellect; artful and cunning; imbued with an illy regulated religious enthusiasm. The incipient hints, the first givings out that a Prophet was to spring from her humble household, came from her; and when matters were maturing for denouement, she gave out that such and such ones—always fixing upon those who had both money and credulity—were to be instruments in some great work of new revelation. The old man was rather her faithful co-worker, or executive exponent" (Vogel 3:48). Picking up and elaborating the same theme, Ann Ruth Webster Eaton of Palmyra, New York, whose husband was Palmyra's Presbyterian pastor from 1849 to at least 1877, borrowed heavily from Orsamus Turner and Pomeroy Tucker in an 1881 lecture on Mormonism. Like Turner she attributes the idea of Mormonism to Joseph Jr.'s "*ignorant, deceitful mother*," whose dominant characteristic, which Joseph Jr. inherited, was a "vivid . . . imagination" that enabled them to "look a listener full in the eye, and without confusion or blanching, . . . fluently improvise startling statements and exciting stories. . . Was an inconsistency alluded to, nothing daunted, a subterfuge was always at hand." Eaton accused Lucy of being a washerwoman who pilfered from the laundry lines of her clients, of being "superstitious to the last degree," of reading palms, and of training Joseph from babyhood in "the profound dignity of his allotted vocation. His mother inspired and aided him in every scheme of duplicity and cunning. All acquainted with the facts agree in saying that the evil spirit of Mormonism dwelt first in Joe Smith's mother" (Vogel 3:147-48). Although these assertions are rather breath-taking in their self-assured scope, they recognize, if negatively, the centrality of faith in Lucy's values.

In a small house with a large family, it was hard to find privacy in which to pray, but the Smith family had a "place," apparently a nearby grove, "where the family were in the habit of offering up their secret devotions to God" (chap. 31). At Waterloo during the winter of 1830-31, while waiting to depart for Kirtland, Lucy, Samuel, and the younger children regularly held evening services consisting of "singing and praying," attended regularly by "some dozen or twenty persons." Even the "little boys" of the neighborhood eagerly attended (chap. 37).

The Smiths seem also to have done their Christian duty as neighbors, even according to individuals who were highly skeptical of Joseph Jr.'s claims or who found the men lazy and overfond of drinking. Orlando Saunders called the Smiths "the best family in the neighborhood in case of sickness. One was at my house nearly all the time when my father died." Hyrum Jackway corroborates: "The old lady Smith was kind in sickness." Lorenzo Saunders remembers her less positively as "a poor simple thing, about 1/2 wittd—could not tell a straight

story . . . The old lady was industrious but nasty. Used to paint chairs. Would take an old rag and rub them with lamp black, &c." It is not clear what he means by "nasty" unless it is in the Victorian sense of being physically unclean, which would certainly be the immediate, though temporary, result of staining with lampblack. He added, "I gave them credit for everything except Mormonism; they were good neighbors; They were kind neighbors in sickness; & Hiram Smith in particular when my father died he was at our house all the time. . . . A brother died [Orson Saunders in 1825] and he was as attentive then. They were always ready to bestow anything." Lorenzo's brother Benjamin noted approvingly that Lucy "was a pretty good old lady. No one could go back on her I dont think who knew her." She was "not the neatest house keeper but . . . she was a good fair house keeper." He offered as an explanation, "There was a big family of them and they all lived to home." He remembered particularly that "she made bread and was a good cook" (Vogel 2:85, 86, 126-27, 137-38, 156).

Given Lucy's concern with spiritual matters, a relevant question in this context is why she does not relate the quite dramatic spiritual conversion of her father late in life, which, like her own, came after a season of illness and through the medium of a voice in his mind quoting a scripture that assured him of grace. For that matter, why does she fail to relate the epiphany of her son Joseph, assuring him that his sins were forgiven? Michael Quinn points out: "Smith's vision of Deity was not remarkable in America of the 1820s" and that it became a "missionary tool for his followers only after Americans grew to regard modern visions of God as unusual." He cogently argues that the Smith family's Palmyra neighbors, while finding the object (a treasure-seeking boy) but not the content of Joseph Smith's first vision objectionable, lost their tolerance only at the point when the Book of Mormon entered the picture. They found such a claim blasphemous, as it challenged the supremacy of the Bible. One Presbyterian neighbor recalls hearing her father characterize the first vision as "only the sweet dream of a pure-minded boy" but being so alienated by accounts of the Book of Mormon as to "cut off" relations with the family and to characterize Joseph Smith from that point on as corrupted by "superstition" (Quinn, *Early*, 176-77). Similarly, Lucy apparently reports Samuel's conversion experience only because it coincided with Joseph Jr.'s and Oliver Cowdery's receiving "authority to baptize"—his engagement in secret but vocal prayer being "sufficient testimony of his being a fit subject for Baptism" (chap. 28).

3. *Faith to be healed.* Lucy quotes letters from her brother Jason describing his reception of and exercise of the gift of healing and from her youngest son, Don Carlos, who also possessed and exercised this gift (chap. 13; Appendix, 15 July 1839). She does not claim that she possessed the gift of healing, but she

does relate experiences involving faith to be healed. The first example, as already noted, is her covenant when terminally ill.

The second experience occurred at Lebanon when Sophronia, then about nine years old, became deathly ill with typhoid fever. When, after eighty-nine days of treatment, the physician announced that he could do nothing more and Sophronia herself gave every sign of expiring, Joseph and Lucy clasped hands, knelt beside her bed, "and poured out our grief to God, in prayer and supplication, beseeching him to spare our child yet a little longer. . . . Before we rose to our feet, he gave us a testimony that she should recover" (chap. 15). Although Sophronia had apparently stopped breathing by the time they finished the prayer, Lucy wrapped her in a blanket and paced the floor with her, all her faith focused on claiming the promise they had just received, until her daughter caught her breath and began to breathe normally.

A third experience occurred during Zion's Camp in the summer of 1834. Lucy becomes somehow aware that cholera has afflicted the men in Missouri and that her sons, Joseph and Hyrum, are in direst danger. She does not tell her experience but reports it as articulated by her sons. Twice they pray for themselves without receiving any kind of physical relief or assurance that they will escape death. The third time they kneel, resolved not to rise without some kind of assurance. First, the cramp eased, then:

Hyrum sprang to his feet and exclaimed, "Joseph, we shall return to our families. I have had an open vision, in which I saw mother kneeling under an apple tree; and she is even now asking God, in tears, to spare our lives, that she may again behold us in the flesh. The Spirit testifies, that her prayers, united with ours, will be answered."

"Oh, my mother!" said Joseph, "how often have your prayers been the means of assisting us when the shadows of death encompassed us." (chap. 43)

In a fourth experience, Lucy exercised faith on her own behalf coupled with an administration by Melchizedek priesthood holders when a fall, a head injury, and an inflammation of the eyes left her temporarily blinded and in great pain. In an extraordinary manifestation of faith, she specified that the elders bless her "that I might . . . read without even wearing spectacles. They did so, and when they took their hands off my head, I read two lines in the Book of Mormon; and although I am now seventy [actually seventy-one] years old, I have never worn glasses since" (chap. 44).

The fifth occurrence of Lucy's faith to be healed came when she caught either a serious cold or a form of pneumonia as the family traveled to Missouri during the summer of 1838. Finally she was so ill that the company split in two so that she could be transported ahead to receive care. The morning after their arrival, Lucy seized upon a moment of privacy to take a cane in each hand and

work her way to a thicket far enough from the house that she could pray without interruption. After recovering from the strain of walking this far,

I commenced calling upon the Lord, beseeching him to restore me to health, as well as my daughter Catharine [who had just given birth]. I urged every claim which is afforded us by the Scriptures, and continued praying faithfully for three hours, at the end of which time, I was relieved from every kind of pain, my cough left me, and I was well.

She spent the evening nursing Katharine and the next day “wash[ing] a quantity of clothes” (chap. 48). They reached their destination without any further relapse on her part.

The many passages Lucy devotes to descriptions of nursing ill members of the household are ample evidence that healing was not an automatic result from the prayer of faith. For instance, she is not healed from a siege of cholera in Quincy, Illinois, involving agonizing cramps and what feels like the rupture of her bone marrow, until a botanic physician administers doses of “herbal tea” (51).

4. *Prophecy and visions.* In addition to the five of seven prophetic visions by Joseph Sr. that Lucy records (chaps. 14, 17-18) and her reprinting of Joseph Jr.'s first vision and visitations from Moroni as published in the *Times and Seasons* (chaps. 18-19), Lucy also records as *her* first vision a prophetic dream of her husband as a beautiful tree girdled with light that responded with the utmost “joy and gratitude” to a gentle breeze while her religiously hostile brother-in-law Jesse, though represented by an equally beautiful tree, remained rigid and “obstinately stiff” under the same breeze. The meaning of this vision came with it: that “Jesse would always resist” the gospel, but that Joseph would later “hear and receive [the gospel] with his whole heart, and rejoice therein; and unto him would be added intelligence, happiness, glory, and everlasting life” (chap. 13). This vision must have been a source of great comfort to the religiously inclined Lucy and probably eliminated a great deal of otherwise stressful anxiety and marital nagging that she might have otherwise felt duty-bound to inflict on her less interested husband.

In another example, when Lucy is visiting a niece in Michigan who introduces her to their Presbyterian minister, Rev. Ruggles patronizes her and insults Joseph by calling him a “poor, foolish, silly boy.” Lucy boldly testifies that the Book of Mormon “contains the everlasting Gospel, and it was written for the salvation of your soul, by the gift and power of the Holy Ghost.” When the minister literally pooh-poohs her witness, she reacts strongly: “Now, Mr. Ruggles,” said I, and I spoke with emphasis, for the Spirit of God was upon me, ‘mark my words—as true as God lives, before three years we will have more



than one third of your Church; and, sir, whether you believe it or not, we will take the very deacon, too" (chap. 41). Both parts of this prediction are literally fulfilled, as she records.

In a third example, as Joseph and Hyrum escape with considerable assistance from their captors during a transfer after spending the winter of 1838-39 in Liberty Jail, Lucy has two prophetic experiences. In the first, she is conversing in the afternoon with Edward Partridge, who is beside himself with frustration that a messenger has come back from Missouri without any word of Joseph's and Hyrum's whereabouts or health. He is sure that they are dead. Lucy listens to him for some time. Then:

the Spirit, which had so often comforted my heart, again spoke peace to my soul, and gave me an assurance that I should see my sons before the night should again close over my head. "Brother Partridge," I exclaimed, in tears of joy, "I shall see Joseph and Hyrum before to-morrow night." "No, mother Smith," said he. . . . "I have always believed you before, but I cannot see any prospect of this prophecy being fulfilled, but, if it is so, I will never dispute your word again."

In the second linked experience, after she retires for the evening, she is kept awake by a vision of Joseph and Hyrum:

They were upon the prairie travelling, and seemed very tired and hungry. They had but one horse. I saw them stop and tie him to the stump of a burnt sapling, then lie down upon the ground to rest themselves; and they looked so pale and faint that it distressed me. I sprang up, and said to my husband, "Oh, Mr. Smith, I can see Joseph and Hyrum, and they are so weak they can hardly stand. Now they are lying asleep on the cold ground! Oh, how I wish that I could give them something to eat!"

Mr. Smith begged me to be quiet, saying that I was nervous; but it was impossible for me to rest—they were still before my eyes—I saw them lie there full two hours; then one of them went away to get something to eat, but not succeeding, they travelled on. This time Hyrum rode and Joseph walked by his side, holding himself up by the stirrup leather. I saw him reel with weakness, but could render him no assistance. My soul was grieved, I rose from my bed, and spent the remainder of the night in walking the floor.

Joseph and Hyrum reach Nauvoo the next afternoon, and Lucy has the pleasure of asking them to confirm her vision before a group of guests that includes Edward Partridge, which they do in every particular (chap. 51).

An even more impressive prophecy is the supernal "consolation" she found, while the Missouri militia at Far West was announcing the execution of her sons, as the "Spirit of God" told her "by the gift of prophecy" that Joseph and Hyrum would not be harmed, that "in less than four years Joseph shall speak before . . . great men of the land, . . . And in five years

from this time he will have power over all his enemies" (chap. 50). Lucy faithfully reports that this two-part prophecy was literally fulfilled, first when Joseph unsuccessfully pled the Mormon cause before the U.S. president, and next when Lucy realized through the ministrations of a consoling voice that Joseph's and Hyrum's enemies, by killing them, "thus placed us beyond their power." She specifically links this realization with the earlier five-year prophecy (chap. 54).

A final prophecy is her assurance to Joseph Sr., then on his deathbed, that he would die with his "children around him." She is able to offer this comfort to him because "it was impressed upon my mind" (chap. 52). Or perhaps Lucy's final prophecy is yet to be fulfilled: that "Lilburn W. Boggs, Thomas Carlin, Martin Van Buren, and Thomas Ford" may expect her testimony against them "when I shall meet them . . . before angels, and the spirits of the just made perfect, before Archangels and seraphims, cherubims and Gods; where the brief authority of the unjust man will shrink to nothingness before him who is the Lord of lords and God of gods" (chap. 54).

5. *A spirit of peace and consolation.* This category overlaps with several of those above, since Lucy was visited by a spirit of peace and consolation in response to her covenant when faced with death, in several of the miracles of healing, and certainly accompanying her visions. Perhaps her Magnificat experience (chap. 32; discussed below) should also be included here. However, there are also three additional examples.

In the first, Lucy is much distraught when Lucy Harris accuses Joseph before a magistrate of trying to defraud Martin. No one in Lucy's family, she says, has ever been sued in court before (she omits Joseph's 1826 preliminary hearing at South Bainbridge brought by Josiah Stowell's nephew, Peter G. Bridgeman), and she is beside herself until Hyrum reminds her that "we can do nothing, except to look to the Lord; . . . he can deliver from every trouble." Lucy immediately

retired to a secluded place, and poured out my whole soul in entreaties to God, for the safety of my son, and continued my supplication for some time; at length the spirit fell upon me so powerfully, that every foreboding of ill was entirely removed from my mind, and a voice spoke to me, saying, "not one hair of his head shall be harmed." I was satisfied. I arose, and repaired to the house. I had never before in my life experienced such happy moments. I sat down and began to read, but my feelings were too intense to allow me to do so. My daughter-in-law, Jerusha, came into the room soon after this, and when she turned her eyes upon me, she stopped short and exclaimed, "why! mother! what is the matter? I never saw you look so strangely in my life."

I told her, that I had never felt so happy before in my life; that my heart was so light, and my mind so completely at rest, that it did not appear possible to me



that I should ever have any more trouble while I should exist. I then informed her in relation to the witness which I had received from the Lord. (chap. 29)

In the second instance, Joseph and Hyrum are arrested at Far West and sentenced to death within her hearing:

Our house was filled with mourning, lamentation, and woe; but, in the midst of my grief, I found consolation that surpassed all earthly comfort. I was filled with the Spirit of God, and received the following by the gift of prophecy:—"Let your heart be comforted concerning your children; they shall not be harmed by their enemies; and, in less than four years, Joseph shall speak before the judges and great men of the land, for his voice shall be heard in their councils. And in five years from this time he will have power over all his enemies." This relieved my mind, and I was prepared to comfort my children. I told them what had been revealed to me, which greatly consoled them. (chap. 50)

This experience returns powerfully to her mind when she sees the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum brought back from Carthage:

I had for a long time braced every nerve, roused every energy of my soul, and called upon God to strengthen me; but when I entered the room, and saw my murdered sons extended both at once before my eyes . . . it was too much. I sank back, crying to the Lord, in the agony of my soul, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken this family!" A voice replied, "I have taken them to myself, that they might have rest." . . . Oh! at that moment how my mind flew through every scene of sorrow and distress which we had passed together, in which they had shown the innocence and sympathy which filled their guileless hearts. As I looked upon their peaceful, smiling countenances, I seemed almost to hear them say,— "Mother, weep not for us, we have overcome the world by love; we carried to them the Gospel, that their souls might be saved; they slew us for our testimony, and thus placed us beyond their power; their ascendancy is for a moment, ours is an eternal triumph."

I then thought upon the promise which I had received in Missouri, that in five years Joseph should have power over all his enemies. The time had elapsed, and the promise was fulfilled. (chap. 54)

She does not say that this manifestation consoled her, but it did help her to bear her loss.

6. *The word of knowledge.* At several points in her narrative, Lucy forthrightly bears testimony of her son's mission, the divinity of the Book of Mormon, and the restoration of the gospel in the church. She is not only vigorous and energetic, but also seems to display a grasp of Mormonism as a theological system, whether narrative, logical, or both, that increases the effectiveness of her presentation. In some cases, she has no time for anything but a bold statement of testimony, but in others, she obviously has time to develop her argu-

ment. The fact that she quoted Joseph Jr.'s lengthy letter to his uncle Silas, which develops a scriptural basis about the need for continuing revelation, indicates that she admires and appreciates such an approach.

Examples of her testimony to unbelievers include her statement to Rev. Ruggles in Michigan and her description of the contents of the Book of Mormon to Deacon Beckwith in Palmyra. She talks religion all night to the Fayette Saints' landlady at Buffalo and to her sister-in-law, Temperance Bond Mack, after prompting her to request such a conversation (chaps. 40, 41). From the canal boat before reaching Buffalo when a man on shore shouts, "Is the Book of Mormon true?" Lucy responds without a moment's hesitation:

"That book," replied I, "was brought forth by the power of God, and translated by the gift of the Holy Ghost; and, if I could make my voice sound as loud as the trumpet of Michael, the Archangel, I would declare the truth from land to land, and from sea to sea, and the echo should reach to every isle, until every member of the family of Adam should be left without excuse. For I do testify that God has revealed himself to man again in these last days, and set his hand to gather his people upon a goodly land, and, if they obey his commandments, it shall be unto them for an inheritance; whereas, if they rebel against his law, his hand will be against them to scatter them abroad, and cut them off from the face of the earth; and that he has commenced a work which will prove a savour of life unto life, or of death unto death, to every one that stands here this day—of life unto life, if you will receive it, or of death unto death, if you reject the counsel of God, for every man shall have the desires of his heart; if he desires the truth, he may hear and live, but if he tramples upon the simplicity of the word of God, he will shut the gate of heaven against himself." (chap. 40)

A very important document comes from Lucy's brief stay in Waterloo, when she wrote a lengthy letter on 6 January 1831 to her brother Solomon Mack and his wife, an earnest and eloquent proselyting document. It explains the framework in which she understood the message of restoration and shows her as an articulate and intelligent preacher. She begins by expressing concern for "the welfare of your souls" in preparation for Christ's second coming. She cites Isaiah 11:11 as evidence that "God will set his hand the second time to recover his people" and announces that the Book of Mormon is the commencement of this work. Her summary and description of the Book of Mormon are important in comparison with the other two recorded testimonies she bore of this book, one to the hostile Deacon Beckwith and his delegation from the Presbyterian church in Palmyra, and the second to the inquisitive man standing on the shore by the canal boat. "It contains the fullness of the Gospel to the Gentiles," she says, virtually quoting the book's preface, "to show unto the remnant of the house of Israel what great things God hath done for their fathers; that they may know

of the covenants of the Lord & that they are not cast off forever, and also of the convincing of both Jew and Gentile that Jesus is the <Christ the> Eternal God and manifests himself unto all nations." She briefly summarizes Lehi's prophetic call to leave Jerusalem "six hundred years before the coming of Christ in the flesh," their recruitment of Ishmael and his family, their arrival "on to this continent," their great civilization marred by "contentions" and "rebellion" led by Laman, until God "sent a curse upon them and caused a dark skin to come over them and from Laman our Indians have descended" while "the more righteous part . . . were led by another of the sons of Lehi named Nephi he being a prophet of the Lord."

She warns them not to reject the Book of Mormon when they encounter it, "for God has pronounced a curse upon all they who have a chance to receive it and will not for by it they will be judged at the last day" [D&C 20:15-16]. She refutes those who say the Bible suffices: First, the Bible itself testifies of the Book of Mormon; second, God, by saying he will give "line upon line," commits himself to continuous revelation; and third, "if God would not reveal himself alike unto all nations he would be a partial [God]."

She briefly describes the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, "Moro [damaged] one of the Nephites" buried "plates which have the appearance of gold" 1,400 years ago to preserve them when his wicked people are destroyed. Thus they would be preserved to

come forth in his own due time unto the world; and I feel to thank my God that he hath spared my life to see this day. Joseph after repenting of his sins and humbling himself before God was visited by an holy Angel whose countenance was as lightning and whose garments were white above all whiteness and gave unto him commandments which inspired him from on high. And gave unto him by the means of which was before prepared that he should translate this book, and by <reading> this our eyes are opened that we can see the situation in which the world now stands.

Because "the churches have all become corrupted" with ministers who preach "for gain" and churches that prefer "fine sanctuaries" to care of "the poor and needy," a restoration was necessary, and God has "now established his church upon the earth as it was in the days of the Apostles" and entered into a "new and everlasting covenant" with the obedient.

To this point, Lucy's message uncannily resembles that repeated every day by the church's 60,000-plus missionaries; but she now introduces a theme no longer part of the Mormon message. Christ's millennial reign is imminent; the righteous must "be gathered together into a land of promise," the missionaries are going forth "to prune his vineyard for the last time and wo be unto them that will not hear them." Mormon missionaries fulfill the "signs" of the believers: "in my name

the[y] shalt do many wonderful works they shall cast out devils they shall take up serpents and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover.”<sup>15</sup> She quotes Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost, that candidates for salvation must repent, accept baptism, and receive the Holy Ghost. She adds an interesting exigetical gloss: “Peter did not tell them to go away and mourn over their sins weeks and months, and receive a remission of them and then come and be baptized, but he told them first to repent and be baptized and the promise was they should receive a remission of their sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost; and this is the Gospel of Christ.” She reports that the church in Ohio has added 300 “within a few weeks” and concludes: “I want you to think seriously of these things for they are the truths of the living God” (Lucy Smith to Solomon Mack).

Sally Parker, a convert near Kirtland writing in August 1838 to relatives who had requested “something to strengthen their faith after the difficult financial troubles and apostasy in Kirtland,” focused on Lucy:

I lived by his [Joseph's] mother, and [she] was one of the finest of women—always helping them that stood in need. She told me the whole story. The plates was in the house and sometimes in the woods for eight months [Richard Anderson corrects this to eight weeks—October and November, 1827] on account of people trying to get them. They had to hide them. Once they hid them under the hearth. They took up the brick and put them in and put the bricks back. The old lady told me this herself with tears in her eyes, and they ran down her cheeks too. She put her hand upon her stomach and said she [ha]s the peace of God that rested upon us, all that time. she said it was a heaven below. I asked her if she saw the plates. She said no, it was not for her to see them, but she hefted and handled them, and I believe all she said, for I lived by her eight months, and she was one of the best of women. (*Investigating*, 25-26)

Perhaps the best example of Lucy's family-centered spirituality—though an extremely problematic one—involved William, the most troublesome of her sons. William, writing from Bordentown, New Jersey, on 10 November 1844 to W. W. Phelps and publishing the letter in *The Prophet*, which he was then editing in New York City, cautiously felt out his welcome. After a lengthy and spirited but somewhat irrelevant defense of Book of Mormon geography through Mesoamerican antiquities, he appealed to the memory of “an aged and martyred father, . . . and four brothers, two of whom in my vision appear with mangled bodies, and garments red. . . . Their blood is still unavenged, and the

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15. This scripture is a slight paraphrase of Mark 16:17-18: “And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.”

cruel murderers are lounging about seeking for more; what have others to expect? . . . My poor old mother, almost worn out with years and trouble, and three sisters that remain, with myself, are all of that family, who were the founders of Mormonism." He asked Phelps to "see my mother, and give her a word of consolation from me" as well as his sisters "and the martyrs' widows. . . . Will you pray for us, dear brethren at Nauvoo?" (W. Smith to Phelps). There is no indication that he attempted to write to any of his relatives directly.

Phelps responded warmly, publishing his own response, written on Christmas Day 1844, in the *Times and Seasons*. He vows that he and William "have been one in faith, one in love, and one in friendship" and praises the Twelve as "good men; the best the Lord can find; they do the will of God, and the saints know it" ('761), an assertion that would become a sore point with William as soon as he returned to Nauvoo. Phelps had visited Lucy, "and she cried for joy over your letter. Though in her 69th year, her heart was big with hope for her 'darling son, William:'—and she blessed you in the name of the Lord" (759). Encouraged by this warm greeting, William made preparations to return to Nauvoo.

Lucy followed up Phelps's assurances with a letter of her own in January 1845: "The 12 are very anxious to see you and the church are all waiting to receive you with open arms"—that both Heber C. Kimball and W. W. Phelps had brought her a letter that William had published in *The Prophet* wondering about his reception, and that Kimball had been "delighted" with her immediate response that William should return. No doubt her urging and her assurances of the welcome he would find influenced his return on 4 May 1845; his wife Caroline barely managed the trip, dying on 22 May.

Exactly a month later on 22 June, William remarried. At this point, Lucy's manuscript was either finished or within a few days of being completed. On 27 June 1845, the anniversary of the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum, Lucy summoned her family and a few friends to tell them about a vision she had had the night before. According to William, Lucy's vision resulted from John Taylor's "libelous article" redefining patriarchal authority as secondary to that of the apostles. This editorial "occasioned her so much mental trouble, and loss of rest" that, coupled with her vision, she could not sleep until she had seen William personally to assure herself that he was alive (W. Smith, "Proclamation," 1). Lucy was living with daughter Lucy and husband Arthur Millikin; into their home also came William, daughter Katharine and her husband Wilkins Jenkins Salisbury, daughter Sophronia and her husband William McCleary, nephew Elias Smith, and eight more individuals, including John Taylor's wife, Leonora. That evening, when Taylor returned home, Leonora told him that Lucy had had a vision in which

she saw William at the head of the church but that William's life was in danger.

The revelation itself, recorded by Thomas Bullock in some unspecified way and included in John Taylor's diary, is actually more complex and involved three visions; but all of them are centered on the role of Lucy's family. It links her family's sacrifices very closely to the rise of the church and includes a role, although a vague one, for her usually invisible daughters:

Brothers and Children, I was much troubled and felt as if I had the sins of the whole world to bear, and the burthen of the Church; and I felt that there was something wrong. I called on the Lord to show me what was wrong, and if it was me. I called upon him until I slept. I then heard a voice calling on me saying awake, wake, awake, for thy only son that thou hast living, they for his life have laid a snare. My aged servant Joseph who was the first patriarch of this Church, and my servant Hyrum who was the second patriarch, my servant Joseph who was Prophet and Seer, and my servants Samuel, William, and Don Carlos they were the first founders, fathers, and heads of this Church, raised up in these last days, and thou art the mother, and thy daughters have helped, and they are the daughters in Israel, and have helped raise up this Church. Arise, Arise, Arise, and take thy place you know not what has been in the hearts of some; but he said thou shalt know. He told me what it was; but I shall not tell. (I saw William in a room full of armed men and he having no weapons. They would have crushed him down, if it had not been for the power of God; and many of the family would have been cut off, the Lord having softened their hearts. Two amongst them had blacker hearts than the rest, and I know who they were, and I will tell them if they will come to me. Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball know it is so, and dare not deny it.) Call upon the Twelve, let all things be set in order, and keep their hearts pure from this time henceforth, the voice saith be merciful, and then Zion shall arise and flourish as a rose. What I was told I cannot tell. Thou art the mother in Israel, and tell thy children all to walk uprightly. Thy son William he shall have power over the Churches, he is father in Israel over the patriarchs and the whole of the Church, he is the last of the lineage that is raised up in these last days. He is patriarch to regulate the affairs of the Church. He is President over all the Church, they cannot take his apostleship away from him. The Presidency of the Church belongs to William, he being the last of the heads of the Church, according to the lineage, he having inherited it from the family from before the foundation of the world. Thou art a mother in Israel. Thy spirit arose and said in eternity, that it would take a body to be a mother to [the] Prophet who should be raised up to save the last dispensation. And the spirit said unto me be faithful (and that I had been faithful.) And tell the Church to be faithful. And the spirit said I should live until I was satisfied with life.

Brothers and Children, I want you to take notice [that] the burthen of the Church [rests on William.] [Brackets Bullock's]

2nd Vision. Joseph came to me and said "that day is coming when I shall wave the sceptre of power over my enemies. Be patient my brothers and sisters, the day is coming when you shall have eternal life and be rewarded for all your troubles."

3rd Vision. Father [Joseph Sr.] came to me and I said Father have you come. And he said "Yes." I said tell me where you have been? And he said "I have been all around here. I have come to you again to tell you one thing certain, which I have told you many times before. It is my prayers and the prayers of our sons that you live to take care of William and my daughters, and see that they have their rights and standing where they ought to have it. He turned to go away, and I said I will go with you. He said you must stay. (Jessee, *John Taylor*, 73-75)

It is significant that Lucy's "authority," identified in this revelation, is that of a mother instructing "all" of the children, an identification affirmed twice. Her "whispered" disclosure of the blackest-hearted apostles obviously set the stage for further conflict. But the most significant point in her first revelation is that William owned the presidency of the Church by right of "lineage," having "inherited it from the family." Lucy almost compares herself to Mary, the mother of Jesus, in offering her body by premortal covenant as the vessel through which the chosen prophet would come, thus reaching back into the past. The visit from Joseph Sr., coming as he does from the post-mortal world, reaches into the future, but he reinforces the same message: his family must have its "rights and standing."

Needless to say, this revelation caused a ripple in the community. The next day, Saturday, Bishop George Miller made arrangements for Lucy to meet with Brigham Young and other general authorities on Sunday and to have her revelation read in the Sunday meeting. However, before the meeting, Lucy requested that the revelation not be read because it "was only for her own children and not for the Priesthood or Church." Besides, she said, "it was not written down correctly." Brigham Young, during the preaching service, "discussed the vision but did not read the text" (ibid., 77n225). According to William's indignant and admittedly self-serving account, Young "had the *refinement of feeling* and *consideration* to ridicule on the stand the whole matter, and marvelled that the church could entertain for a moment the crazy manifestations of an old woman" (W. Smith, "Proclamation," 1).<sup>16</sup>

On Monday, 30 June, a delegation called on Lucy at her home. Katharine, Lucy, and Arthur were present, but William was not. He had been in a belligerent mood the day before when his Uncle John Smith and cousin George A. Smith had called on him to persuade him to deny any claim to the presidency. However, he sent a letter expressing complete willingness to acknowledge Brigham Young as president as long as Brigham Young acknowledged his (William's) right to the patriarchy.

Seven apostles (Young, Kimball, Orson Pratt, John E. Page, Willard

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16. My thanks to William Shepard for calling this source to my attention.



Richards, George A. Smith, and Taylor), both of Nauvoo's bishops (Newell K. Whitney and George Miller), and Reynolds Cahoon of the Council of Fifty crowded into the Millikin home. According to Clayton, Lucy thought they did not have "a correct copy of her vision; however, we know that it is;<sup>17</sup> but supposed that the old lady was feeble and excited, and perhaps might not fully recollect what she had said." In any case, Brigham Young tackled the main point without hesitation: William "was aiming at power, and authority, and priesthood that did not belong to him; . . . that he would sustain William in his office and calling [as patriarch]; but would not allow him to tread upon his neck or any other man's."

Lucy capitulated on Young's main point: "he [William] did not want [the presidency]," but then retreated to an unassailable position: "she did not profess to be a revelator only for herself and family, that she wanted peace, union, and harmony. The twelve all expressed the same feeling and manifested the greatest kindness to Mother Smith together with the Bishops."<sup>18</sup>

Before the meeting broke up, the group read William's letter and answered it on the spot, affirming his position subject only to the Twelve and adding that "Mother Smith, Catherine, Lucy, and Arthur . . . express their satisfaction with it." Obviously no one would remain satisfied for very long, but this dramatic confrontation shows the importance to Lucy of her family and also her genuine unwillingness to exercise her spiritual gifts outside the family circle.

#### LUCY AS MOTHER

As previously noted, Irene Bates positions Lucy squarely in the noble tradition of "republican motherhood," in which her values, self-identification as a mother, and religious yearnings link her to an exalted cultural role for women in eighteenth-century America that survived virtually unchanged through the Victorian era. When matched to the concepts in the church's current "The Family: A Proclamation to the World" (1992), this tradition still sounds remarkably contemporary. It is as a mother that Lucy finds the fullest expression of her identity. According to Preston Nibley, one of her editors:

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17. This point might be questioned. According to William Clayton, Lucy's revelation had been "corrected and altered by William Smith so as to suit his wishes by representing him as the legal successor of Joseph in the presidency." Although Taylor does not list Clayton among those present, he attended the meeting and asked Lucy for "permission to copy it but she was unwilling." When questioned on the identity of the "blacker-hearted" apostles, she said "it was not any one who was then present" (G. Smith, *Intimate*, 169-71).

18. Jesse, *John Taylor*, 77. The *History of the Church* (7:433) says only, "Visited Mother Smith in company with the Twelve and Bishops Whitney and Miller. William Smith was invited but did not attend. Mother Smith expressed herself satisfied with the Twelve and the course they were pursuing."



Mrs. Smith experienced supreme pride and joy in the knowledge and realization that she was the mother of the Prophet of God. It was her pleasure to declare on numerous occasions, "I am the mother of the Prophet." No one except herself could have known the satisfaction she derived from this knowledge. And yet, she was called upon to pay the full price for this glorious privilege; poverty, persecution, trials, troubles and sorrows of the bitterest kind were to be her lot in this world. (Nibley, ix)

Lucy seems to have had a close relationship with her own mother and records in loving detail her final parting from Lydia Gates Mack:

I had a task to perform which was a severe trial to my feelings one to which I shall ever look back with peculiar sensations that can never be obliterated I was here to take leave of that pious and affectionate parent to whom I ~~was~~ indebted for all the religious instructions as well as most of the educational priviledges which I had ever received The parting hour came my Mother wept over me long and heartily <bitterly> She told me that it was not probable she should ever behold my face again but my Dear Child said she I have lived long my days are nearly numbered I must soon exchange the things of Earth for another state of existence where I hope to enjoy the society of the Blessed and now as my last admonition I beseech <you> to continue faithful in the exercise of every religious duty to the end of your days that I may have the pleasure of embracing you in another fairer World above— (chap. 17)

When Joseph Sr. on his deathbed praises Lucy, it is not because she was an exemplary housewife but because she was an exceptional mother, praise that Lucy obviously cherished. In two separate statements, he singled out her ability in this area: "Mother, do you not know, that you are the mother of as great a family as ever lived upon the earth? The world loves its own, but it does not love us. It hates us because we are not of the world." This blessing is also an explanation of why, despite their fondest desires as parents, they had not been able to provide physical comfort and security for their children. It thus serves as exoneration of any doubts Lucy may have had about her parenting. In a second blessing, pronounced after he has blessed all of the children, Joseph Sr. says: "Mother, do you not know, that you are one of the most singular women in the world? . . . You have brought up my children for me by the fireside, and . . . could always comfort them when I could not. We have often wished that we might both die at the same time, but you must not desire to die when I do, for you must stay to comfort the children when I am gone" (chap. 52).

Lucy identifies herself proudly and publicly as the "mother of the Prophet"—to a minister who calls Joseph a "poor deluded boy," to a woman from whom she was seeking shelter for the women and children she was leading to Kirtland, and to the crowd of rough, armed Missourians who are taking

Joseph and Hyrum away with every intention of shooting them and who encourage the teamster to run over her.

During a tender passage when little Sophronia is dying of typhoid (chap. 15), the agonized Lucy catches up the child in her arms and paces the floor with her, then addresses the reader:

Now my reader are you a parent, place yourself in the same situation are you a Mother that has ever been in like circumstances feel for your heart strings can you tell me how I felt with my expiring child strained to my heart <bosom> with all which thrilled with all a mothers love a mothers tender yearnings. for her own offspring. (chap. 15)

Speaking to the Saints at the October 1845 general conference, Lucy delivered a homily on child-rearing practices that gives an appealing little vignette of her own hearthside:

I raised them in the fear of God When they were two or three years old I told them I wanted them to love God with all their hearts I told them to do good I want all you to do the same—God gives us our children & we are accountable—In the fear of God I warn you—I want you to take your little children & teach them in the fear of God—I want you to teach them about Joseph in Egypt & such things—when they are four years old they will love to read their bible—I presume there never was a family more obedient than mine—I did not have to speak to them only once Set your children to work & try to bring them up to your comfort Don't let them play out of doors. (Lucy Smith, Minutes, Bolton version, pp. 7-8)

In contrast, she is harshly critical of mothers who do not take their responsibility seriously. Leading a party of fifty from New York to Ohio, she expresses consistent disgust at the general improvidence, passivity, and dependence of both men and women but is particularly irritated by the slovenly, whining, and careless women who make no effort to safeguard their children, even in life-threatening situations:

I soon discovered a carelessness among the Mothers who were in our company which gave me great anxiety for many of them did neglect their children even when thier especial care was necessary to the preservation of their lives. As for instance at a time when passing under a bridge if children were on deck they would be thrown over board or bruised in such a maner as was terrible to think of I Called the sisters together an talked with and tried to make them realize their childrens danger and their own responsibility.

Sisters said I God has given you children to be a blessing to you and it is your duty to take care of them to keep them out of every possible danger and in such a place as this especially to have them always by your side and I warn you now to attend better to your duty in this respect or your children will by some unforeseen

accident be taken from you—Then after this we received news by another boat of the death of a small child which occurred the day before ~~and was occasioned~~ on the same river it was killed by a bridge being on deck when the boat was passing under ~~the child~~ I thought that what I had said and this accident together would rouse the sisters to greater attention but in this I was mistaken for they took not thought of either and their excuse for their neglecting their children was that they could not make them mind I told them that I could make them mind me easy enough and as they would not controll them I should[.]

And she does. The children, including teenagers, are so obedient to her throughout the voyage that Orrin Porter Rockwell's mother implores her to intervene because "he won't mind any body but you" (chap. 39).

Another revelation of Lucy as mother comes in a lengthy passage in the 1844-45 rough draft, much condensed in the Coray and Pratt versions. Lucy conceals the printer's manuscript under her bed. Then pillowing her head above the spot where it lies, she embarks on an all-night reminiscence that combines a worshipful Magnificat with a recapitulation of her spiritual quest for religious certainty. These moments are all, without fail, set in a domestic scene:

As for myself soon after I laid down upon my bed I fell into a train of reflections which occupied my mind untill the day appeared ~~I called to my recollection the~~ ~~pasted history of my life and every interesting scene which I had witnessed from~~ ~~my earliest remembrance~~ ~~<up> to the present moment~~ [damaged] king scene which I had witsesse during [damaged] se of my life seemed to rise in succ before me ~~from the time~~ the early principles of early piety which were taught me when My Mother called me with my brothers and sisters around her knee and instructed to feel our constant dependance upon God. our liability to transgression and the necessity of prayer and also discoursed to of our accountability to our father in Heaven—of death and a judgement to come—Then again I seemed to hear the voice of My brother Jason declaring to the people that true religion and the faith of the Church of Jesus Christ which he established on the earth was not now among the christian denominations of the day and ~~with tears streaming~~ beseeching them by the love of God to seek to obtain that faith which was once delivered to the saints.—again I seemed to stand ~~by~~ ~~<at>~~ the bedside of my sister Lovisa and see ~~<her>~~ exemplify the power of God in answer to the prayer of faith by an almost entire resuscitation:—while her livid lips ~~a~~ moved but to express one sentiment which was ~~the knowledge of~~ the power of God over that of disease and death—The next Moment I was conveyed to the ~~Scene~~ the coseing scene of My sister Lovin's life and heard her last admonition to her mates and myself reiterated in my ear and then my soul thrilled to ~~<the high>~~ clear and ~~beatiful~~ ~~<plaintive>~~ strains of ~~some favorite~~ notes of ~~some~~ ~~<the>~~ favorite hym which she repeated ~~<in>~~ the last moments of her existence on earth Oh! how often I had listened to the beautiful music of ~~my siste~~ the voices of those ~~to~~ ~~<wo>~~ sisters and drank in thier tones ~~<as>~~ if I might hear again.—and After ~~<that>~~ I seemed live ~~over~~ again the season of gloominess ~~and~~ of prayers and tears that succeeded my sisters

death ~~and~~ <when> my heart was burdened with anxiety ~~and~~ distress and fear least I shoul by any means fail of that preparation which was needful in order meet ~~again~~ my sisters in that world for which they had taken their departure.

From this domestic circle of her home of origin, Lucy passes to her husband's home; but because he was a Universalist and nonaffiliated with any religion, she presents herself as a lone seeker:

Then I ~~first~~ began to feel most sensibly the want of a living instructor in matters of salvation. but how ~~much~~ intensely I felt this deficiency when a few years afterwards I found myself ~~at~~ <on> the very verge of the ternal world and although I had an intense desire for salvation yet I was totally devoid of any satisfactory Knowledge or understanding of the Laws or requirements of that being ~~to~~ before whom I expected shortly to appear but I labored faithfully in prayer to God struggling to be freed from the power of death.—when I recovered I sought unceasingly for some one ~~to~~ who could impart to my my some deffinite Idea of the requirements of Heaven with regard to mankind but like Esaw seeking his blessing I found them not though I saught the same with tears— ~~In this for years~~ for days and months and years I continued asking God continually to reveal to me the hidden treasures of his will—~~but~~ although I was always strenghtened from time still I did not receive a direct to my prayers for the space 20 years I had always believed confidently that God would ~~a some time~~ raise up some one who would be able to effect a reconciliation among those who desired to do his will at the expense of all things else—

From this solitary twenty years' passage of isolated faithfulness, she passes again into a domestic circle in which her desire for religious assurance is fully met. This time the circle is the setting of her own home and family, even though she conflates the first vision with Moroni's first visitation in 1823:

But what was my joy and astonishment to hear my own son though a boy of 14 <years of age> declare that he had been visited by an angel from Heaven ~~and~~ even ~~not~~ at that time as I took a retrospective glance at former years when my mind rested upon the hours of deep delight with I had sat in the midst my children ~~my oldest one Alvin by my side~~ which I had spent <in> listening to the instructions ~~and~~ which Joseph had received and <which he faithfully> committed to us a <which> we received with infinite delight but none were more engaged than the one whom we were doomed part with for Alvin was never so happy as when he was contemplating the final success of his brother in obtaining the record— And now I fancied I could hear him with his parting breath conjuring his brother to continue faithful that he might obtain the prize which the Lord had promised him ~~ever~~ The But when I cast in my mind on the disapointment and trouble which we had suffered while the work was in progress ~~the~~ My heart beat quick and my pulse rose high <and> in spite of my best efforts to the contrary my mind was aggitated and I felt every nervous sensation which I experienced at the time ~~it~~ the circumstances took place & at last as if led by an invisable spirit I came to the time

in the mesenger from Waterloo informed me that the translation actually completed

Her meditation ends with a paean of religious joy and spiritual rapture that, tellingly, finds its final expression in the words of Mary's Magnificat:

my Soul swelled with joy that could scarcely heightened except by the reflection that the record which had cost so much labor and suffering and anxiety were now <in reality> lying beneath my own head that the identical work had not only been the object which we as a family had pursued so eagerly but that Prophets of ancient days and angels even the Great God had <had> his eye upon it. and said I to myself Shall I fear what man can do will not the angels watch over the precious relict of the worthy dead and the hope of the living and am I indeed the mother of a prophet of the God of Heaven—the honored instrument in performing so great work—I felt th I was in the purview of angels and my bounded at the thought of the great condescension of the Almighty—thus I spent the night surrounded by enemies and yet in an extacy of happiness and truly I can say that “My soul did magnify and my spirit rejoiced in God my savior”— (chap. 32)

Lucy's public persona as mother was a complex one. Oliver Cowdery called her “mother” in 1828-29, and the company of Fayette travelers en route to Kirtland in early 1830 insisted that “everything should be done just as Mother smith said” (chaps. 28, 39). On 18 December 1833, when Joseph Smith bestowed upon his father “the keys of the patriarchal Priesthood over the kingdom of God on earth, even the Church of the Latter-day Saints,” he obviously saw a parallel role for Lucy in the blessing he pronounced on her: “She is a mother in Israel, and shall be a partaker with my father in all his patriarchal blessings. . . . Blessed is my mother, for her soul is ever filled with benevolence and philanthropy; and notwithstanding her age, she shall yet receive strength and be comforted in the midst of her house: and thus saith the Lord. She shall have eternal life” (Joseph Fielding Smith, 39). Lucy was not only the biological mother of the prophet, but also the literal mother of other martyrs whose blood nourished the church. Even more broadly, she defined herself as the mother of the church and the mother of the faithful who joined that church. “Mother” was, to her, a sacred title, but it was also a political one and she used it both to establish a relationship of affection and mutually shared belief with other members—and especially with the leaders who succeeded Joseph—and also as a reminder of the support that children owed their mothers.

She had a number of encounters with Brigham Young and the Twelve in the months following the martyrdom, most of them warmly positive and almost certainly sincere, although the Twelve also had strong political motives in appearing to be solicitous, and Lucy had an equally strong motive in appearing to

be compliant. These encounters included blessings, private meetings between individual apostles and Lucy, meetings of Lucy with the quorum itself, honors, temple ordinances, and addresses. (See epilogue.) The most complex interactions were Lucy's announcement of her vision about William—a manifestation of her private motherhood—and a public assertion of her identity as the church's mother at the three-day October 1845 general conference during the morning session on the third day (8 October). It was the first time a Mormon woman spoke at general conference—and the last until 1988—and may also be the first time a Mormon woman spoke at a regular preaching service.<sup>19</sup>

She was not a planned part of the program, but had “expressed a wish to say a few words” and was “invited upon the Stand” where she “spoke at considerable length, and in an audible manner.” This speech, delivered extemporaneously like all Mormon sermons then, is her only known address at a formal church service. It is remarkable, both for its content, its form, and its context.

That context directly challenged her role as mother. Two days earlier on 6 October, Parley P. Pratt, who tellingly had also given the opening prayer, had protested against sustaining William Smith as an apostle for two reasons: He claimed to have proof that William was “an aspiring man” who wanted to “uproot and undermine” the presidency in favor of himself and that his “doctrine and conduct” in the East had “produced death and destruction wherever he went.”<sup>20</sup> William was dropped from the quorum. In the same session when Isaac Morley presented William's name as patriarch, the vote against him was “unanimous” (Clayton and Bullock, 1009). It was in this context, plus the vote of the church to leave Nauvoo and go West, that Lucy rose to speak.

Much time in the earlier sessions had been devoted to instructions about preparing to leave for the west, and she complimented Brigham Young for having “fixed it completely.” Then she launched into her main topic:

She was the mother of eleven children, seven of whom were boys. [See chap.

19. While general conference sessions were being held in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, women leaders, as well as general authorities, addressed the overflow crowds in the visitors bureau or on the grounds in the early twentieth century before public address systems were available. General auxiliary presidents who were being released or sustained usually spoke for a few minutes before 1988 but did not give gospel addresses comparable to those of the general authorities.

20. Clayton and Bullock, 1008. HC 7:458-59 mistakenly attributes the protest to Orson Pratt, but he was then in the East. Both Willard Richards's and Orson's diaries attribute the protest to Parley. As for the charges, Bates argues persuasively that William's reputation for “licentiousness” seems to have been created mostly by LDS officers after his excommunication and that his not undeserved reputation for violence must be taken in the frontier context of the times. Joseph Smith, for instance, insulted by a note-collector while riding in a carriage with Ira Spaulding, wordlessly handed the reins to Spaulding, stepped out of the carriage, “knocked him down as flat as a beef,” climbed back in the carriage, and drove off, still without speaking (15).

9 notes.] She raised them in the fear and love of God, and never was there a more obedient family. She warned parents that they were accountable for their children's conduct; advised them to give them books and work to keep them from idleness; warned all to be full of love, goodness and kindness, and never to do in secret, what they would not do in the presence of millions. She wished to know of the congregation, whether they considered her a mother in Israel—(upon which President B. Young said; all who consider Mother Smith as a mother in Israel, signify it by saying yes!—One universal “yes” rang throughout.)<sup>21</sup>

In this context of public validation for the motherly identity she claimed, a validation in which Brigham Young participated, Lucy then launched into her family history:

She remarked, that it was just eighteen years since Joseph Smith the prophet had become acquainted with the contents of the plates; and then, in a concise manner, related over the most prominent points in the early history of her family; their hardships, trials, privations, persecutions, sufferings, &c; some parts of which melted those who heard her to tears, more especially the part relating to a scene in Missouri, when her beloved son Joseph was condemned to be shot in fifteen minutes, and she by prodigious efforts was enabled to press through the crowd to where he was, and to give him her hand; but could not see his face; he took her hand and kissed it; she said, let me hear your voice once more my son; he said God bless you my dear mother!

She gave notice that she had written her history, and wished it printed before we leave this place. (Clayton and Bullock, 1013-14)<sup>22</sup>

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21. Clayton and Bullock, 1013. See also *History of the Church* 7:470-73. According to the minutes, she said: “I call you brothers & sisters & children if you consider me a Mother in Israel I want you to say so—<Prest. B. Young arose & said—all who consider Mother Smith a Mother as a Mother in Israel signify it by saying yes> (loud shouts of yes) My feelings have been hurt by hearing them say Old mother Smith—there goes Old mother Smith—I have had my feelings hurt a great deal” (Lucy Smith, Minutes, Bolton version, p. 8). There is an unconscious and painful irony in Lucy’s claiming of the title and in the congregation’s conferring it upon her by vote under Brigham Young’s direction. Carol Cornwall Madsen (179-201) explains the title’s Old Testament and Puritan antecedents, then its applicability to some Mormon women, including Lucy, Mercy Fielding Thompson, Bathsheba B. Smith, and Eliza R. Snow, who received this title at her funeral from John Taylor. In addition to its usual meanings, “mother in Israel” was also the title used specifically for such women as Patty Sessions and Elizabeth Davis Goldsmith Brackenbury Durfee Smith Lott in Nauvoo who were polyandrous wives of Joseph Smith and who helped him “communicate and meet with prospective plural wives” (Compton, 254-71).

22. This printed version obscures the fact that Lucy made a direct plea for assistance with publishing: “I have got it all in a history & I want this people to be so good & so kind as to get it printed befor [sic] you go to California <West>” (Lucy Smith, Minutes, Bolton version, p. 9). Norton Jacob recorded in his reminiscence, “Mother Smith, Joseph’s mother, addressed the congregation about an hour, speaking of the history of herself and family in bringing forth the Book of Mormon. She said it was eighteen years ago last Monday since she commenced preaching the gospel being called upon by Joseph to go and tell Martin Harris and family that he had got the plates and he wanted him to take an alphabet of the characters and carry them to the learned men to decipher” (16).



This comment is a landmark event, constituting, as it does, the first public announcement of Lucy's book. Furthermore, for a woman so totally committed to exercising her spiritual gifts within the family circle, this episode shows her as competent, lucid, and unquestionably skillful, both in communicating with great emotional impact to a large audience and also in positioning herself relative to Brigham Young. If she was acting unconsciously, then it is easy to see where Joseph Smith's considerable gifts of charm and charisma came from; and if she was acting strategically and consciously, then we can only wonder what the results might have been had she chosen to exercise her gifts in a circle larger than that of her own family.

By her opening compliment, she had defused any lingering hostilities from the summer, her June revelation about William as president, and any personal hard feelings that might naturally result from William's being dropped from the Twelve. By her request for a voice vote on whether she was a "Mother in Israel," she had both reminded the congregation of her family and put them in a position of formally acknowledging it. Brigham Young's alert rising to call for the vote shows his own skill at reminding both Lucy and the Saints that his will imposed order on the proceedings. Lucy gave what amounted to an alluring summary of her book, punctuated by moving highlights, a tactic designed to arouse interest in the finished product. Then she returned to her opening position vis-à-vis Brigham Young by affirming that "the Lord will let Brother Brigham take the people away." At that point, she played a major card: the possibility of going west with them, an event that would be a vote of legitimation for the Quorum of the Twelve.<sup>23</sup> After cataloging her dead, she added: "And if so be the rest of my children go with you, (and I would to God they may all go,) they will not go without me."

Her voice apparently became weaker at this point, so much so that Clayton and Bullock, who should have been on the stand or near it, said it was "inaudible to the reporters." Brigham Young, however, arose, repeated what she had just said,<sup>24</sup> expressed joy at her sentiments, pledged the aid of the church

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23. The *Millennial Star* obviously interpreted it in just this way in a one-paragraph summary of the conference. After reporting the unanimous vote of the Saints to leave Nauvoo, it added: "Our old mother in Israel—mother Smith arose and said she wanted to go with the Saints, and wanted her children to go too. Elder Young replied that she should go." Only Lucy and Brigham are named in this conference report ("From a Private").

24. According to the minutes, Brigham Young's version was considerably more positive and more explicit than Lucy's actual words: "Mother Smith proposes a thing that rejoices my heart—she will go with us—I can answer for the Authorities of the Church we want her & her children to go with us & I pledge myself in behalf of the Authorities of the Church that while we have any thing they shall share with us—. . . Pres<sup>t> Young said Mother Smith has been relating over the circumstances of her pecuniary life of late—She is perfectly satisfied and all is right—He could have

in her removal, and announced that the church had already given Lucy the "best carriage in the city." In her address, Lucy had made two references to William, first when she said that her sons were dead ("They are all gone but poor William & he is gone I don't know where"), and second when she said William saw in vision in Missouri the arrival of the mob that would dispossess them and threaten their lives (Lucy Smith, Minutes, Bolton version, p. 10).

Pointedly Brigham added that the church had also furnished William with "a span of horses, and a carriage and a house. . . . He has run away in a time of trouble; but I suppose will come back when it is peace, and we mean to have him with us yet." At this slur on William's courage, Lucy "interrupted President Young, but [was] inaudible to the reporters."<sup>25</sup> Young hastily continued, renewing his pledge of support and promising, as she had asked, to return her bones to lie beside those of her husband if she died away from Nauvoo and adding that he would do his best to persuade Emma to let them take Joseph's and Hyrum's bodies west with them as well.<sup>26</sup> The conference closed, an undoubted triumph for Lucy that Brigham Young had, with equal skill, managed to contain and co-opt.

But Young's mention of the carriage is significant and so is the flurry over William. Although Young obviously cites the example of the carriage

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wished that the Bishops would have gone & seen her oftener than they have—I will say in the name of the latter day Saints we will supply her wants & I want the Poeple [sic] to take it <anything they have to her> & let her do with it what she pleases—I have never asked her to go—because she told me she would not but now she has offered to go—Mother Smith proposes that she will go with us if we will promise to bring back her bones in case of her death & deposit them with her husbands & I propose that we as a people shall pledge ourselves that if she do go with us and die we will bring her bones back & lay them by the side of her husband according to her wishes (unanimous vote)" (Lucy Smith, Minutes, Bolton version, pp. 14-15). According to the same minutes, Lucy had said: "I feel that the Lord will let Brother Brigham take the people away—I don't know as I shall go—but if the rest of my family go I will go. . . . Here lays my dead my husband & children I want to lay my bones here so that in the resurrection I can raise with my husband & children—if so be that my children go—And I would to God that all my children would go—they will not go without me & if I go I want to have my bones fetched back to be laid with my husband & children" (p. 13).

25. The rough draft of this portion (probably in William Clayton's handwriting) notes the interruption but does not say she was inaudible. However, it does not report what she said (Lucy Smith, Minutes, fd. 4, Clayton version).

26. Clayton and Bullock, 1014. Nauvoo resident Wandle Mace recorded Lucy as saying: "Here, in this city, lay my dead; my husband, and children; and if so be the rest of my children go with you,—and I would to God they may all go—they will not go without me; and if I go, I want my bones brought back in case I die away, and deposited with my husband and children." The closing remarks of mother Smith was not heard by all but President Young arose and related them to the congregation and then said, "Mother Smith proposes a thing which rejoices my heart: she will go with us. I can answer for the authorities of the church; we want her and her children to go with us; and I pledge myself in behalf of the authorities of the church, that while we have anything, they shall share with us" (192-93).

to show the Saints the generosity of the Twelve toward Lucy in particular and toward the Smith family in general, privately he had very different feelings about it. On 2 August 1845, Young says he "rode out in the new church carriage" with Brother Kimball and the bishops (Whitney and Miller) to inspect two lots that Emma was selling to the church, then brought Lucy to choose one for herself and her daughters. Striking while the iron was hot, she not only selected one of the lots but also asked for a house like Heber's large two-story brick home, "for the carriage we rode in, a horse and a double carriage harness. We gave her the use of the carriage during her lifetime" (HC 7:434). There is no record of what happened to the carriage or whether Lucy was using it after October 1845.

William Clayton, writing at the time, fussily imposed his/Young's interpretation on this event:

She asked for the new carriage saying that President Young and the Trustees promised it to her. . . . Neither the Trustees nor President Young ever promised the carriage to Mother Smith, but they told her that when it was built they would ride her round in it. There is no doubt but Arthur Millikin, Lucys husband, or else William has prompted her to do this out of ill feelings and jealousy lest Brother Brigham should ride in it. Arthur idles his time away. He will do nothing either for himself or any one else, but out of respect for Mother Smith the brethren would rather indulge the whole family than to hurt her feelings. She is [old] and childish and the brethren strive to do all they can to comfort her. They have lent her the carriage while she lives but it is church property and when she dies it falls into the hands of the Trustees. (George D. Smith, *Intimate*, 176)

Twelve years later when Brigham Young was fulminating to Wilford Woodruff about his *bête noir* William Smith, he exclaimed, "Wm. Smith is the most wicked man I ever saw in my life. He has been filled with all manner of wickedness." The example that he cites of wickedness is of the carriage: "When I was in Nauvoo I Commenced to build me a Carriage. William got up a rumor that I was Finishing a Carriage for my own use which Joseph had Commenced for his mother. Then Mother Smith soon reported that I was building her a Carriage and the first time she got me in Company she asked me for that Carriage. I did not care much about the carriage but I was sorry to have her take that Course." When Woodruff excused Lucy because she "was under the influence of Wm Smith and the spirit of Aposticy which was in Nauvoo," Young was willing to accept the excuse: "Yes I do not think the Lord would impute Evil to her and I shall meet with her in Eternity and I am sure I shall not bring an Accusation against her" (Woodruff, 5:287-88).

Nor was that the end of it. The carriage rankled sufficiently that Young returned to it on another public occasion: "I recollect very well that I had a nice

carriage built in 1845," he told an audience in the tabernacle. "About the time it was done, Mother Smith said, 'How rejoiced I am that that carriage which Joseph promised to me is done.' I sent her the carriage, and I do not know but that I would have taken off my shirt and given it to any of the Smith family and run the risk of getting another" (*Essential*, 191). Significantly, at this point, the carriage which had been church property in Nauvoo had now become his personal property.

In short, at the 1845 conference, Brigham Young's mention of the carriage must be seen as a short outburst on his part because he had been outmaneuvered by Lucy, resenting it privately but positioning himself to benefit publicly from it. Perhaps because it rankled, he passed immediately on to William, a more serious concern. That exchange in the conference, over which the scribes' minutes pass with barely a mention, suggests that Lucy's and Brigham's uneasy accord, constructed out of good will on the spot, did not survive the meeting. William, who had been disfellowshipped as apostle and patriarch on 6 October, nine days before the conference, would be excommunicated on 12 or 19 October, only a few days later.

It would have taken nimbleness indeed to keep up with the changes in William Smith's fortunes and his own state of mind since his return to Nauvoo in May. Although confirmed as patriarch, he had alienated Young by preaching a public sermon on the secret doctrine of spiritual wifery, claiming priesthood rights and veering from day to day between placating the Twelve and rousing their ire.<sup>27</sup>

Irvine Hodge was murdered on the same day that John Taylor wrote his editorial for the *Nauvoo Neighbor* redefining the patriarchal office to exclude William from presidential claims (Quinn, *Origins*, 216-17; see discussion 427-28 attributing the murder to Hosea and/or Allen Stout). Caroline's death and

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27. For a careful, almost daily, reconstruction of this important period, see Bates and Smith, chap. 8, esp. pp. 78-95; and Bates, 20-22, and Gary Smith, 23-35. In October, he laid the blame for "Arvine" [Irvine] Hodge's murder (on 23 June 1845) on Nauvoo policemen, acting on Brigham Young's orders, recorded two or three statements that he interpreted as unsubtle threats, and described a meeting with the Twelve and bishops within a day or two of Hodge's murder, held at his request when he wrote Young a letter saying "that I did not feel myself safe in the hands of his police." To his surprise, the meeting was also attended by "fifty or sixty police-men all armed with their Bowie knives, pistols, and hickory clubs." After a defiant speech, concluding that he would leave if the Twelve didn't want him in Nauvoo but threatening, "where I go, there also the Smith family go, and with them also goes the Priesthood," Young responded so wrathfully that William, fearing for his life, agreed to "make himself one with them" (W. Smith, "A Proclamation," 1). According to William, Lucy, overwrought by her vision two or three days later on 27 June, "sent to find me, and when I entered her room, she exclaimed, 'My son, my son, you are alive yet! In a vision I saw you in a room, under the guard of enemies, and I awoke fearful of some sad result.' A singular coincidence with the very situation in which I had been placed, but which had been kept entirely secret from her" (W. Smith, "A Proclamation," 1).

William's remarriage a month later no doubt factored into his emotional instability, while the intensity, fear, exhaustion, and uncertainty about the future that everyone in Nauvoo was experiencing exacerbated every encounter.<sup>28</sup>

The next spring, in March 1846, Almon Babbitt and Joseph Heywood refused to surrender the deed to Joseph Noble's house, which Young had promised Lucy, unless one of two conditions was met: either William must support the Twelve or Lucy must forbid him entrance into the house. She responded with an outraged and highly emotional outpouring that returned again and again to her identity and claims as a mother. After reminding them that the house was a promise of her son Joseph, which Brigham Young had, in turn, promised to fulfill, she attacked. She not only appealed to the sentiments natural to all mothers for their children, but also to the special claims that her family had on the church, and, more, *her* special claims as the mother to the church:

You restrict my conscience, put limits to my affections, threaten me with poverty, if I do not drive my children from my door because they resent insult and abuse. . . . No, although my children have been the Fathers and Founders of the Church, and spent their all in its service, yea have not withheld their lives, but have been sacrificed on the altar of Mobocracy and at the feet of wicked men, have been torn from their widowed Mother. This is not enough but I am called upon to banish from my home the few of my family who are left as my only solace. . . . Thank kind Heaven that has implanted in my bosom affection which gold cannot buy, and which bribes cannot break[—]the cords of affection that binds me to the children of my bosom even eternity itself cannot break, they are interwoven with the finest arteries of my heart, and the love that flows through them is the only principle that enlivens and cheers me in this vale of tears. You would have me forsake my children in order that you may give me a living, but let it not be said that in the Church . . . a mother has to forfeit all natures ties, to cut asunder the cords of affection that bind her to her children, or she shall not have a subsistence. . . . As to the head of the Church I am Mother and ask obedience to the Law of God, and all will be right and none that feel as Joseph did will wrong his Mother, his Brother, or his Sisters. . . . Let this be a sufficient rebuke from your Mother in Israel, Amen.

She repeated this title in her signature: "Lucy Smith Mother in Israel" (Shepard and Hajicek, 7-9; L. Smith to Mssrs.).<sup>29</sup>

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28. Furthermore, William apparently immediately launched on his new calling as Church Patriarch. The day after his second marriage, 23 June 1845, he gave Martha Jane Coray a blessing which is microfilmed with the holograph and fragments of Lucy's rough draft. In it he reassures her in a passage that might more properly fit either himself or Lucy: "Thine heart shall be comforted in days to come, for thy past life has been a life of sorrow, and thou hast been acquainted with grief. . . ."

29. See also Epilogue.

After Lucy's death, Brigham Young would excoriate her as so "old and forgetful" that she "could scarcely recollect anything correctly" and dismiss her book as "a tissue of falsehoods" ("Remarks"). His reaction, discussed in the next chapter, does not show him in the best light where Lucy was concerned. But there is no reason to question his sincere affection for and interest in Lucy, even though the larger interests of the church had to be preeminent, and even though he was clearly exasperated by her unwillingness to sacrifice what she saw as family interests to those of the kingdom.

Against his harshness should be balanced a moment of generosity and affection that came on 4 April 1847 when he signed a touching letter to Lucy, literally on the eve of the vanguard company's departure. Speaking for the Council of the Twelve to "beloved mother in Israel," this man, whose own childhood had been motherless, wrote tenderly:

. . . We are constantly reminded of their [the martyrs'] aged mother, whom we feel free to call our mother, knowing the many privations, hardships, toils, fatigues, weariness, which she has been called to endure, in connection with her beloved Joseph and other children in establishing the Kingdom of God on the earth.

. . . We felt we could not take our leave without addressing a line to mother Smith, to let her know that her children in the Gospel have not forgotten her.

Your memory, and that of your dear husband, our Father in Israel, is sweet unto us, and ever will be, and that of all your household, whom the Lord has given unto you, for He has given you a family to increase without number, . . . the household of faith . . .

If our dear Mother Smith should at any time wish to come where the Saints are located, and she will make it manifest to us, there is no sacrifice we will count too great . . . and if she chooses not to be with us, and we could know where she is, we would gladly administer to her wants. . . .

He closed with a blessing: "Peace be to Mother Smith, may her last days be her best days, may her heart be satisfied, may she be upheld in all her trials, may all her wants be supplied, and go home like a shock of corn fully ripe . . . and may the choicest blessing of Heaven and earth abide with you forever, is the prayer of your beloved children . . ." (Clark 1:319-21)<sup>30</sup>

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30. Brigham Young's manuscript history (47) notes: "The Twelve wrote a lengthy letter to Mrs. Lucy Smith . . . inquiring after her whereabouts and circumstances, and offering to convey her westward if she desired to join the body of the church." This phrasing suggests that Young saw this letter as an official, not a personal, communication.

# THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF LUCY'S BOOK

## INTRODUCTION

The creation of this critical edition of Lucy Mack Smith's family history has been a long and rewarding exercise, not only in painstakingly establishing the words that make up the documents but in feeling for Lucy's own voice behind the layers of words that have accumulated since its writing.

Lucy's book has a very complicated documentary history. In any given passage, depending on the in-print edition, it is not always immediately clear if we are listening to Lucy's voice or to that of Martha Jane Coray, Howard Coray, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith, Elias Smith, Preston Nibley, or even an anonymous British typesetter. (See chart, p. 218.) Rather astonishingly for a controversial work, it was not only condemned from the official ecclesiastical pulpit but later was reprinted by orders from the same pulpit.

Jan Shippo, in her masterful essay on "Getting the Story Straight," in *Mormonism: A New Religious Tradition*, uses the fortunes of Lucy's manuscript as a historic case study—Leonard Arrington's years at the LDS Church History Department constitute the modern example—to show the importance church leaders have attached over time to controlling and authorizing versions of history. She concedes that Lucy's rough draft suffers from "somewhat confused chronology and incomplete information," but still "comes closer than the finished *History* to capturing the perceptions and emotions, ideas and feelings, attitudes and beliefs of the mother of the Mormon prophet" (95).

LDS historian Richard L. Bushman sees the narrative as centered on the Smith family—"its hardships, triumphs, sorrows, and happiness. Lucy's pride was the pride of family. . . . Her pride arose not from the family's success but from the way in which they met adversity. . . . Lucy Smith honored those who overcame. She made her narrative the story of many troubles, turning the misfortunes of Smith family history into exemplifications of their character" (*Joseph*, 10-11).

Joseph Smith biographer Donna Hill calls the work "mainly a reminiscence of the workings of God in [Lucy's] life . . . a chatty account of family events and vicissitudes, in particular those in which she herself plays an important role. She presents herself as heroine, perhaps not unjustly. . . . She leaves an impression of energy, confidence, ambition and native intelligence . . . [but also] personal pride and much concern for the social status of her family" (32).

One of Lucy's editors, Assistant LDS Church Historian Preston Nibley, called her book "one of the most beautiful narratives and yet one of the most tragic in our Church literature. Never did a woman pour forth the true feelings



of her heart with more sincerity; expressing her gratitude to God for the blessings she had received; acknowledging His hand in the trials she had suffered and in the persecutions she had endured. It is the record of a great, true Christian life" (ix).

LDS writers Scott Facer Proctor and Maurine Jensen Proctor, who edited a "revised and enhanced" version of Lucy's history in 1996, term the 1844-45 rough draft

the raw, unedited Lucy, a reflection of her intellect and heart. What she expressed was her life as she saw it and the part that her family had played in bringing forth the Book of Mormon and the restored religion. . . . a family history, a story of drama, spiritual adventure, and pathos, but most of all a personal story. Thus, without hesitation, she shared intimate details, probed feelings and made assessments, felt free to soliloquize. She was frank, for instance, to say that she looked forward to standing at the bar of God, where, after a lifetime of persecution, justice will finally reign and her persecutors will be brought to task. And though she shared her suffering, she was not full of self-pity, but rather grateful to be the mother of a prophet and part of a transcendent work. (xxi)

Mormon historian Maureen Ursenbach Beecher notes that the ratio of women's writings to men's listed in Davis Bitton's 3,000-item *Guide to Mormon Diaries* is approximately one in ten, "a discrepancy, I suggest, created as much by our failure to value and preserve women's life writings as by their failure to write" (xv). Lucy's book both represents and deviates from that pattern. Its importance has never been doubted, yet it has been primarily valued for what it reveals about early Mormon history. I hope that this presentation and exploration will encourage a deeper appreciation of her book as a memoir and as a family history.

This essay will explain the complex and complicated history of composition that produced two almost-identical manuscripts and the publication journeys that each took from that point. The story begins, in the months after the assassinations of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, with two women: the bereaved, sixty-nine-year-old Lucy Mack Smith and twenty-three-year-old Martha Jane Knowlton Coray, a convert of fewer than five years and a young mother, whose grief at the death of Joseph Smith took the form of a thirst to understand his years before she met him in Nauvoo, Illinois. Out of these encounters, the idea emerged of writing a book, with Lucy dictating and Martha Jane as scribe.<sup>1</sup> It was the shared vision of these two women that produced this most significant of early Mormon family histories and personal memoirs. Although both women are often obscured in the skirmishing of the men who took over the project, it is fitting to pay tribute to

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1. The scholarly convention of referring to historical persons by surname is not possible in a lengthy document so replete with Smiths and where two Corays were also involved.

their selfless service—one an elderly widow who was chronicling the devotion and suffering of her family, the other a young woman whose concern that her own children might know these stories impelled her to steal time from her other duties for this unremunerated service.

The project, which began in the winter of 1844-45, ended almost exactly a year later with the creation of two finished manuscripts (in addition to the rough draft). One of the finished manuscripts stayed in Nauvoo with Lucy and eventually came into possession of Orson Pratt, an LDS apostle, who took it with him to England and published it in 1853. It generated considerable controversy; and Brigham Young, twelve years after the fact, ordered the Saints to deliver up their copies to be destroyed. A “corrected” edition was published, but not until 1901-03, first serially by the *Improvement Era* and then as a compilation. This project was authorized by Young’s third successor, Lorenzo Snow, and implemented by his fourth, who also happened to be Lucy’s grandson, Joseph F. Smith. Meanwhile, the second finished copy had gone to Utah where it now reposes in the Historian’s Office.

As a convenient shorthand for referring to the three earliest versions, both here and more frequently in the parallel columns and notes that follow, I identify the 1844-45 rough draft that Lucy Mack Smith dictated to Martha Jane Knowlton Coray (and sometimes to her husband Howard) as *Lucy* or as *Lucy: 1844-45*. The 1845 fair (finished) copy that went to Utah I designate as *Coray* or as *Coray 1845*, although both Martha Jane and Howard were involved in making the copy. Since Lucy’s finished manuscript has disappeared, I usually describe it as the manuscript in Lucy’s or Pratt’s (depending on the time period) possession. The 1853 printed version that Orson Pratt arranged to have published by the *Millennial Star* office, from the first fair copy the Corays made, I designate as *Coray/Pratt* or as *Coray/Pratt: 1853*. (See “Which Came First?” pp. 91-93.) In addition, George A. Smith’s corrections to *Pratt: 1853* are abbreviated GAS. The 1880 (and subsequent) editions published by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints appear as *RLDS*. The *Improvement Era* editions of 1901-03, published by the LDS church, are referenced *IE*. Finally, Preston Nibley’s 1945 reprint of *IE* is abbreviated *Nibley*.

I would have preferred to present all three versions in parallel columns, since the Coray manuscript has never been published. However, permission from the LDS Church Copyright Office to publish the Coray manuscript was twice denied, with no reason given. Consequently, I include in the footnotes only such variations found in the Coray manuscript that I consider to be significant or helpful in understanding either the Lucy or the Pratt documents. These variations, though numerous, are, on the whole, not as significant as the reader might suppose. The vast majority consists of punctuation, spelling, and

minor word order variants. Below is a three-column arrangement of a single short chapter, describing the surgery performed on Joseph's typhoid-fever-infected leg (Wirthlin, 327) when he was a boy, and a comparison will provide a fairly good sample of typical changes. However, even though relatively few of them alter the meaning in significant ways, it is interesting to see the progression from Lucy's dramatic oral narrative in the 1844-45 rough draft to the more polished 1845 Coray version to the final published version in 1853. (Notes removed.)

*Lucy: 1844-45*

*Coray 1845*

*Coray/ Pratt: 1853*

se and I shall here be under the necessity of turning the subject to my

CHAP. 16.

THE SUFFERINGS OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR., WITH A FEVER SORE—EXTRACTION OF LARGE FRAGMENTS [sic] OF BONE FROM ONE OF HIS LEGS.

CHAP. XVI.

THE SUFFERINGS OF JOSEPH SMITH, JUNIOR, WITH A FEVER SORE—EXTRACTION OF LARGE FRAGMENTS OF BONE FROM ONE OF HIS LEGS.

3 son Joseph who had so far recovered that he sat up when he <one day> suddenly screamed out with a severe pain in his shoulder and seemed in such etreme distress that we were fearful that something dreadful was about to ensue and sent immediately for the Doctor who said he was of the opinion it was a sprain but the child said this could not be the case as he had not been hurt but that a sharp pain took him very suddenly ~~that he had not been hurt~~ and <he> knew cause for it.

Joseph, our third son, having something like two weeks sickness, and having recovered from the typhus fever, screamed out, while sitting in a chair with a severe pain in his shoulder; and in a very short time appeared to be in such agony, that we ~~apprehended~~ <feared> the consequence would be something serious. We immediately sent for a doctor; who, after his arrival, examined the patient and said, that his opinion was that the pain was occasioned by a sprain. But the child declared, this could not be the case; as he had received no injury whatever; but, that a severe pain had seized him all at once; and of the cause of which he was entirely ignorant.

Joseph, our third son, having recovered from the typhus fever, after something like two weeks' sickness, one day screamed out while sitting in a chair, with a pain in his shoulder, and, in a very short time, he appeared to be in such agony that we feared the consequence would prove to be something very serious. We immediately sent for a doctor. When he arrived, and had examined the patient, he said that it was his opinion that this pain was occasioned by a sprain. But the child declared this could not be the case, as he had received no injury in any way whatever, but that a severe pain had seized him all at once, of the cause of which he was entirely ignorant.

The physician insisted upon <the truth of> his first opinion and anointed ~~this~~ the shou [sic] with bone linament but the pain remmained as severe as ever for 2 weeks

However, the physician still insisted that it must be a sprain, and therefore anointed his shoulder with some bone linament; but this was of no advantage to him: the pain continued the same as before.

Notwithstanding the child's protestations, still the physician insisted, that it must be a sprain, and consequently, he anointed his shoulder with some bone linament; but this was of no advantage to him, for the pain continued the same after the anointing as before.

when the Doctor made a close examination and found that a very large fever sore had gathered between his breast and shoulder which when it was lanced discharged a full quart of Matter

Two weeks of extreme suffering having elapsed, the attendant physician concluded to make closer examination; and he found that a large fever sore had gather<ed> between his breast and shoulder. He lanced it, and it discharged fully a quart of matter

When two weeks of extreme suffering had elapsed, the attendant physician concluded to make closer examination; whereupon he found that a large fever sore had gathered between his breast and shoulder. He immediately lanced it, upon which it discharged fully a quart of matter.

As soon as this sore had discharged itself the pain left it ~~and shot~~ shooting like lightning [sic] as he said down his side into the marrow of his leg on the same side, The boy was almost in total despair Oh Father said he the pain is so severe how can I bear it.

When the sore had discharged itself, the pain (using his own terms) left it, and shot like lightning down his side into the marrow of the bone of his leg; and Soon became very Severe. My poor boy at this was in almost total despair, and cried out, "Oh, father, the pain is so severe, how can I bear it?"

As soon as the sore had discharged itself, the pain left it, and shot like lightning (using his own terms) down his side into the marrow of the bone of his leg, and soon became very severe. My poor boy, at this, was almost in despair, and he, cried out "Oh, father! the pain is so severe, how can I bear it!"

His leg immediately began to swell and he continued in the most excutiating pain for 2 weeks longer during this time I carried him in my arms continually soothing him and doing all that my utmost ingenuity

His leg in a short time began to swell; and he continued to suffer the greatest agony for two weeks longer. During this period I carried him much of the time in my arms, to relieve, as much as possible his suffering, on account of which

His leg soon began to swell, and he continued to suffer the greatest agony for the space of two weeks longer. During this period I carried him much of the time in my arms, in order to mitigate his suffering as

could suggest ~~until~~ to ease his sufferings until nature was exhausted and I was taken severely ill myself

I was taken very ill myself. The anxiety of mind that I experienced together with over physical exertion, was too much for my Constitution, and my nature sunk under it.

much as possible; in consequence of which, I was taken very ill myself. The anxiety of mind that I experienced, together with physical over-exertion, was too much for my constitution, and my nature sunk under it.

Then Hyrum who has always been remarkable for the tenderness and sympathy desired that he might take my place ~~to~~ accordingly Joseph was laid upon a low bed and Hyrum sat beside him almost incessantly day and night grasping the most painful part of the affected leg between his hands and by pressing it closely in this maner the little sufferer was enabled the better to bear the pain which otherwise seemed almost ready to take his life

Hyrum, who was always rather remarkable for his tenderness and sympathy, now desired that he might take my place. As he was a very trusty good boy, we concluded that he might; and, in order to make the task as easy for him as possible, we laid Joseph upon a low bed; and Hyrum, for some length of time, sat beside him almost day and night, holding the affected part of his leg in his hands, and pressing it between them, in order that his afflicted brother might, the better be enabled to endure the pain, which was so excruciating, that he was scarcely able to bear it.

Hyrum, who was rather remarkable for his tenderness and sympathy, now desired that he might take my place. As he was a good, trusty boy, we let him do so; and, in order to make the task as easy for him as possible, we laid Joseph upon a low bed, and Hyrum sat beside him, almost day and night, for some considerable length of time, holding the affected part of his leg in his hands, and pressing it between them, so that his afflicted brother might be enabled to endure the pain, which was so excruciating, that he was scarcely able to bear it.

At the end of 3 weeks he became so bad that we sent again for the surgeon who, when he came <made> cut his leg open <an incision of 8 inches> on the front side of the leg between the <knee> and ancle the distance of 8 inches and by continual dressing his leg was some

After the lapse of three weeks, we thought it best to send again for the Surgion: when he came he made an incission of Eight inches, on the front side of the diseased leg, between the knee and ankle. This relieved the pain in a great measure; and he was quite comfortable until the wound began to heal, when

At the end of three weeks we thought it advisable to send again for the surgeon. When he came, he made an incision of eight inches, on the front side of the leg, between the knee and ankle. This relieved the pain in a great measure, and the patient was quite comfortable until

what releived untill the wound commenced healing when the pain became as violent as ever

the surgeon again renewed the wound by cutting to the bone the second time shortly it commenced healing the second time and as the healing ~~prg~~ progressed the swelling rose at last a counsell of surgeons was called it was decided that there was no remedy but amputation

When they rode up I went to the door & invited them into another room apart from the one where Joseph lay Now said I gentlemen (for there were 7 of them) what can you do to save my boys leg They answered we can do nothing we have cut it open to the bone 2 and find the bone so affected that it is incurable

but this was like a thunderbolt to me. I appealed to the principle Surgeon <present> said I Doctor Stone can you not try once more by cutting round the

the pain became as violent as ever.

The surgion was called again: he this time enlarged the wound, cutting his leg even to the bone. It commenced healing the second time, soon after which it began to swell again; and it continued swelling till we considered it wisdom to call a council of Surgions; which being done, it was determined that amputation was the only remedy.

Shortly after they came to this conclusion, they rode up to the door; and I invited them into a room aparte from the one in which Joseph lay. And when they were seated, I thus addressed them: "gentlemen," said I, "what can you do to save my boy's leg?"

"We can do nothing", answered they; 'we have cut it open to the bone, and find it so affected, that we consider it as incurable; and amputation absolutely necessary to save his life."

This was like a thunderbolt—I appealed to the principal physician; saying, "D<r>. Stone, can you not make another trial? Can you not, by cutting around the bone, take

the wound began to heal, when the pain became as violent as ever.

The surgeon was called again, and he this time enlarged the wound, cutting the leg even to the bone. It commenced healing the second time, and as soon as it began to heal, it also began to swell again, which swelling continued to rise till we deemed it wisdom to call a council of surgeons; and when they met in consultation, they decided that amputation was the only remedy.

Soon after coming to this conclusion, they rode up to the door, and were invited into a room, apart from the one in which Joseph lay. They being seated, I addressed them thus: "Gentlemen, what can you do to save my boy's leg?" They answered, "We can do nothing; we have cut it open to the bone, and find it so affected that we consider his leg incurable, and that amputation is absolutely necessary in order to save his life."

This was like a thunderbolt to me. I appealed to the principal surgeon, saying, "Dr. Stone, can you not make another trial? Can you not, by cutting

bone and taking out the affected part there may be a part of the bone that is sound which will heal over and thus you may save the leg you will you must take off the leg till you try once more ~~to save it~~ I will not consent to your entering his room till you promise <this>

This they agreed to <this> after a short consultation; then we went to the invalid:—the Doctor said, my poor boy, we have come again. "Yes," said Joseph, "I see you have; but you have not come to take off my leg, have <you sir?>" No, said the surgeon, "it is your Mothers request, that we should make one ~~more~~ <more> effort; and that is what we <have now> come for now.

My Husband, ~~look~~ <who was constantly with the child,> seemed <for a moment> to contemplate my countenance; — a ~~moment~~ and then turning his eyes upon his boy, <at once> all his sufferings, <together with> and my <intense> anxiety ~~seemed to rush~~ <ed> upon his mind; & & he burst into <a flood of> tears, and sobbed like a child.

out the diseased part?—and perhaps that which is sound will heal over—and by this means you will save his leg— You will not, you must not take off his leg until you try once more.—I will not consent to have you enter the room, until you make me this promise."

After a few moments consultation, they agreed to comply with my request; and then went in to see my suffering son. One of the doctors on approaching his bed, said: my poor boy, we have come again."

"Yes," said Joseph, "I see you have; but you have not come to take off my leg, have you, Sir?"

"No," replied the Surgion, 'it is your mother's request, that we make one more effort; and this is what we have now come for."

around the bone, take out the diseased part, and perhaps that which is sound will heal over, and by this means you will save his leg? You will not, you must not, take off his leg, until you try once more. I will not consent to let you enter his room until you make me this promise."

After consulting a short time with each other, they agreed to do as I had requested, then went to see my suffering son. One of the doctors, on approaching his bed, said, "My poor boy, we have come again."

"Yes," said Joseph, "I see you have; but you have not come to take off my leg, have you, sir?" "No," replied the surgeon, "it is your mother's request that we make one more effort, and that is what we have now come for."



The surgeons <immediately> ~~now~~ ordered cords to be brought, ~~and~~ to bind <him> ~~the patient~~ fast to the bedstead; But <he> ~~Joseph subject child~~ objected. ~~and~~ When the doctor insisted that he must be bound ~~tha~~ <confined> he said decidedly; "No, Doctor I will not be bound." I can ~~have~~ ~~endure~~ <bear> the process better ~~to be~~ unconfined." "Then," said Dr Stone, "will you drink some brandy." No," said the child, "not one drop." Then said the Dr, "will you take some wine?" ~~for~~ You must take something, or you ~~never~~ can <never> endure <the severe> operation to which you must be subjected.

~~Answered~~ <"No, answered> the ~~the~~ boy, I will not touch one particle of liquor; neither will I be tied down: but I will tell you what I will do, I will have my Father sit on the bed close by me; and then I will ~~bear~~ do ~~anything that~~ <whatever> is necessary to be done, <in order> to have the bone taken out. But ~~me~~ Mother, I want you to leave the room, I know that you cannot ~~stand it~~ endure to see me suffer so. Father can bear it. But you have carred me so much,

The principal Surgion, after a minutes conversation, ordered cords to be brought, for the purpose of binding Joseph fast to a bedstead; To this Joseph objected; but he insisted that he must be bound; finally Joseph said, very decidedly: "No, D<r>, I will not be bound: I can bear the operation much better, if I have my liberty."

"Then," said Doctor Stone, "will you drink some brandy?"

"No," returned Joseph. "not one drop."

"Will you take some wine?" rejoined the D<r>. "you must take something, or you can never endure the severe operation to which you must be subjected."

"No," exclaimed Joseph, "I will not touch one particle of liquor, neither will I be tied down; but I will tell you what I will do: I will have my father sit on the bed and hold me in his arms, and then I will do what is necessary to be done in order to have the bone taken out." Then looking at me, he said: "Mother, I want you to leave the room: I know you cannot bear to see me Suffer So: father can stand it; but you have carried me so much and watched over me so long, you are almost worn out." Then looking up into

The principal surgeon, after a moment's conversation, ordered cords to be brought to bind Joseph fast to a bedstead; but to this Joseph objected. The doctor, however, insisted that he must be confined, upon which Joseph said very decidedly, "No, doctor, I will not be bound, for I can bear the operation much better if I have my liberty." "Then," said Dr. Stone, "will you drink some brandy?"

"No," said Joseph, "not one drop."

"Will you take some wine?" continued the doctor. "You must take something, or you can never endure the severe operation to which you must be subjected."

"No," exclaimed Joseph, "I will not touch one particle of liquor, neither will I be tied down; but I will tell you what I will do—I will have my father sit on the bed and hold me in his arms, and then I will do whatever is necessary in order to have the bone taken out." Looking at me, he said, "Mother, I want you to leave the room, for I know you cannot bear to see me suffer so; father can stand it, but you have carried me so much, and watched over me so long,

and watched over me so long you are almost worn out. Then looking up into ~~laid he her~~ ~~<with his eyes swimming with tears>~~ my face his ~~<eyes>~~ swimming with tears, he said beseechingly; Now Mother, promise me you will not stay, will you? The Lord will will help me ~~to so~~ ~~&~~ ~~<that>~~ I shall get through with it; so do ~~you~~ leave me, and go away off till they get through with it.

~~I consented to do so; and~~ ~~<To this I consented:~~ so,> after bringing a number of ~~<folded>~~ sheets to ~~fold~~ ~~<lay>~~ under his leg, I left him, ~~went~~ ~~<going>~~ some ~~100~~ ~~<hundred>~~ yards from the house.

The surgeons began by boring into the bone, first on one side of the affected part, then on the other after which, they broke it loose with a pair of forceps or pincers; thus, they took away 2 large pieces of the bone. When they broke off the first piece, he screamed so loud with the pain ~~<of his leg>~~ that I could not repress my desire of going to him but as soon as I entered the room ~~<he cried out>~~ Oh! Mother! go back! go back! I do not want you to come in I will tough it if you will go

my face, (his eyes swimming in tears) he continued: "Now, Mother, promise me that you will not stay, will you? the Lord will help me, and I shall get through with it."

To his request I consented; and getting a number of folded sheets, and laying them under his leg, I went several hundred yards from the house, in order to be out of hearing.

The surjon soon commenced operation: he bored first on one side of the bone, which was affected, then on the other side: after which, he broke it off with a pair of pinchers; and in this manner, took away large pieces of the bone.

On breaking off the first piece, Joseph screamed out so loudly, that I could not forbear running to him. When I entered his room he cried out: "Oh, mother, go back, go back; I do not want you to come in—I will try to tough it out, if you will go away."

you are almost worn out." Then looking up into my face, his eyes swimming in tears, he continued, "Now, mother, promise me that you will not stay, will you? The Lord will help me, and I shall get through with it.

To this request I consented, and getting a number of folded sheets, and laying them under his leg, I retired, going several hundred yards from the house in order to be out of hearing.

The surgeons commenced operating by boring into the bone of his leg, first on one side of the bone where it was affected, then on the other side, after which they broke it off with a pair of forceps or pinchers. They thus took away large pieces of the bone. When they broke off the first piece, Joseph screamed out so loudly, that I could not forbear running to him. On my entering his room, he cried out, "Oh, mother, go back, go back; I do not want you to come in—I will try to tough it out, if you will go away."

when the 3 fracture was taken away I burst into the room again and Oh! my God what a spectacle for a Mothers eye the <wound> torn open to view My boy and the bed on which he covered with the blood ~~which~~ that was still gushing from the wound he was pale as a corpse and the big drops of sweat were rolling down his face every feature of which depicted agony that cannot be described

I was forced from the room and detained till they finished the operation ~~and~~ <after> placing him upon a clean bed with fresh clothing he clearing the room from every appearance of blood and any apparatus used in the extraction I was permited to enter

he now began to recover and when ~~go~~ he was able to travel ~~his un~~ he went with his uncle Jesse Smith to Salem for the benefit of his health hoping that the sea breezes might help him in this we were not disappointed for he soon became strong and healthy

When the third fracture was taken away I burst into the room again. And Oh my God! what a spectacle for a mother's eye! The wound torn open, and the blood still gushing from it—and the bed literally covered with blood. Joseph was as pale as a corpse, and large drops of sweat were rolling down his face; whilst the utmost agony was depicted in every feature.

I was immediately forced from the room, and detained until the operation was completed. When this was done, Joseph put on a clean bed, and the room cleared of every appearance of blood, as well as and the instruments removed which were used on the occasion, I was allowed again to enter. I now beheld him quiet, and, in a measure, free from pain; although pale as a corpse from exhaustion, and loss of blood.

Joseph immediately commenced getting better; and from this onward continued to mend, until he became strong and healthy.

Having so far recovered as to be able to travel, he went with his uncle Jesse Smith to Salem for the benefit of his health, hoping the sea-breezes would be of service to him;

When the third piece was taken away, I burst into the room again—and oh, my God! what a spectacle for a mother's eye! The wound torn open, the blood still gushing from it, and the bed literally covered with blood. Joseph was as pale as a corpse, and large drops of sweat were rolling down his face, whilst upon every feature was depicted the utmost agony!

I was immediately forced from the room, and detained until the operation was completed; but when the act was accomplished, Joseph put upon a clean bed, the room cleared of every appearance of blood, and the instruments which were used in the operation removed, I was permitted again to enter.

Joseph immediately commenced getting better, and from this onward, continued to mend until he became strong and healthy. When he had so far recovered as to be able to trave, he went with his unck, Jesse Smith, to Salem, fr the benefit of his health, hoping the sea-breezes would

and in this he was not disappointed.

be of service to him and in this he was not disappointed.

After one whole year of affliction ~~dis~~ we were able once more to look upon our children and each other in health, and I assure you my gentle reader we realized the blessing for I believe <we> felt more to acknowledge the hand of God in preserving our lives through such a desperate siege of disease pain and trouble than if we had enjoyed health and prosperity during the interim

After about a year of sickness and distress, health again returned to our family; and we indeed realized the blessing, and felt to acknowledge the hand of God, more in preserving our lives through such a tremendous scene of affliction than had we seen nothing but health and prosperity in the same time.

Having passed through about a year of sickness and distress, health again returned to our family, and we most assuredly realized the blessing; and indeed, we felt to acknowledge the hand of God, more in preserving our lives through such a tremendous scene of affliction, than if we had, during this time, seen nothing but health and prosperity.

In addition to documenting the historical markers of the controversy, exploring its possible causes, and analyzing the reasons usually given, this essay also describes the major landmarks of the book's checkered publication history, the major editions historically and currently available, and the editorial methods used in preparing this parallel-column edition of Lucy's 1844-45 rough draft and Pratt's 1853 published book.

## THE MARTHA JANE AND HOWARD CORAY MANUSCRIPTS

### Martha Jane's Antecedents

"Her brilliant black eyes had a piercing power," say Martha Jane's descendants (Weeks and Davis, 1). Martha Jane Knowlton Coray was twenty-three years old, a convert of fewer than five years, and the mother of two of her eventual family of twelve when she became involved in an intensive creative partnership with Lucy Mack Smith.

According to a sketch by her descendants, Martha was born 3 June 1821 at Covington, Boone County, Kentucky, to Sidney Algernon Knowlton and Harriet Burnham Knowlton, the third of their ten children. The family moved to Ohio and then, about 1835, to Bear Creek in Hancock County, Illinois, where the family became Campbellites. Martha Jane was teaching a Sunday school class by age ten and applied for baptism at twelve, "a request sufficiently unusual from one so young that the church officials were initially reluctant to grant it" (qtd. in Johnson, 2). According to Bear Creek Branch records, Martha Jane was the first of her family to be baptized Mormon—in

January 1840<sup>2</sup> by Apostle John E. Page through a hole chopped in the ice, even though it was "so cold that immediately after one was baptized, the place would skim over with ice" (Weeks and Cooper, 1, 3; Johnson, 2).

Martha Jane received her patriarchal blessing on 21 January 1840 from Joseph Smith Sr., met Howard Coray in Nauvoo when she drove into the city in a one-seated buggy to attend church services, corresponded with him for a few months, then, with the recommendation of Joseph Smith Jr., married him on 6 February 1841 at her parents' home in a ceremony performed by Robert B. Thompson. She was nineteen and Howard was twenty-three (Knowlton, 23). They had at least two traits in common: a passionate absorption with Mormon history and a profound love for the prophet.

For example, Howard commented that Martha Jane "greatly venerated Joseph Smith. I have frequently heard her say, that, he himself [Joseph] was the greatest miracle to her, she had ever seen; and that she valued her acquaintance with him above almost everything else" ("Autobiographical," 11). While Joseph was alive, Martha Jane's "unbounded confidence in him as the man of God" inspired her to take down "in common hand every discourse that she heard him preach and [she] has carefully preserved them," reported an article in a Provo, Utah, newspaper. "Brother George A. Smith said that she had taken more pains to preserve the sayings of that great prophet and had accomplished more in that direction than any other woman in the church" (*Territorial Enquirer*, Saturday, 17 December 1881, both qtd. in Weeks and Cooper, 3). According to her namesake daughter, Martha Jane Coray Lewis, she "was a warm personal friend of the prophet and patriarch Joseph and Hyrum Smith. It was ever her custom when going to meeting to take pencil and note paper; she thus preserved notes of sermons that would otherwise have been lost to the Church. The late President Woodruff consulted her notes, when he was Church Historian, for items not to be obtained elsewhere" (Lewis, 439).

Howard's feelings about Joseph Smith were equally strong. In a letter to a friend and kinsman in 1885, Howard testified:

I have had privileges beyond the most of my brethren—I was clerk for Joseph Smith in the year 1840—lived with him—Saw him under varied circumstances—with his family—his friends, as well as strangers. He was always self possessed and at home perfectly master of every situation, that I ever saw [him] in—I was present when he translated as a Seer on one occasion. I was also present when he received

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2. Howard Coray's diary mistakenly gives the date of Martha Jane's baptism as February 1840. He rebaptized her on 27 October 1850 at Salt Lake City, and she was reconfirmed the same day (Weeks and Davis, 2).

a revelation in relation to Priesthood matters;<sup>3</sup> and, if any sense of sight, of feeling, & of hearing can be trusted, I know Joseph Smith was no humbug—What I saw him do—what I know he did do, was as convincing to me, that God had called him to introduce the Dispensation of the fullness of times, as if I had seen him raise the dead. I know of these things in a way and manner in which there is no possibility of deception by the Holy Ghost—Shall I turn away <and deny what I know> because dark clouds are hovering over us? I hope I am not made of that kind of stuff. (Coray to Joshua)

At another crisis moment, after the martyrdom, Martha Jane and Howard attended the key meeting on presidential succession addressed by Sidney Rigdon, who was followed by Brigham Young. When Martha asked Howard whose leadership he would follow, he answered that they “would go with the records, that the Lord would not allow the records of the church to fall into the wrong hands” (Weeks and Davis, 5). In short, both Martha Jane and Howard were profoundly committed to the importance of Mormonism’s historical documents.

Fortunately this young couple had already surmounted what would prove to be a serious obstacle for many: accepting plural marriage. In early July 1843, Martha Jane had had “a peculiar dream which she believed had some significance” and asked Howard to come with her to Hyrum Smith for the interpretation. Howard recorded this important experience:

We went the next Sunday to see him (Brother Hyrum); but having company, he was not at liberty to say much to us. He said, however, if we would come the next Sunday he would interpret the dream, but wished to see us by ourselves, when there was no other present. Accordingly, the next Sunday we went; but found as many at his house as the Sunday previous; He said to us, come again next Sunday and probably it will be different; but in a day or so he called at our house, and invited us to take a ride with him in his buggy. We accordingly did so. When he had got far enough out of town to converse safely, without attracting the attention or being understood he commenced rehearsing the revelation on Celestial Marriage, and carefully went through with the whole of it, then reviewed it, explaining such portions of it as he deemed necessary. This was on the 22 July 1843. The

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3. Coray reports in one of his autobiographical sketches: “One morning, I went as usual, into the Office to go to work: I found Joseph sitting on one side of a table and Robert B. Thompson on the opposite side. . . . They were . . . hunting in the manuscript of the new translation of the Bible for something on Priesthood, which Joseph wished to present, or have read to the people the next Conference: Well, they could not find what they wanted and Joseph said to Thompson ‘put the manuscript [on] one side, and take some paper and I will tell you what to write.’ Bro. Thompson took some foolscap paper that was at his elbow and made himself ready for the business. I was seated probably 6 or 8 feet on Joseph’s left side, so that I could look almost squarely into Joseph’s left eye—I mean the side of his eye. Well, the Spirit of God descended upon him, and a measure of it upon me, insomuch that I could fully realize that God, or the Holy Ghost, was talking through him. I never, neither before or since, have felt as I did on that occasion. I felt so small and humble I could have freely kissed his feet” (Coray in Jessee, 344).

dream was in harmony with the Revelation, and was calculated to prepare her mind for its reception. She never doubted the divinity of it, nor reviled against it, and while still in the buggy, Brother Hyrum asked my wife if she was willing to be sealed to me; after a moment's thought, she answered, Yes. He then asked me if I wished to be sealed. I replied in the affirmative, and after telling us what he knew by the Spirit of the Lord, that it was His will for us to be sealed, he performed the ceremony, then and there. (Qtd. in *ibid.*, 4)<sup>4</sup>

Interestingly enough, despite this experience, Howard did not take a plural wife and, despite almost a quarter century of widowerhood, did not remarry after Martha Jane's death.

Lucy and Martha knew each other from personal contact, not only as residents of the same city or because Martha's husband worked for Lucy's son. Their first meeting occurred in striking circumstances. The *Times and Seasons* of February 1840 included as a news item John Page's report of baptizing the Knowlton family.<sup>5</sup> No date is mentioned, but Martha Jane was baptized in January. Furthermore, the baptisms occurred before 21 January, when Martha Jane received her patriarchal blessing, an important part of the story.

According to Lucy's account, Joseph Sr., who had been ill most of the winter, "got some better before spring so that he walked arround the neighborhood and even attended to blessing some few of the brethren among whom was Elder John E. Page and his wife" (chap. 52). Accompanying the Pages was a young woman

whom he had never seen before that day and who had not been in the church a fortnight when he blessed her he repeated a prophecy that had before been pronounced upon her head by Bro. Page word for word and ~~told her~~ <said> that the spirit testified <to him> that she was told these things in her confirmation this surprized her for She had just arrived in Nauvoo with Bro Page and sister Page and she knew that there had not one word passed between him and my husband upon the subject. (chap. 52)

Although Lucy does not name this young woman and no date is given for Page's return to Nauvoo nor for the blessing meeting, the newly baptized con-

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4. While Joseph Smith III was in Provo, Utah, in 1885, his former teacher, Howard Coray, called on him, "very anxious" to testify to him of plural marriage during his father's lifetime. In the course of their conversation, as Joseph III put question after question to him, Coray explained that this sealing in the buggy was not intended to replace a civil marriage but was "only intended for those already married, who were desirous of continuing in the next life their associations as husband and wife" (231). In short, according to Joseph III, Coray denied that this experience was an explanation of the principle of plural marriage; and indeed, although every circumstance of time, situation, and parallel experience would lead the reader to the conclusion that polygamy was what Hyrum was teaching by "celestial marriage," the document itself does not use that term.

5. [no heading], *Times and Seasons*, 1, no. 4 (February 1840): 61.



vert was Martha Jane herself and the meeting occurred on 21 January 1840, as dated by her patriarchal blessing. In it Joseph Sr. stated that he was giving her the blessing "by the consent of thy Father and by the request of Br Page thy Spiritual Father," further confirmation that the blessing was given on the occasion Lucy records. He identified Martha Jane's lineage somewhat generally as "of the House of Israel of the lineage of Joseph and of the Covenant of Abraham." The blessing then continued with three predictions, any of which could have been the remarkably repeated promise:

and nothing can overthrow the[e] if faithful . . . and [thou] shall ere long be filled with the spirit of Prophecy [sic]—Gift of Tongues and instruct the Lamanites in needle work for the Spirit testifies these Things. . . . Thou shalt not marry a Gentile for this is contrary to the Order of Heaven but if Thou wilt seek diligently the Lord shall guide the[e] through the slippery paths of youth and shall give the[e] a Companion of his own choosing—thou shall have Children and if faithful they shall have <receive> the Priesthood and in after days shall arise and call you blessed—and now continue faithful and ere long Angels shall minister unto the[e] . . . and I say in the Name of the Lord Jesus thou shalt not die but shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye and shall be caught up to meet him in the air and I now Seal the[e] up unto eternal life Amen<sup>6</sup>

From Lucy's record, it is impossible to tell if she was a woman who enjoyed social visits or made them very frequently. She mentions visiting only Joseph and Emma and Emma's family in Harmony while they lived in Palmyra and visiting only her own relatives as part of a missionary journey in Michigan while she lived in Kirtland. However, she does make mention of a visit she paid to the S. A. Knowlton family on Bear Creek the winter after Joseph Jr. died. This was only a month or two before Martha Jane's marriage and may even have been at her invitation. Lucy mentions the week-long visit because most of the pleasure was removed when she injured herself in alighting from the wagon, bringing on rheumatism in her knee that led to a prolonged illness that winter (chap. 53).<sup>7</sup>

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6. Martha Jane Knowlton, Patriarchal Blessing by Joseph Smith Sr., 21 January 1840, Coray Family Collection, Box 1, fd. 6. Hyrum Smith gave her a second patriarchal blessing on 8 November 1841 in which he "pronounced upon you the promise of Eternal Life, irrevocable, for you shall not fall, but shall be saved, & your Name written in the Lambs Book of Life never to be blotted out, & this shall be your Comforter, in the days of your Pilgrimage, even the promise of Eternal Life which is the second Comforter, to Comfort your years in the Days of your Tribulation, which shall be many. . . . Wisdom & Understanding is your Gift, & in these things you shall be blest, even with the Riches of the Grace of God, & Wisdom & Knowledge which shall make you Wise unto Salvation. . . . You shall not suffer, to any great extent for the want of this Worlds Goods . . ." (ibid.).

7. Unfortunately, Lucy's rough draft is not paginated. Its current (spring 2000) order on the LDS Church Archives microfilm reflects some arranging Jan Shippis did during the 1970s and may

**Howard Coray's Antecedents**

Howard Coray was born 6 May 1817 in Stueben County, New York, the son of Silas Coray and Mary Stephens Coray. The family moved first to Pennsylvania in 1827 and then, in 1838, to Pike County in western Illinois where Howard encountered Mormon missionaries and was baptized with his family on 25 March 1839. In April 1840 Howard visited Nauvoo, where a friend introduced him to Joseph Smith as "a collegiate from Jacksonville College. This was not true," protested Howard, "and was not authorized by me" (qtd. in Johnson, 3). Joseph Smith, not holding the friend's prevarication against him, immediately offered Howard employment as his clerk (Knowlton, 24-25). According to Joseph Smith III's description, Howard had "lost his left hand in some way but had an artificial one made of cork or other light substance, on which he always wore a glove" (9). Howard wrote a legible and even elegant record with his remaining hand, making clerking a logical profession for him. "In about two weeks thereafter," Howard recorded, "I was busily employed at his office, copying a huge pile of letters into a book—correspondence with the Elders as well as other persons, that had been accumulating for some time" (qtd. in Johnson, 3).

Joseph Smith's published history does not mention Howard's employment, so it is not clear how long this arrangement lasted, but it was probably until the fall of 1840 when he opened a school, which was sufficiently successful that he moved it to a large room, added for that purpose to Robert B. Thompson's house. Joseph III remembers attending Howard's school during 1841-42, and Howard says that he had about 150 scholars in 1844-45 when, first Martha Jane, then he, "gave up" the school to work full-time on Lucy's book. Between 1841 and the spring of 1843, Joseph III remembers another incident. Howard, "tall and slender, lightly built but quite active," was standing by the hitching rail when Joseph came out to mount. Joseph III, who turned nine in the fall of

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or may not be the original order of the pages, especially if the work is microfilmed in the future. A bound photocopy of the microfilm, to which pagination has been added, is available at both the LDS Church Archives and at Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, Vol. 1, and D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, both cite different paginations in their references. Since the entire text of the rough draft will be presented in this volume and since I have considerable confidence that the order of the 1853 Pratt volume follows Lucy's intention as reflected in the 1845 Coray manuscript, I key all references to the chapters of the 1853 published version rather than to page numbers. Fortunately, the chapters are very short, limiting the researcher's searching time and, I hope, frustration at trying to find an exact quotation. The reader also using the Nibley (1945-present) and Proctor (1996) editions should keep in mind that both have shifted Chapter 9 into an appendix, thereby changing the numbering of the chapters from that point on to one less than the chapter numbering in Pratt, all RLDS (1880, 1912, 1916) editions, and the *Improvement Era* (1901-02) edition. All of these editions are described in the section "Descriptive Summary of Documents" in this essay.

1841, remembers that Joseph playfully seized Howard, mock-proposed a wrestle, and gave Howard's

leg a little knock with his foot, to unbalance him. It was an apparently light blow, but it upset him, or would have, had not Father caught him as he fell.

Then it was discovered that the playful kick had broken the leg. Father carried him into the house, called a doctor, and had the bone properly set. Mother was installed as nurse and he was given the best of care until his injury healed. I still remember Father's great remorse over the incident and how he not only took care of the unfortunate man and paid the physician's bills, but saw to it that the teacher lost nothing financially by his enforced absence from the school. I am inclined to think Mrs. Corey [sic] kept us going until her husband returned to the schoolroom. (10)

Joseph III's memory of the playful tone and of his father's remorse are accurate, but his dating is mistaken. Howard was not married when this wrestle occurred. In his own writings, Howard dates the accident to June 1840. He and Joseph had looked at the prophet's horses and were returning to the house, with Joseph's arm draped around the smaller man's shoulders:

When we had reached about the middle of the road, he stopped and remarked, "brother Coray, I wish you was a little larger, I would like to have some fun with you." I replied, perhaps you can as it is,—not realizing what I was saying. Joseph, a man of over 200 lbs weight, while I scarcely 130 lbs, made it not a little ridiculous, for me to think of engaging with him in any thing like a scuffle. However, as soon as I made this reply, he began to trip me; he took some kind of a lock on my right leg, from which I was unable to extricate it; and throwing me around, broke it some 3 inches above the ankle joint. He immediately carried me into the house, pulled off my boot, and found, at once, that my leg was decidedly broken; then got some splinters and bandaged it. A number of times that day did he come in to see me, endeavoring to console me as much as possible.

Howard, during his convalescence, reminded Joseph Smith jokingly that Jacob had "received a blessing for wrestling with the angel." Joseph responded by promising him that he would soon find a companion who "will be suited to your condition, and whom you will be satisfied with. She will cling to you, like the cords of death, and you will have a good many children." Howard, with this blessing in mind, was scanning the congregation at Sunday meeting only three or four weeks later when he caught sight of Martha Jane sitting in a one-horse buggy. "She had dark brown eyes, very bright and penetrating," he wrote. "At least they penetrated me; and I said to myself, she will do. The fact is, I was decidedly struck." After the meeting, he "promenaded" about the grounds until he could effect an introduction from a mutual friend. The conversation that ensued impressed him further: "She was ready, off hand, and inclined to be witty; also . . . her mind took a wider range, than was common for young ladies

of her age" (qtd. in Johnson, 4). Their courtship prospered, especially as Joseph Smith made a point of talking to Martha Jane about Howard, assuring her "that I was just the one for her" (ibid.). Robert B. Thompson performed their wedding on 6 February 1841 and even housed the honeymooning couple.

In Howard's patriarchal blessing, given at Nauvoo on 20 October 1840, Hyrum Smith had pronounced Howard's lineage as being "of the Tribe of Caleb," encouraged him to surmount his "infirmity," and drew an explicit parallel with the biblical Caleb, sent by Joshua to spy out the land of Canaan:

The fruitful portions of the land your eyes would behold and that you would contribute with all your heart to God. The desolate portions of the land ~~you~~ would not be any stumbling block in your path, and your testimony on your return would be favorable because of your Zeal <for the cause> which is sacred. This is a Type for you and a blessing on your head.

Although Coray was then acting as Joseph Smith's secretary and was engaged "in copying letters writing church history" (Knowlton, 25), Hyrum Smith tellingly concluded: "You shall be called an historian. In these things you shall improve greatly insomuch that there shall be few greater."<sup>8</sup> Almost certainly, Howard would have assumed that this blessing referred to the work he was then engaged in:

I continued the work of copying his letters until I finished the same. He then desired me to write up the Church history, saying that he would furnish all the material. I declined telling him that I did not [sic] myself competent for such a work—he said, if I would undertake it, I would be thankful for it as long as I lived: having more confidence in him than I had in myself, I engaged in the business of an historian. He placed in my hands some items and scraps of history for me to arrange cronologically and fix up as best I could. We had now moved into his new office—a two story building arranged to do the office work in the upper story.

He returns to the same episode in his second autobiographical sketch, this time explaining that Edwin D. Woolley was also engaged in the same project.

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8. Howard Coray, Patriarchal Blessing, 20 October 1840, Coray Family Collection, Mss 1422, Box 1, fd. 5. Howard received two additional patriarchal blessings from John Smith, the first in 1851 and the second in 1857, a fourth from Edward Dalton in 1889, and an undated one by Zebedee Coltrin which identified his lineage as "of the seed of Abraham of the house of Joseph and lineage of Ephraim." This blessing promised that "thy sons shall become mighty men before the Lord—many of them shall become Kings & Priests unto the most High and shall become mighty people in the midst of Zion. And thy daughters shall become women of great renown and they shall become mothers of holy men and women—and many of their sons shall become prophets, and Apostles, and Evangelists before the Lord upon the Earth."

The Prophet was to furnish all the materials; and our business, was not only to combine, and arrange in chronological order, but to spread out or amplify not a little, in as good historical style as may be. Bro. Woolley's education, not being equal to mine, he was to get the matter furnished him in as good shape as he could; and my part was to go after him, and fix his up as well as I could, making such improvement and such corrections in his grammar and style as I might deem necessary. On seeing his work, I at once discovered, that I had no small job on my hands, as he knew nothing whatever of grammar; however, I concluded to make the best I could of a bad job, and thus went to work upsetting and recasting; as well as casting out not a little. Seeing how his work was handled, he became considerably discouraged; and rather took offence at the way and manner in which I was doing things, and consequently soon withdrew from the business.

Immediately after Bro. Woolley left, I succeeded in obtaining the services of Dr. Miller, who had written for the press, and was considerably accustomed to this kind of business. Now I got on much better. I continued until we used up all the historical matter furnished us by the Prophet. And, as peculiar circumstances prevented his giving attention to his part of the business we of necessity discontinued our labors, and never resumed this kind of business again. ("Journal," in *Jessee* edition, 343-46)

Despite Howard's direct involvement in writing Joseph Smith's history, perhaps the memory of Hyrum Smith's blessing was what encouraged his full cooperation as Martha Jane launched on her project with Lucy Mack Smith.

Like most men in Nauvoo, Howard also served a mission. Two years after marrying Martha Jane, he and his father-in-law served a six-month mission to Pennsylvania (November 1842-spring 1843), during which Howard "took cold in my eyes," an ailment from which he suffered permanently (Knowlton, 25). Brigham Young called him on another mission with several other men on 8 October 1844 as part of a plan to have high priests "in all the congressional districts of the United States . . . to go and settle down, where they can take their families and tarry until the Temple is built, and then come and get their endowments, and return to their families and build up a stake as large as this" (HC 7:305-07). This plan of dispersal was soon abandoned in favor of a new exodus; there is no indication that Howard planned to move his family out of the city, especially since Martha Jane was engaged in her historical project with Lucy within a few weeks.

### Origins of Lucy's History

Three versions exist of how the project and collaboration began, although it is not possible to determine which most accurately describes the facts—nor does it particularly matter. The first version is that the idea was Lucy's and that she asked Martha Jane for assistance. A Coray family memoir, quoting *Periodicals and Works Published by the Church in 1853*, says that Lucy "call[ed] to

her aid Mrs. Howard Coray, [and] wrote a history of her life and that of her family" (Weeks and Cooper, 5). Lucy was literate, but she had arthritis in her hands, and holding a pen or pencil for long hours would have been painful. There are no descriptions of how far this condition had progressed in 1844 when she turned sixty-nine in July, but Eliza R. Snow records that she "wrote a letter for Mother Smith" on 18 June 1843 (Beecher, 76). Howard Coray's personal history corroborates that Lucy approached Martha Jane:

Sometime in the winter following 1844-45 Mother Smith came to see my wife, about getting her to help write the history of Joseph; to act in the matter, only as her, Mother Smith's amanuensis. This my wife was persuaded to do; and so dropped the school [that she had been assisting Howard to teach]. Not long had she worked in this direction, before, I was requested also to drop the school. . . . and help her in the matter of the history. After consulting President Young, who advised me to do so, I consented; and immediately set to with my might. We labored together until the work was accomplished, which took us till near the close of 1845. (Qtd. in Knowlton, 23)

In the second version, Martha Jane initiated the project. In her own statement made on 13 June 1865, Martha Jane described her desire to "transmit to paper what the old lady said" and "to secure all the information possible for myself and children," with the modest secondary goal of preparing "a small book for the reading of the young" that would contain "simple stories" as Lucy told them. Daughter Martha Jane Coray Lewis corroborates:

I have heard her say that the cause of her writing the history of Joseph Smith was that she might preserve as much as possible of the history of our great prophet to read to her own children; she, accordingly, went to Mother Smith, and asked her permission to write what she could remember of her son's history. Mother Smith gave her glad consent, and my dear mother went to her daily, and wrote until Mother Smith would grow weary. She then read over, several times, what she had written, making such changes and corrections as Mother Smith suggested. The work was undertaken purely as a labor of love. (Lewis, 40)

There is no question of Martha Jane's diligence. She may also have sought spiritual guidance for the project. Her notebook contains a hasty draft of a blessing, partly in pencil and partly in ink. Neither the giver, the recipient, the date, nor the circumstance of the blessing is given. It begins by blessing her as Howard's companion in his historical work. It should be remembered that Howard was no longer working for Joseph Jr. when they were married. The rest of the blessing lends itself to the hypothesis that this was a special blessing bestowed on Martha as she pursued her work helping Lucy with her autobiography:

Sister Allm I <beloved Sister> I lay my hands upon thy according to thy

request & bless thee ac to the H. P. for an assi(s)tent to thy com ~~fer~~ in all his labors as an historian and ordain thee to this power I ask my Heavenly Father to give the wisdom that you may be enabled to writ in that manner which is best calculat- to gain the atten of the reader that thy composition shall be filled with intelligence thy pen may be guided by inspiration that thy days may be spent in usefulness in the name of Je(sus) C(hrist) I seal a blessing according to My calling and I ask God to give thee the Spirit of prophecy 2 enlatran(?) that thou ~~may~~ mayest Communicate wisdom to the understanding thy name Shall be known for it is written in the Lambs book of life fear not thou shall find plenty work and thy name shall go forth ~~into the name~~ and be great is written in the lambs book of life and dismiss all thy doubts and thy Years multiplid upon thy head I ordain thee to this power by the authority invested in me and I seal upon thee every blessing which is calculated to promote the interest of the Redeemers Kingdom[.] ("Copy," 59-61)

The third version gives two different but not mutually exclusive scenarios by Lucy herself in a document closer in time to the actual period than either Martha Jane's or Howard's versions of events. In a letter that Lucy dictated to Martha Jane to her son William on 23 January 1845,<sup>9</sup> when the project would have been recently undertaken, Lucy ascribes the origin of the project to the Quorum of the Twelve, although it is not possible to know whom, exactly, she meant by this: "I have by the Councill of the 12 undertaken a history of the Family that is a my Fathers Family and my own now." She refers to it as a matter of "buisness," neither as a sentimental reconstruction of the past nor as what we would today call grief therapy. I am aware of no contemporary documents from Brigham Young or the Twelve to support this position; and certainly, given Young's later reaction, it seems unlikely that he would have taken credit for encouraging the project, although Howard Coray felt he had Young's blessing in giving up the school to work full time with Martha. There is no question that Lucy hoped that the project would relieve some of the dire poverty oppressing her family. In a note written lengthwise in the margin on the first sheet of the letter, she says: "My son I intend, if I can accomplish the book I have commenced that it shall be an assistance to you and your sisters and believe it will be a benefit to you all[.]"

The letter is a rambling one. It describes Lucy's stricken and bereft state, continues with a diatribe against the United States, laments that William is not there to comfort her and her three daughters as "the sole remaining <male> suport of your Fathers' house," inquires lovingly after Caroline's

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9. Richard L. Anderson ("Circumstantial," 387n42) mistakenly dates this letter as 23 June 1845, an error quoted by Vogel (1:228).



health (she was dying of "dropsy"—renal failure), and urges William to return to the anxious church and the welcoming Twelve.

Scattered throughout this letter are references to her book:

People are often enquiring of me the particulars of Joseph's getting the plates, seeing the angels at first and many other things which Joseph never wrote or published. I have told over many things pertaining to these matters to different persons to gratify their curiosity indeed have almost destroyed my lungs giving these recitals to those who felt anxious to hear them. I have now concluded to write down every particular as far as possible and ~~tha~~ if those who wish to read them will help me a little they can have it all in one piece to read at their leisure.<sup>10</sup>

Lucy returned later in her letter to the idea that the book would be a popular one: "I suppose <if> I were with the saints they would be glad to hear me relate those things which I design commithing [sic] to paper. The Bretheren here are very anxious about the matter and wou<ld> help me if they could but they are poor." She urges William more than once to raise money through a subscription, collect as much cash as he could, buy paper ("I shall need at least \$100 dollars we worth of paper"), and return to Nauvoo (Lucy Smith to William).

Since Martha Jane wrote this letter at Lucy's dictation, she would undoubtedly know whether the Twelve had, in fact, initiated the project or merely responded positively when Lucy proposed it. The fact that Martha Jane repeatedly told her family a different story, however, after knowing how Lucy was explaining it, suggests that Martha Jane did not accept Lucy's version.

### Chronology of the Composition

Although few details have survived of the actual working sessions between Lucy and Martha Jane, they were apparently very labor-intensive, refuting later reports that Martha Jane put her own words in Lucy's mouth. According to Martha Jane's and Howard's daughter, Martha Jane went to Lucy's "daily, and wrote until Mother Smith would grow weary. She then read over, several times, what she had written, making such changes and corrections as Mother Smith suggested. The work was undertaken purely as a labor of love" (Weeks and Cooper, 5).

According to a memoir and comparison of changes between Preston Nibley's 1958 and Orson Pratt's 1853 versions by great-grandson Robert P. Cooper, Martha Jane "started laboriously to copy the words as they came from the mouth of Mother Smith. There were some letters and documents which

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10. Jemima Hough, a convert from Great Britain, reported in a letter from Nauvoo on 4 June 1845 that she hoped to make Mother Smith's acquaintance: "Mother Smith spends much of her time in relating to visitors an account of the rise and progress of the church, which is highly interesting" ("Extracts").

Martha Jane could copy, but most of the history was coming word for word from the lips of Mother Smith as she remembered it" (Cooper, 1).<sup>11</sup>

Joseph F. Smith's version, written as an introduction to the 1901 *Improvement Era* printing, says it was "written at the dictation of Lucy Smith . . . by Mrs. Martha Jane Knowlton Coray, who acted as her amanuensis. It was taken from the words of Mother Smith and dictated from memory mostly, but she also made use of such historical memoranda of the events related as were within her reach." Of the actual method of composition, he says nothing.

In September 1844, Lucy, who had lived with Emma Smith in the Mansion House during the summer of the assassinations, moved with Arthur Millikin and Lucy Smith Millikin into "the Ponson house, hired for them by the church, which also hired a girl to wait upon her and help generally" (RLDS, 95). Work on her memoir began that "fall," according to Heman C. Smith (*ibid.*), and during the "winter of 1844-45," according to Howard Coray. The project was certainly well underway by January 1845 when Lucy noted her engagement in this "buisness" in her letter to William. The rough draft manuscript, corresponding to chapter 31 but in a passage without a printed counterpart, contains the scribal notation: "here follows a long detail—see notes March 22 1845." If this notation was made on the day that part of the rough draft was written, then by 22 March 1845, Lucy and Martha Jane had reached the point in the narrative at which Joseph Smith negotiated the printing contract for the Book of Mormon with E. B. Grandin. In chapter 44, only six chapters from the end of the completed volume, Lucy refers to herself as being sixty-eight years old.<sup>12</sup> Since her birthday was on 4 July, she must have dictated that passage after July 1845.

Then two weeks later, the rough draft (or possibly the intermediate draft) was completed, for on 18 July 1845 Lucy applied for and received a copyright for her manuscript, according to Illinois law. According to Heman C. Smith, Almon W. Babbitt did the necessary work for her (RLDS, 95). In seeking this legal protection, she may have been motivated by the memory of Joseph Jr.'s experience fifteen years earlier when the fact of having secured the copyright was significant in stopping Abner Cole's pirating of the Book of Mormon for

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11. Cooper is the grandson of Martha Jane's and Howard's daughter, Mary Knowlton Coray Roberts.

12. The same passage in Coray gives her age as "seventy." This passage is somewhat puzzling. Lucy mistakenly believed her birth year was 1776, although she was actually born in 1775. Thus, when she says she was seventy, even by her own count, she would have turned sixty-nine in July 1845. She must have meant that she was in her seventieth year, much as Joseph Smith referred to himself as being in his fifteenth year when he experienced his first vision and much as Lucy gives both ninety-two and ninety-three as her mother-in-law's age at the time of her visit to Kirtland and subsequent death.

his "Dogberry" paper. Her application is a statement of both her own identity and her purpose in writing:

"The History of Lucy Smith wife of Joseph Smith, the first Patriarch of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, who was the father of Joseph Smith, Prophet, Seer, & Revelator;—containing an account of the many persecutions, trials, and afflictions which I and my family have endured in bringing forth the Book of Mormon, and establishing the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; and also an account of many remarkable dreams and visions never before published: a genealogy of our family for many generations and the history of the murder of my sons Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Carthage Jail" the title whereof she claims as author and proprietor in conformity to the act of Congress . . . (Copyright)

The rest of the summer must have been devoted to final revisions—the process of rewriting, reading it to Lucy, revising, and rewriting, making the final draft, and, perhaps (though less certainly), beginning the fair copy. The manuscript was definitely completed by 8 October 1845, for Lucy, addressing a general conference audience of an estimated 5,000 at her own request, "gave notice that she had written her history, and wished it printed before we leave this place" (Clayton and Bullock, 1013-14). This comment constitutes the first public announcement about Lucy's book.

The next event pertaining to her manuscript occurred on 10 November 1845 when Brigham Young and several members of the Quorum of the Twelve "consulted on the subject of purchasing the copyright of Mother Smith's history" (HC 7:519). It is not clear who was present. Young names Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, and George A. Smith but adds that "several of the Twelve and others called in the afternoon" when the discussion occurred. If they made overtures to Lucy about purchasing the copyright, no record has survived. Instead the group "concluded to settle with Brother Howard Coray for his labor in compiling the same" (HC 7:519). Jan Shipps sees Young as interpreting this payment as "sufficient indication of church proprietorship" (98). If this were, in fact, the case, it is not clear why Martha Jane and Howard kept the copy (as their descendants say they did) instead of giving it to Willard Richards and George A. Smith to be boxed up and taken west with the other church historical documents (as Brigham Young seems to say they did).

Howard's memory that he and Martha Jane "labored together until the work was accomplished, which took us till near the close of 1845" allows us to date the completion of the two manuscript fair copies quite exactly (qtd. in Knowlton, 23). On 14 January 1846, when Howard was paid \$200 "For Compiling the History of Lucy Smith," he received a separate payment on the same day for \$35 for "Transcribing the manuscript of sd history" with "Fifty dollars of the above bill to [be] paid in store goods" (Searle, 379-80). Tellingly, Martha

Jane received no wages for her services as secretary or copyist—and not even any acknowledgement of her contribution. It is true that B. H. Roberts, adding a footnote to the notation about “settling” with Howard “for his labor,” conscientiously explained: “The work of compilation for Mother Lucy Smith was really done by his wife, Sister M. J. Coray, who was also her amanuensis throughout. The work was finally published under the direction of President Joseph F. Smith in Salt Lake City, Utah, October 1901. It was revised by Elders George A. Smith and Elias Smith, close relatives of the author” (HC 7:519 note).<sup>13</sup>

### Which Came First?

The existence of two fair copies raises the question: which came first and which second? As Jan Shippo further asks, was the second copy “a true copy or a further revision”? (*Mormonism*, 182n26).

According to the family, “Martha Jane Knowlton Coray kept the original manuscript in her possession.” Then, after reaching Utah, “Martha Jane gave her original manuscript to President Brigham Young” (Cooper, 3). Joseph F. Smith’s preface to the 1901 *Improvement Era* version also stresses the primacy of the Utah copy: “Of the original manuscript one copy was taken which was left with Lucy Smith, while the original was retained by the writer. This original Mrs. Coray held in her possession until her arrival in Utah, when she subsequently deposited it with President Brigham Young” (vii). Preston Nibley, who reprints this introduction in his edition, has silently altered this last sentence to read: “. . . deposited a copy of it with President Brigham Young.” It is unclear why Nibley would have made this change, since it muddies the meaning, suggesting that Martha Jane had an original manuscript in Nauvoo, made one copy for Lucy, and made a second copy of it for Brigham Young, while retaining the “original” of both in her possession. There is no historical evidence for this scenario. Rather, both Joseph F. and Cooper mean that Martha Jane kept the first complete copy and that Lucy had the second.

However, this scenario is also flawed. I argue that the Coray version is the second fair copy (or, more precisely, the only copy of the original fair copy retained in Lucy’s possession). External evidence that the surviving Coray 1845 manuscript is the second copy are Brigham Young’s instructions to “William Clayton, who was then chief Clerk, to have it copied off, every word. That copy

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13. While commendable in pointing out that Martha Jane also played a role in the production of Lucy’s book, Roberts has obscured that of Howard and has left a false impression that the first publication was in 1901, thereby completely omitting Pratt’s 1853 publication. Roberts, in his own *Comprehensive History of the Church*, gives another brief overview of the printing history, attributing all of the transcribing and all of the copying to Martha Jane Knowlton Coray—thus misrepresenting Howard’s role (1:14).

is now in the Historian's Office" ("Remarks"). If this detail can be trusted out of Brigham Young's rather inflammatory and not completely reliable discourse in 1865, then it indicates that he remembered the Coray fair copy as a copy and Lucy's fair copy as the original finished manuscript. It also suggests that both were, within the limits of fallible human copying, identical. Additional evidence confirming Young's memory is the voucher paying Howard \$35 for "Transcribing the manuscript of sd history" (reproduced in Searle, 379-80). Martha Jane herself, in her June 1865 letter to Brigham Young, says that Lucy received "the first copy," and surely it would seem appropriate that Lucy would have been presented with the first finished version, not the second, just because it *was* the first copy.

Strong internal evidence that the Coray manuscript is the second version, not the first, is that some language present in Pratt (and words that are grammatically required for the sentence to make sense) are missing from the Coray 1845 fair copy, suggesting that the scribe making a second copy—hurried, fatigued, or distracted—inadvertently omitted words that were in the first. It is possible but less likely that these same errors could have been made if the scribe had copied both documents from the intermediate draft (or a still later draft). However, it seems more efficient, and hence more likely, that the Corays would have copied from the best version available.

For example, in Sophronia's blessing (chap. 52), we see an example of inadvertent omission suggesting that Coray/Utah was made as a copy from Coray/Pratt. Lucy's rough draft reads: "and thou shalt live as long as thou desirest life." Pratt's published version is identical: "and thou shalt live as long as thou desirest life," while Coray drops out words in a way that leaves the phrase meaningless: "and thou desirest life."

At the end of the same chapter, possibly because of scribal fatigue, two other omissions occur. (I strike through the omitted words, which appear in the Pratt document, for greater clarity): "I did not think that I ~~could~~ possible [sic] find, in travelling over it, a sorrow more searching, or a calamity more dreadful, than the present. But, as I hasten to the end of my story, the reader will be able to form an opinion with regard to the correctness of ~~my~~ conclusion."

In chapter 18, the Pratt publication reads: "While these things were going forward Joseph's mind became considerably troubled with regard to religion . . ." The Coray fair copy reads: "While these things were going forward, Joseph's mind became considerably ~~troubled with regard to~~ <excited upon the subject of> religion . . ." Although the meaning is substantially the same, the fact that the wording of the Pratt publication appears in the Coray manuscript but has been marked out in favor of a variant wording strongly suggests that

the Coray/Pratt typesetter's copy was written first and the Coray/Utah copy was written second.

Another example occurs in the genealogical tables of chapter 9 where George A./Elias Smith, Brigham Young's designated revisers, seem to have borne down heavily in making corrections. Most of the discrepancies are just that: discrepancies. It is not possible to say which of two dates is the correct one without application to a third source. Nor is anything about the order of composition proved by additions to the finished fair copy. However, in one case, the Coray fair copy has more specific information than the Pratt published version. Sophronia, the second daughter of Don Carlos Smith and Agnes Coolbrith Smith, has only a birth year in Pratt's volume (1838) but a full birth date (25 April 1838) in the Coray manuscript. This difference suggests that the Corays learned this full birth date after they finished the fair copy given to Lucy but before they copied the same chapter in the version that went to Utah. Hence, Pratt took with him to England the earlier, incomplete version.

In the second example from the genealogical tables, Pratt identifies a single child, Don Carlos, for Arthur and Lucy, whose surname he gives correctly as "Millikin." The Corays, while using the spelling of "Milikin," which appears in both Lucy's manuscript and throughout the Coray manuscript, add a complete birth date for Don Carlos and also a second child, Sarah (without a birth date). This pattern again suggests that the fair copy in Lucy's possession was completed first and that the Coray copy was made from it, with slight alterations for greater completeness. These alterations are purposeful, unlike those mentioned earlier, which are accidental.

### The Corays in the West

Howard and Martha Jane were endowed in the Nauvoo temple in January 1846, wintered on the Missouri River with Martha Jane's family, and departed for the West in 1850. Behind them in Illinois, they left Lucy and the first of the two fair copies. With them went the second fair copy (Coray/Utah), Lucy's 1844-45 rough draft, and possibly the intermediate draft as well, since then mostly lost. (See discussion below.)

In Utah they completed their family of twelve children. They lived in Salt Lake City, Tooele County (1854), and Provo (1856-71). Martha Jane was the first secretary of the Relief Society in the Thirteenth Ward organized for Indian relief, thus fulfilling a clause in the patriarchal blessing received from Joseph Smith Sr.<sup>14</sup> In Provo she became a trustee on Brigham Young Acad-

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14. Twenty-two of these associations sprang up spontaneously in 1854 after Brigham Young called missionaries to take the gospel to Indians in southern Utah. Within the year, they had become ward organizations (although not all wards had them) and made a transition into broader-based

emy's first board of trustees. Howard, who began as a clerk in the Presiding Bishop's Office with a salary of \$1,000 a year, tried a variety of professions: teacher, assessor, bookkeeper, accountant, and homesteading in Juab County where he also clerked, taught school, and ran a mill, none of them very successfully. In the fall of 1880, they moved back to Provo to treat Martha Jane's persistent "cough," but she died, possibly of tuberculosis, on 14 December 1881 (Knowlton, 26-27). The *Salt Lake Herald* praised her: "She was possessed of indomitable energy and besides being well read and cultured, and possessing in an eminent degree many womanly traits, she was almost masculine in her strength of character. Her mind was clear and comprehensive and she employed it to good advantage" (qtd. in Johnson, 1). The *Woman's Exponent* went further: "She evinced a character in a degree somewhat rare for one of her sex—that is of decidedly doing her own thinking; hence, before adopting any principle of religion, law, or politics, whether proposed by father, husband, priest or king, she must clearly see and understand for herself the righteousness and consistency of the matter" (ibid.).

After serving as a home missionary (spring 1882) and in Virginia (June 1882-April 1883), Howard "spent the next quarter century in rather uneventful retirement at the homes of his sons and daughters," dying at age ninety-one on 16 January 1908 (ibid., 28-29). Joseph F. Smith spoke at his funeral.

We now turn to the travels of the documents.

#### ORSON PRATT'S PUBLICATION OF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Everyone involved with Lucy's history probably anticipated a quick publication, and Lucy certainly wanted it; but this was not to be. The next documentable action occurred in early 1853 when Orson Pratt acquired Lucy's copy of the final manuscript. Several versions of how he did it exist, but this reconstruction seems to be the most reliable.

Pratt reached Washington, D.C., in November 1852, established a print-

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Relief Societies during 1855-58. Interestingly, Richard Jensen notes that the Thirteenth Ward, in which the Corays lived, had one of the most active organizations. It called itself the "Female Indian Relief Society." When the name was proposed, Martha Jane Coray "objected to the word Female as no Association could be virtually sustained by females but must of necessity be kept by their Husbands Fathers or Guardians." Matilda Dudley explained that "the labor required was female labor" and that the proposed name was therefore appropriate. Dudley was the ward president and had been one of the four women who had spontaneously organized themselves after hearing Brigham Young's sermon appealing for compassionate aid for the Indians. These Relief Societies solicited donations, cut rags for carpets and wove them, sewed, and knit many different articles of clothing. "In the Thirteenth Ward at the peak of activity, each of forty-one women donated an average of almost one day per week to this work" (Jensen, 112-15). Though interrupted by the Utah War, these organizations were considered precursors to the systematic organizing of ward Relief Societies throughout the territory begun in 1867-68 under Eliza R. Snow.



ing office, and issued his first number of *The Seer*, on 1 January 1853. Few attended his lectures on temperance, but he was happy to pour his efforts into publishing lengthy treatises on Mormon doctrine, including polygamy, the pre-existence, and the nature of God, initially with Brigham Young's encouragement (England, 178). According to Horace S. Eldredge, who was presiding over a branch of the church in St. Louis, Almon W. Babbitt stopped in St. Louis on 11 February 1853: "He was on his way to Washington he had been to Nauvoo to get the Manuscript of Mother Smiths Life to have it published." This diary makes it possible to date the manuscript's transfer fairly precisely, since, five weeks later on 19 March, Babbitt again "passed through the city from Washington [going] home" (Eldredge, Journal). If Babbitt discussed financial details of the transaction, Eldredge did not record them. It also means that the transfer could have been straight from Lucy to Babbitt, since Lucy had, in fact, been living in Nauvoo with her widowed daughter-in-law Emma Hale Smith Bidamon since 1851.

However, every other version of the story is more complicated. Martha Jane Coray says in her letter to Brigham Young on 13 June 1865 that Lucy's fair copy went to Lucy's own son-in-law Arthur Millikin, probably during the 1846-51 period when she was living with him and her daughter Lucy, and from him to Almon Babbitt, and then to Isaac Sheen, a former member of the church, in Michigan. Sheen had married Babbitt's sister Julia, a family connection that survived the different religious paths they took.<sup>15</sup> B. H. Roberts omits Babbitt and adds William Smith. He says that the manuscript's route was from Lucy to William, to Isaac Sheen, to Orson Pratt (CHC 1:14). Roberts must be mistaken in this hypothesis since Pratt's 1853 letter to Lucy (cited below) makes it clear that, whatever the manuscript's earlier provenance, it reached him from Babbitt.

According to Brigham Young's intemperate and highly hyperbolic address in 1865 in Wellsville (see "Official Reaction," below), Orson Pratt reportedly paid Sheen \$1,000 for it. It is extremely unlikely that Pratt had such a sum. He was editing *The Seer* in Washington, D.C., which was doing reasonably but not extravagantly well; subscriptions would fall off sharply within a year. Another Coray family memoir mistakenly says that Pratt obtained a copy of "the original manuscript, which he purchased from a third party, who had obtained it from a

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15. Isaac Sheen had not followed Brigham Young to the West and, just a few years later, would be rebaptized when he joined the RLDS church in 1858. He was put in charge of the RLDS printing establishment in Plano, Illinois, during the Civil War, a position he held for many years. He presided over the Plano Branch and worked closely with Joseph III, who took charge of the press in 1865 and characterized Sheen as "a persistent and almost pugnacious debater" (JS III, 107, 114, 119, 136, 176, 218).

member of the Smith family after her [Lucy's] death" (Knowlton, 23-34). Lucy was, of course, still alive in 1853.

Joseph F. Smith, in his introduction to the 1901 edition, says the manuscript went to William Smith and then to Isaac Sheen (JFS, vii). A family memoir, quoting *Periodicals and Works Published by the Church in 1853*, also reports that "the original manuscript was sold to Orson Pratt by Isaac Sheen, who as it subsequently appeared had fraudulently obtained possession of it" (qtd. in Weeks and Cooper, 5). George A. Smith likewise believed that Sheen had obtained the manuscript, then sold it to Almon Babbitt, although it is not clear how Sheen came by it. A possible reason why the family may have believed that the manuscript went from Lucy's hands into Sheen's before 1851 is that she was still living with daughter Lucy and son-in-law Arthur Millikin. After she moved to the Mansion House under Emma's care, Babbitt would probably have been less welcome. Emma Smith had no use for Almon Babbitt, and neither did Joseph Smith III who rather hotly remembers that Babbitt, en route to Washington, D.C., as Indian agent from Utah, tried to persuade Emma to move to Utah. When she refused, after considerable argument, he

finally told her in plain terms, that it had been determined to make her so poor that she would be willing and glad to come out there for protection. He added that he had been appointed to accomplish that purpose and he proposed to do it. I remember Mother's spirited reply to this astonishing statement:

"Almon Babbitt, it may be possible for you to make me poor, but you could never make me poor enough to induce me to follow Brigham Young." (JS III, 38)

The persistent intrusion of Isaac Sheen into the provenance of Lucy's book may have occurred because he was involved in the peregrinations of another important manuscript source, Joseph Smith Sr.'s 1834 Blessing Book. About 1838 Cyrus Smalling, a disaffected Mormon, stole it, then sold it to Oliver Granger at Far West, Missouri. Granger brought it back to Kirtland with him where he died. His son and heir, Gilbert, would not give or sell it to Joseph Smith, but instead gave it to Hiram Kimball (who had married Gilbert's sister, Sarah), authorizing him to sell it to the church. Joseph Smith Jr., instead of buying it, got a warrant on 7 February 1843 and repossessed it as stolen property. It was rebound in two volumes, the blessing book and a blank-paged book which Joseph used for his manuscript history (Book B-1). In 1845 William Smith borrowed the blessing book, took it with him when he quit Nauvoo, and left it in 1850 with Isaac Sheen at Covington, Kentucky, after a violent quarrel. Sheen eventually gave it to his brother-in-law, Almon W. Babbitt, instructing him to sell it to the church. William Smith later accused Babbitt of stealing it; but Babbitt, defending himself against accusations of apostasy before the Pottawattamie High Priests' High Council, 4 August 1850, claimed: "I have

got the records of Father Smith, etc. I have not stole them, but attached them legally for the archives of God."<sup>16</sup> Babbitt was apparently in no haste to transfer these records to the archives, for they were still in his possession when he was killed by Indians in 1856. Benjamin F. Johnson, an executor of his estate, took the book and gave it to George A. Smith on 31 January 1859. George A. summarized a history of its movements at the end and deposited it in the Historian's Office on 11 February 1859 (Vogel 1:467-68; Rudd, 152).

Although the exact passage of Lucy's manuscript may not be known unless new documentation is discovered, there seems no reason at this point to make it more complicated than the sources themselves: Almon Babbitt acquired it from Lucy in Nauvoo before 11 February 1853 and, before 19 March, transmitted it to Orson Pratt who, that summer, took it to England.

A fortuitous coincidence took Pratt to Great Britain: he had been researching his genealogical line and came across a Protestant minister in Connecticut who had advertised for descendants of a common ancestor and willingly shared the 2,000 names he had already collected. Excitedly, Pratt promised to search for more names in British parish registers and sailed to Liverpool at the end of May 1853, taking Lucy's manuscript with him.<sup>17</sup> While he was in England, he arranged with the church printer, Samuel W. Richards, to have the manuscript printed (England, 183). He told Lucy later that it "has cost me between two and three thousand dollars in order to get the same before the public," and his biographer says that it "never bought him any remuneration" (ibid; Pratt to Lucy Smith, 1853).

Pratt spent "only a few weeks in England" (and got married in June to boot), thus raising some questions about the editing differences between *Biographical Sketches* and the Coray fair copy in Utah. Had Pratt, during early 1853, gone over the manuscript adding a heavy sprinkling of commas, correcting names where he knew better spelling, and reparagraphing? And if so, had he also added the British spellings to replace American spellings? (For a discussion of stylistic differences, see "inconsequential changes" under "Editorial Procedures" below.) Had he left these editing chores to Samuel Richards? Had Richards simply turned the manuscript over to the printer? Or had all three of them made some changes or some types of changes? Without more informa-

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16. My appreciation to Greg Whitman for calling this reference to my attention. In the same meeting, Babbitt acknowledged, "I have been engaged in dirty and smutty work for this people" but "the interest of this kingdom has . . . to be contested in various ways" (Pottawattamie).

17. Searle, 390, mistakenly says that Pratt was leaving on "a mission" for England in September 1852. Pratt's mission assignment was, and remained for some time, Washington, D.C.

tion from the participants or an examination of the manuscript itself, any answers must be conjectural.

Most likely it became waste paper once the type was set; but if it survived, where is it and why has no one recognized such an extensive and easily identifiable text? Did the manuscript remain in Great Britain or was it returned to the United States? Orson Pratt was the British Mission president when he was withdrawn because of the Utah War. Did he bring the church papers back with him, or leave this manuscript in someone's safekeeping?

Meanwhile, glowing (and not wholly accurate) promotions appeared at least twice in the *Millennial Star*, the first in May 1853. Apparently the final title had not been selected at this point:

Soon to be published, *The Progenitors of Joseph Smith, the Prophet*, for many generations. This work will also include many remarkable events connected with the discovery and translation of the Book of Mormon, and the early history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, never before published. The manuscripts containing this information, with the exception of the portion relating to his martyrdom, were written by the direction and under the inspection of the Prophet. This work will be exceedingly interesting to the Saints, and will be a most convincing evidence, to all nations, of the divinity of this great and last gospel message. It will most likely contain about 200 pages of the same size as the *Star*. ("New Work")

Orson Pratt's sincere but mistaken claim that Joseph Smith had been somehow involved in creating the history (perhaps misrepresented to him by Babbitt) would prove especially irritating to Brigham Young. Pratt (or his agent) repeated this claim five months later in a second promotional notice:

"Joseph Smith the Prophet, and His Progenitors."— This work . . . is now ready for sale. Any authentic circumstances connected with the history of the martyred opener of this last dispensation, are invested with no ordinary degree of interest to the Saints, and are beginning to be to the world. . . . The early life of the Prophet, the diverse difficulties and trials through which he and his father's family struggled, to become the benefactors of the world, will be read of with a commensurate degree of admiration for the firmness and integrity of purpose displayed. We do not imagine that any unprejudiced person can take up this work, and bestow upon it a careful perusal, without becoming deeply sensible of the divine mission of Joseph Smith. Being written by Lucy Smith, the mother of the Prophet, and mostly under his inspection, will be ample guarantee for the authenticity of the narrative.

Not only is the life of the Prophet given, but, as will be seen from the title, sketches of the lives of many of his progenitors are. Altogether, the work is one of the most interesting that has appeared in this latter dispensation. To the Saints we would say—Read the work, and your hearts will be cheered by its contents, and your gratitude to the Almighty increased. To the world we would say—Read

the work, and the Spirit of God will bear witness with your spirits, that he is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, and is again manifesting himself as in days of old. ("Joseph Smith")

As printed, Pratt's volume had two titles: *History of Mother Smith, by Herself* and *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations, by Lucy Smith, Mother of the Prophet*. Apparently Pratt made no effort to obtain the copyright (which he was not legally required to do) or to consult Lucy.

However, Pratt wrote affectionately to "Dear Mother Smith" on 28 October 1853 from Washington, D.C., reporting that he had purchased "some manuscripts relating to the early life of Joseph the Prophet" from Almon Babbitt "last winter" and asking for her permission, as copyright owner, to publish it in the United States. He promised her "a few of the best bound copies from England," which should be available within a couple of months. "I will also, as soon as I can obtain the means, send you one hundred dollars cash as a present. Brother Babbitt said to me that you were willing to sell me the copyright for \$100." He stressed: "I will send you that amount as a present, and if you feel disposed to let me have the copyright it will be thankfully received; if not you shall still be welcome to the \$100; and I wish I was able to give you still more; but I am poor & my circumstances will not admit of it at present. Perhaps I may, at some future time, have it in my power to help you still more."

The rest of the letter is a heartfelt reminiscence about "those happy days, when I first had the joyful privilege of coming under your roof in Waterloo, N.Y. I have been your true friend from that day to this." He mentions how he revered the prophet Joseph; if Orson could live his life over again, "I could never do enough for his happiness and welfare." He asks to be remembered with "kind love" to her children, grandchildren, and Joseph's widow Emma.<sup>18</sup>

On 16 January 1854, Pratt wrote again, forwarding ten copies of the book. Lucy received only eight but responded gratefully two weeks later on 4 February, dictating the letter through her grandson Joseph III, with "my warmest thanks." As for permission to reprint her book in the United States—she refers to "manuscripts" in the plural, as he had done in his letter—she has "studied over the matter and have finally concluded that you may make use of them in any way you see proper. I am not in a situation to have any printing done and you may as well receive benefit from it as any one. And you are hereby authorized to print, sell in this or any other country all those manuscripts you have once belonging to me." The "favor"—the promised hundred dollars—she adds

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18. Orson Pratt, Letter to Lucy Mack Smith, 28 October 1853, holograph, LDS Church Archives, MS d 3590 item #2.

"will be received with thanks to the almighty for his mercy to you and through you to me."<sup>19</sup>

Although Lucy thus gave Pratt permission to print her book in the United States, the language of "present" and "permission," rather than "sell" and "copyright," means that she retained legal control. She did not sell it or transfer it to another individual. Further, her heirs did not renew the copyright after her death, thus allowing it to enter the public domain. In any case, it was a moot question, since Pratt did not bring out a U.S. edition and may have heartily wished, before Brigham Young was finished, that he had not done the British edition either.

Pratt remained in Washington until the summer of 1854, then led a party of emigrants across the plains. He arrived in the fall and plunged immediately into October conference, a series of tabernacle addresses, and promoting education in the territory. In November a shipment of *Biographical Sketches* reached Utah from Britain and became available in Utah for the first time (England, 188). A notice in the *Deseret News* on 16 November commends it: "This new and highly interesting work should be possessed by all Saints who feel in the least degree interested with the history of the latter day work. Many facts which it contains, and never before published, are of great importance to the world, and the work constitutes a valuable acquisition to the libraries of the Saints" (qtd. in Searle, 391). The *Deseret News* editor added a brief note on the same page: "From a brief inspection of the 'Sketches,' we cordially recommend the purchase and perusal of the book" (qtd. in Tanner and Tanner, 2). The book seems to have generated neither great enthusiasm nor great alarm, but that may have been because Young was more actively concerned about Pratt's theology.<sup>20</sup>

#### OFFICIAL REACTION TO THE CORAY/PRATT 1853 VOLUME

Two factors are curious about the official reaction to the publication of Pratt's *Biographical Sketches*: first, that it was so negative, and next, that its most wrathful moments came, not immediately after publication, but twelve years later when Brigham Young ordered the Saints to turn in their copies to

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19. Lucy Mack Smith, Letter to Orson Pratt, 4 February 1854, holograph, MS d 5081, LDS Church Archives. Shipps misdates this letter as 4 February 1853, thus seeing Lucy as more involved in the publication of *Biographical Sketches* than seems to be the case.

20. For the running battle between Brigham Young and Orson Pratt, see Bergera, 7-49, and England, esp. chaps. 9-10. One of very few mentions of the published book that I have been able to find is in a letter that Israel Barlow, a missionary in Birmingham, England, wrote to his wife, telling her that he was sending home a packet of fabrics, ribbons, trinkets, and a copy of "history of Mother Smith and of Joseph life." He was writing in March 1854 or possibly 1855 (Barlow).



their bishops, who would forward them to him so that they could be destroyed. Repeatedly the "public" reason given for the suppression of Lucy's book was its inaccuracy, but this reason can be described charitably only as a red herring, for the official reaction was out of all proportion to the actual inaccuracies. (See "The Question of Accuracy" below.)

An examination of the materials available documenting Brigham Young's reaction suggests that he was really angry at Pratt over doctrinal matters and, about half the time, while dressing him down in public and in private, simply threw in *Biographical Sketches* for good measure.<sup>21</sup> Young had already informed Pratt in the summer of 1853 that "many points in the *Seer* . . . are not Sound Doctrine" (England, 189). During 1854 he took exception to Pratt's disquisitions on the nature of the godhead and particularly to Pratt's differing views on the Adam-God doctrine. On 31 January 1855 he wrote a letter to the *Millennial Star* requesting that an item called "Publications" be reproduced. This notice, published in the 12 May 1855 issue, requests that the *Star* not reprint any more items from *The Seer* because it "has many items of erroneous doctrine." It also includes a denunciation of *Biographical Sketches*:

There are many mistakes in the work entitled "Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and of his progenitors for many generations, by Lucy Smith, mother of the Prophet." . . . I have had a written copy of those sketches in my possession for several years [by this he probably means the 1845 Coray fair copy], and it contains much of the history of the Prophet Joseph. Should it ever be deemed best to publish these sketches, it will not be done until after they are carefully corrected. I take this seasonable opportunity to inform the public mind, in order that readers may not be surprised or disappointed at finding discrepancies, and may know which is the most reliable, in case a corrected edition is ever published. (Young, "Publications")

On 21 March 1855 Pratt issued a somewhat ingenuous apology and retraction in the *Deseret News*, yet still ended up defending his work:

I was informed, at the time, that most of the work was written under the inspection of the Prophet; but from evidences since received, it is believed that

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21. The Historian's Office Journal contains its own annual index, although the entries are far from comprehensive. I searched these indices from 1853 to 1866 for references to Orson Pratt, *Biographical Sketches*, or Lucy Mack Smith without finding any comments on Brigham Young's attitude toward the book. On the bottom of the page for 17 February 1854, a pencilled notation reads: "Mother Smith's funeral." This woman, however, is Clarissa Lyman Smith, wife of Church Patriarch John Smith, who had died three days earlier. The entries for 29-30 January 1860 report the Twelve's chastisement of Orson Pratt for teaching false doctrine and his apology at the meeting the next day in the Tabernacle but not that *Biographical Sketches* formed part of the agenda. Young took Pratt to task again on 4 April 1860 for a sermon Pratt had delivered on 22 February, but again there is no mention of *Biographical Sketches*.



the greater part of the manuscripts did not pass under his review, as there are items which are ascertained to be incorrect.

These imperfections have undoubtedly arisen either from the impaired memory of the highly respected and aged authoress, or from the lack of correct information; or, which is most probable, from the carelessness of the scribe in writing from time to time isolated statements from her mouth without a sufficient understanding of their connection.

In future editions the work will be carefully revised and corrected so far as we have knowledge. In the meantime, it is believed that this history will be interesting to the Saints, and to the public generally, as from it they can make themselves acquainted with some of the greatest and most remarkable events of modern times.

If the schools of our Territory would introduce this work as a "Reader," it would give the young and rising generation some knowledge of the facts and incidents connected with the opening of the grand dispensation of the last days. (Pratt, "Brief")<sup>22</sup>

The Corays certainly would not have appreciated being made into scribal scapegoats, but there is no indication that they responded. They were hardly in a position to make public corrections or to point out that Lucy had been involved in repeated rereadings as the manuscript moved through at least three and possibly more drafts.

On 13 February 1859 Wilford Woodruff recorded that Brigham Young gave him some instructions during a conversation about *Biographical Sketches*:

He wished us [Woodruff was Assistant Church Historian] to take up that work & revise it & Correct it that it belonged to the Historians to attend to it that there was many fals statements made in it and he wished them to be left out and all other statements which we did not know to be true, and give the reason why they are left out. G. A. Smith & Elias Smith should be present. That Book makes out William Smith according to Mother Smith's statement to be full of the Holy Ghost & the power of God while at the same time I herd him say in the presence of Heber C. Kimball while Joseph Smith was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies and I said that God would deliver him. William Smith said Dam him Joseph Smith ought to have been hung up by the neck years ago and Dam him he will get it now any how. (5:287)

It is not clear whether Woodruff is continuing to report Young's statement ("I herd him say . . .") or whether Woodruff is contributing his own memory

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22. This statement was reprinted in the *Deseret News* on 29 March and 4 April and in the *Millennial Star* 17 (1 July 1854): 396. Both the Tanners (2) and Searle (394) quote a recollection by A. A. Gottfredson that "a small book called Joseph Smith, by His Mother" constituted the reading primer in the local school in 1861. Martha Cragun Cox, as an eight year old in St. George about 1860, recalled receiving a copy of Lucy's book. "I found a sunny place by the pile of logs and not easily seen from the house, and here I secreted myself until I read the book." She followed up with the Book of Mormon, the Bible, and a volume of the *Journal of Discourses* (Kinkead, 93-94).

here. The discussion continued, with Young bringing up the still-rankling matter of the carriage as an example of William Smith's wickedness. He summarized: "Elder O Pratt published that work & bought it of A. W. Babbitt at a high Price. We had a Copy of it in our office. It is marvellous that He should have published it without my Council. Many other remarks were made by Brigham Young" (5:288).

George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff (but not Elias Smith) promptly set to work. George A. had already discussed at least one item with Brigham Young. Howard Searle records that George A. expressed skepticism to Brigham Young on 16 February 1859 about David Whitmer's ability to do two days' worth of harrowing in one while angelic messengers sowed his field with plaster of paris (used as a fertilizer) so that he could leave promptly to fetch Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery from Harmony, Pennsylvania (chap. 30). Young responded that he "was willing to believe a big story if it was true." Five days later George A. wrote to Whitmer:

Dear Sir—I have been a firm believer in the Book of Mormon for the last 28 years. Your certificate of testimony appended thereto has been read a great many times with pleasure. . . . I always felt a warm and rather enthusiastic feeling in my heart towards you personally, and have always regretted that Providence had so dictated that you were not associated with us. . . . There is a tradition that, in the days previous to your going to the appointed place to meet the heavenly messenger and see the plates, God in his providence enable you to do two days' work in one at harrowing in wheat; and that several unknown hands spread a quantity of plaster that would have cost several days' labour, thereby setting you at liberty to go at the call of Joseph Smith and to hear the voice of the Lord. Tradition also says that you drove your horses a journey of 135 miles in two days without injuring them. There is doubtless a foundation for these traditions. As the facts are within your knowledge, will you have the goodness to communicate them to me by letter? I can believe a supernatural manifestation of power if it is true, but I do not wish to give currency to a rumour that is false. If you comply with my request, . . . you need not apprehend that I will publish it contrary to your wishes. I desire a statement of the matter for my private satisfaction. If you are willing to have your statement published, please say so in your letter.

. . . Don Carlos Smith and myself helped you load 300 lbs of merchandise into a wagon and aided you in crossing a strip of sand by lifting at the wheels while your little span of horses pulled it through nobly. Your parting words to us were—"Success to you, boys!" I am thus particular that you may remember

Your friend and well wisher, George A. Smith (Smith to Whitmer)

Whitmer apparently never answered; but George A. did not strike the story out of any of the versions he worked on, apparently, Searle hypothesizes, because Whitmer had published "his own version of the incident" in the *Millennial Star* in 1849 (Searle, 395).

The next day, 23 February 1859, George A. wrote two letters. One was to Solomon Mack, Lucy's brother, to solicit his opinion of Mother Smith's history of her family, "so far as you are acquainted with it." He introduces himself by a full genealogy as "the oldest son of John, who was a younger son of Asael Smith and brother of Joseph Smith Sen. your brother in law." In a strenuous effort to express a lack of confidence in the work while not insulting his correspondent's sister, he wrote:

After the shocking massacre which deprived my Aunt of two of the noblest sons of Man, Joseph, and Hyrum, following almost in instant succession, by the untimely death of Samuel Harrison; so that in the short space of forty days, her three darling sons were placed in an untimely grave: Although she endured this privations [sic], in a manner truly astonishing to her friends; yet we could not conceal from ourselves that these terrible blows, had made visible inroads upon her mind, as well as upon the bodily strength of that venerable Mother in Israel.

. . . In the last fifteen years she got events considerably [mixed] up; and in a future edition it will probably be necessary to aid the reader to properly understand her narrative [sic], to insert the dates of events in the margin: The early part of that history is entirely beyond my memory though I have heard my father and Uncles speak of many of the incidents narrated in the book of your venerable Father, and I recollect in my childhood of having seen a pamphlet giving an account of Solomon Mack's adventures in the revolutionary, and french and Indian wars. . . . (Smith to Mack)

Mack, who had died on 12 October 1851, naturally did not answer. The second letter, to John Bear, inquired about the circumstances of his conversion, since Lucy had credited William's preaching skill with his baptism (see chap. 43). Bear responded that the account was inaccurate, and George A. vigorously X'ed it out on his copy of the 1853 published version.

Then the project seems to have lost momentum. Another gap—this one of six years—ensued. Although matters had been eventless where the history was concerned, Brigham Young and Orson Pratt had had another major conflict. Although Young appreciated Pratt's skillful defense of polygamy and even though Pratt was unfailingly deferential and conciliatory, Pratt had continued to publish views on the godhead at variance from Young's. He had gone to England as mission president in 1856, only to be recalled with the outbreak of the Utah War. That conflict was defused, but the theological disagreements were not. Pratt was chastised at a Quorum of the Twelve meeting in January 1860; and although he defended his views for hours, he capitulated and unreservedly apologized the next morning at the Tabernacle preaching service. "The Priesthood is the highest and only legitimate authority in the Church in these matters," he affirmed. "When I say that Priesthood, I mean the individ-

ual who holds the keys thereof" (Clark 1:219, 217). His lengthy address was published in the *Millennial Star*.

On 31 January 1860, fresh from this apology, Pratt called on Young to offer personal apologies and humbly acknowledge his own "selfwilled determination." After first denying that he ever had "any personal feelings," Young admitted that he had "felt vexed" that Pratt had not consulted the Twelve before publishing Lucy's book. Pratt meekly admitted wrong-doing, offering in extenuation that he had not seen it as wrong at the time. Magnanimously, Young said that "he did not have it in his heart to disfellowship but merely to correct men in their views" (Young, Office, 37).

But the wrangle was not over. Although the exact reasons that prompted Young's next expression of displeasure are not clear, speaking on 8 May 1865 at Wellsville<sup>23</sup> in Cache Valley, he announced that he was going to have his remarks published "to all the Saints in all the world," then identified Lucy's book by full title and Orson Pratt as the instigator of the publication:<sup>24</sup>

We have advertized to be have them gathered up and destroyed, so that there might not be any copies of it <the book> among the people. Brother Cannon, while on his mission to Europe, exercised his influence there to have those copies ~~those book copies of <those> the book~~ in the hands of the Saints there gathered in and destroyed. The inquiry arises at once, "why do you want to destroy these books?" It is because the book is a tissue of falsehoods. There are witnesses here present, in this room, who know that there are false statements in it; Brother Ames is one, so is Bro. Snow, and others. So far as I am acquainted with the statements in the book, they are palpably false, and I ~~do not~~ wish such a book ~~not~~ to be lying on our shelves to be taken up in after years and read by our children as true history.

I took up one on Brother Benson's table this morning. ~~<and having the least>~~ I had no idea that I should find a copy in the house of one of the Twelve ~~Saints as I hoped they had been put out of the way~~. Bro. [Peter] Maughan has told me that he, also, has one. When I find brethren of the Twelve and Bishops and

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23. Young's choice of Wellsville as the site for his denunciation of *Biographical Sketches* is somewhat curious. According to the Historian's Office Journal, Young and his party, which included John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Franklin D. Richards, George Q. Cannon, and "several others," left Salt Lake City on 3 May and returned 11 May, preaching on their way. Young stayed with Cache Stake president E. T. Benson (the hapless "Brother Benson" whom he publicly rebukes) on the night of 5-6 May, then preached twice the next day in the Bowery to "the largest [congregation] ever convened in Cache Valley." It was in Benson's home that he saw the offending volume; if he was concerned about getting the message to the largest possible number of people, the record crowd in the Logan bowery on 6 May was the logical setting. Benson, an apostle, had been president of Cache Stake since 1860.

24. E. S. Sloan's holograph transcript of this speech apparently served as the printer's copy for its later publication in the *Deseret News*, since it contains numerous interlinear additions in faint pencil, not all of which I have attempted to reproduce. The scattered brackets, not always in pairs, are in the original.

men in authority in the Kingdom of God hugging such a book to their breasts, and keeping it in their houses, after what has been said and printed concerning it before, I must speak plainly ~~concerning~~ <on the matter>.

I require the Twelve, the High Priests, the Seventies, the Bishops, and every one in the Church, male and female, if they have such a book, to ~~burn it up~~ destroy it.<sup>25</sup> If they do not, the responsibility of the evil results that may accrue from keeping it will rest upon them & not upon me. Without entering into the details of the history of the book, it may seem necessary to you to relate a few items connected with it. ("Remarks")

He then launched into an attack on Martha Jane Coray somewhere between hyperbole and slander, cast doubts on Lucy's mental competence in passing, and gave his unvarnished opinion of William:

. . . There ~~is~~ was a ~~sister now~~ lady living in ~~Provo~~ Nauvoo ~~Sister Coray~~ <by the name of> Corey [sic], a smart, active woman with a very bright mind, but ~~her~~ <she had a great taste as I understand> for novel ~~novelty~~ <reading>. I suppose that, when young, she devoured every novel, as it is termed, that she could lay her hands on. Her desire was to be a ~~novel~~ writer, <especially a novel writer,> and she begged the privilege in Nauvoo of writing the history of Mother Smith. We knew she was doing it, but did not know what she [was] writing ~~in it~~. Mother Smith was very old and forgetful, and could <scarcely> recollect ~~hardly~~ anything <correctly> that had transpired. ~~St. Cory~~ <This lady> would get little items from her, and then she would write, write, write ~~in the style of a novel~~ and [take it to Mother Smith and read it. "is this so?" she would ask, reading what she had written: "Really, I do not recollect; it sounds very nice; I guess it must be so." and thus it was passed as correct matter of history.

~~Writing of William~~ When Joseph was taken in Missouri, <William Smith> he swore that he wished Joseph might never get back, but that he might be hanged; he came out of Missouri swearing like a devil, and heaping abuse on the name of the Prophet; yet according to this book Mother Smith ~~would~~ tells us that she knew William to be one of the greatest Saints of Latter-days. She knew <it> ~~that~~ was wrong, that he was not so. When the book was written Mother Smith sent it to me to examine. This was a year after Joseph's death. With some others acquainted with the circumstances I read the manuscript, and we saw it was ~~false~~ <incorrect>. I instructed William Clayton, who was then chief Clerk, to have it copied off, every word, and said that at some future time we would look over the history and bring out something that would be correct for Mother Smith. <That copy is now in the Historian's Office>.<sup>26</sup>

25. In his two-sentence summary of this address on 8 May 1865, Wilford Woodruff focused on this point: "President Young said He wanted all the Saints to burn up every Copy they have of the History of Joseph Smith by his mother Lucy Smith for it is Not True. Much of its fals" (6:223).

26. Young would most likely have given these instructions not earlier than June 1845 (since the manuscript would not have been finished at that point) and more likely not before November 1845 during the discussion about purchasing Lucy's copyright and February 1846 when Howard

Young then delivered a caricature of Pratt's role in the publication, accusing him of being motivated by greed. Substituting the crushing poverty in which Pratt lived most of his life for "greed" might well provide a motive for publication; but Young overlooked the fact that Pratt could very seldom command a thousand dollars in cash, and it seems improbable that 1853 was one of those times. Although Pratt told Lucy that he had spent two or three thousand dollars of his own money getting the book published, he also apologized to her for not being able to give her more than \$100. Young is also incorrect in stating that Pratt obtained the manuscript from Sheen; whatever Sheen's role may have been, Pratt received the manuscript directly from Babbitt. Furthermore, Brigham Young himself knew better, since Wilford Woodruff recorded a conversation in Brigham Young's office on the topic on 13 February 1859, "Elder O Pratt . . . bought it of A. W. Babbitt at a high Price." It seems clear that Woodruff is recording Young's statement in this instance, since he continues, "It is marvellous that He [Pratt] should have published it without my Council" (5:288). It also seems unlikely that the manuscript was stolen; if Lucy had felt defrauded, it seems improbable that she would not have mentioned the circumstances in writing to Pratt in 1854. Young continued:

To shorten the story, Almon Babbitt . . . stole it from her; a few of the apostates and renegades got away this manuscript and the Mummies<sup>27</sup> and some other things that were left to me, and they passed into the hands of Isaac Sheen,] from whom Orson Pratt obtained this Manuscript, and through his greed for money, published it in England. I do not know that Samuel W. Richards knew anything about the manner in which it was written or how Orson Pratt obtained it. He printed it as he would have done any other book, <I suppose>. Brother Pratt had it printed, and published it without saying a word <to the First Presidency or the Twelve> of what he was doing. [As nigh as we could learn he paid Babbitt something like one thousand dollars for the Manuscript.] This (is) the way the book came into being. It was smuggled, juggled and gambled into existence as a book, and <all for selfish gain.>

Mother Smith knew nothing about a number of things that were written. Her memory was so <far> gone she could not tell whether they were as represented or not. According to the book, she is stated to have built a school house while

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Coray was paid for copying it. The Historian's Office Journal for that period was being kept by Thomas Bullock (CR 100 Vol. 1). Although Bullock occasionally mentions Clayton, he nowhere mentions the Corays, instructions to have a copy made, or Lucy Mack Smith, except on 8 January 1845 to note her presence at a "meeting of the 12 and the Young family." He gives one-sentence summaries of each speaker, ending with "Mother Smith spoke her experience—together a delightful happy day."

27. The mummies remained in Lucy's possession until she died; Emma, Lewis, and Joseph III sold them twelve days later on 26 May 1856 (Newell and Avery, 265-66). The purchaser was a Mr. A. Combs.

Joseph was in Missouri. She never did a stroke to the building of that house. I had the house buil [sic] myself. But I have not time to recite the various items that are incorrect. The book was looked over by some of the ~~connections~~ relatives of the Prophet who were acquainted with the history of the family. Here is <one of them,> Bro. Geo. A., a nephew of Mother Smith's and a cousin of the Prophet's, who knows that it is erroneous. Judge Elias Smith, in Great Salt Lake City, when he looked over the book, said it was a tissue of lies from beginning to end.]<sup>28</sup>

Young concluded by warning anyone who owned the book that he or she was "transmitting lies to posterity" and that "the curse of God will rest on every one who keeps these books in their houses." He ordered the volumes turned in, either to him or to the bishop, so that they could be "destroyed," and offered to pay for them, announced that Pratt would ordinarily have been "brought before the High Council and disfellowshipped, but we bore, and bore, and continued to forebear." He concluded, perhaps inadvertently, by admitting a more pressing source of his spleen: "I wil not bear such things any longer. My words have been unheeded and my counsel disregarded in this matter and I will not endure it."

When he returned to Salt Lake City, he sent a message to Martha Jane Knowlton Coray, asking about her role in its production.<sup>29</sup> She wrote him a letter from her home in Provo on 13 June 1865 that was both conciliatory and defensive or, in Searle's words, "telling him just about what he wanted to hear" (398):

I was her amanuensis at the time the Book was written. First, allow me to state the cause of my being found in that position: I was, and had been from the age of thirteen years, much in the habit of noting down everything, I heard and read which possessed any peculiar interest to me, in order to preserve facts. At this time I was occupied from time to time as occasion offered, in making notes of sermons, and other things which I thought reliable such as: discourses by yourself, the twelve, and other responsible men, when I observed that no clerk was present, this made it an easy task for me to transmit to paper what the old lady said, and prompted me in undertaking to secure all the information possible for myself and

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28. This "tissue of lies" statement may well have been Elias's opinion, but how did Brigham Young know it? It is possible, of course, that Elias had met with Young and did not note it in his diary, but it seems unlikely. He did not associate with Young on a daily basis and seems to record their occasional social contacts scrupulously; he even conscientiously records every time he heard Young give a public sermon, although he does not often mention even the topic. He had had no private meeting for years with Young at this point. He had also recorded no private meeting or even a social encounter with his cousin George A. for months. Elias himself, even during the months he collaborated with George A. on the proposed revision, made nothing like a "tissue of lies" statement in his diary nor does George A. attribute such a statement to him.

29. No letter of this nature is catalogued among Brigham Young's outgoing correspondence in the LDS Church Archives. Either it has not survived, he sent an oral message by someone, or he had someone else write to her. The catalogue of George A. Smith's correspondence from the Historian's Office, the second most likely source, does not show such a letter either.



children; further I hoped her simple stories might be compiled in a small book for the reading of the young. Mother Smith was, al [sic] the time she gave her history, in a very low state of health, at times suffering great pains with rheumatism and often much suffocated with an affection [affliction] of the chest. The baleful influence of her evil minded son William was another great cause of confusion. Hyrum and Joseph were dead, and thus, without their aid, she attempted to prosecute the work, relying chiefly upon her memory, having little recourse to authentic statements whose corresponding dates might have assisted her. The Book when finished by me, required a thorough revision by those who possessed better facilities for correcting it than were accessible to me. There were two Manuscripts prepared, one copy was given to Mother Smith, and the other retained in the Church. The first copy fell into the hands of Mr. Arthur Miliken: Mother Smith's soninlaw, and went from him, I hear, to A. W. Babbitt Esq., and afterwards came into the possession [of] an Editor named Sheen, and was sold by him to Elder Orson Pratt who took it to England, and published it in its crude state. The Preface, printed by Elder Orson Pratt, claims, that the work was mostly written under the supervision of Joseph Smith; this was not true, as it was not commenced untill sometime after his death.

Mother Smith was a kind, warmhearted, noble and good woman, She rejoiced in her family, and had a natural desire to perpetuate their memory, and trusting too much to recollection, she was in some things mistaken—but who has thus never been mistaken? I wrote the Book, and my statements were faithful and true, as far as I could learn at that time; but upon further information, I am convinced, that it contains many unavoidable errors, and should not have been printed, in its present form, but being printed should be suppressed. I expected that it would pass through the hands of the Church Historian. but as it did not, its publication ~~in its~~ seems to <have been> improper.

Sir, with respect and honor, I remain, Your Sister in the bonds of the holy gospel, M. J. Coray (Coray to Young)

Martha Jane was obviously not in a position to argue with the president of the church about whether this statement or that in Lucy's book was technically accurate, especially when it was far from clear which statements Young was taking exception to. In fact, she may well have agreed with him. As a convert of only five years, she may very easily have decided that Lucy was grossly though innocently misrepresenting what had happened before 1840. But while acquiescing to Young's obvious distaste for the book, she defends what she can: Lucy's motives as being the natural joy a loving mother took in her family, and her own care in transcribing Lucy's words.

Within a few days, on 21 June 1865, Young, in the course of a sermon in Salt Lake City, "made some remarks on the book entitled 'Joseph Smith and his Progenitors,' requesting those who had copies to let him have them, and receive value for them if they desired it" (qtd. in Searle). On 23 July, according to Andrew Jenson's *Church Chronology*, "a book, entitled 'Joseph Smith the

Prophet,' by Lucy Smith, the Prophet's mother, published by Orson Pratt and Samuel W. Richards, in England, was condemned for its inaccuracy, by the First Presidency and Twelve Apostles" (Jenson, *Chronology*, 73).

In August 1865, the First Presidency and the Twelve, whether repeating or simply elaborating on their July action, published an editorial that again "condemned" the book "for its inaccuracy." Although all three members of the First Presidency—Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Daniel H. Wells—signed the lengthy editorial published in the *Deseret News* (23 August 1865) and *Millennial Star* (21 October 1865), the document was clearly the work of one man, almost certainly Brigham Young himself (Clark 2:229-31), since it is basically a more polished version of his Wellsville remarks.<sup>30</sup>

He begins anecdotally, expressing some pique at being disobeyed:

Happening lately, while on a preaching trip to Cache Valley, to pick up a book which was lying on a table in the house where we were stopping, we were surprised to find that it was the book bearing the title, on the outside, of "Joseph Smith, the Prophet." . . . Our surprise at finding a copy of this work may be accounted for, by the fact of our having advertized some time ago that the book was incorrect, and that it should be gathered up and destroyed, so that no copies should be left; and, from this, we had supposed that not a single copy could be found in any of the houses of the Saints.

We now wish to publish our views and feelings respecting this book, so that they may be known to all the Saints in all the world. In Great Britain diligence has been used in collecting and in disposing of this work, and we wish that same diligence continued there and also exercised here, at home, until not a copy is left. (Young, "Hearken," 230)

To forestall requests for the reason for such an extraordinary procedure, he continued by harshly condemning the book—not just for containing errors but also, through his repeated use of *false*, for presumably malicious dishonesty. He also repeated his order to destroy it and warned of dire consequences for disobedience:

. . . We are acquainted with individual circumstances alluded to in it, and know many of the statements to be false. We could go through the book and point out many false statements which it contains, but we do not feel to do so. It is sufficient to say that it is utterly unreliable as a history, as it contains many falsehoods and mistakes. We do not wish such a book to be lying on our shelves, to be taken up in after years and read by our children as true history, and we, therefore, expect . . . every one in the Church, male and female, if they have such

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30. An excerpt from "Hearken" was reprinted as "Incorrect Doctrine," in the *Millennial Star* 56 (3 December 1865): 777-78, but it deals only with *The Seer*. There is no mention of *Biographical Sketches*.

a book, to dispose of it so that it will never be read by any person again. If they do not, the responsibility of the evil results that may accrue from keeping it will rest upon them and not upon us.

He next condemns, successively, Lucy Mack Smith's mental competence, William Smith's character, and Orson Pratt's secretiveness. Though he names Martha Jane (by surname), she escapes the general censure, no doubt because of her cooperative letter in June, although he seems to confuse her with Howard when it comes to the matter of payment:

. . . Mother Smith was seventy years old, and very forgetful. Her mind had suffered many severe shocks, through losing a beloved husband and four sons of exceeding promise, to whom she was fondly attached, three of whom had but recently fallen victims to mobocratic violence, and she could, therefore, scarcely recollect anything correctly that had transpired. She employed as an amanuensis a lady by the name of Coray.

Those who have read the history of William Smith, and who knew him, know the statements made in that book respecting him, when he came out of Missouri, to be utterly false. Instead of being the faithful man of God, and the Saint which he is there represented to have been, he was a wicked man, and he publicly expressed the hope that his brother Joseph would never get out of the hands of his enemies alive; and he further said that if had had the disposing of him, he would have hung him years before.

Young puts words in Lucy's mouth by claiming she represented William to be a "faithful man of God" and a "saint," although that may well have been her opinion. Furthermore, I have not been able to find documentation of any statement by William Smith wishing Joseph ill in the immediate post-Missouri period except that reported by Wilford Woodruff. While Joseph and Hyrum were still incarcerated in Liberty Jail but after the extended Smith family had managed to make their various ways to Quincy, William added a postscript to a letter Don Carlos wrote the two older brothers on 6 March 1839. In it he apologizes for not visiting Hyrum and Joseph in jail, pleading both the press of business and also his anxiety lest an excessive number of visitors arouse the suspicions of the Missourians that the Saints "would rise up to liberate you . . . [and] make it worse for you." He added, "We all long to see you and have you come out of that lonesome place," and promised, "Do not worry about them [your families], for they will be taken care of. All we can do will be done; further than this, we can only wish, hope, desire, and pray for your deliverance" (HC 3:274). While this letter might be interpreted as evidence that William was not overanxious to risk his own safety to visit his brothers, it provides no evidence that he found any satisfaction in Joseph's and Hyrum's imprisonment or wished them ill.

Nibley (343) states: "After Joseph was taken prisoner and the mob began

to drive out the Saints, William expressed himself in such a vindictive manner against Joseph that the Church suspended him from fellowship 4 May 1839 at a general conference near Quincy." He gives no source. The published minutes of that three-day Quincy conference, at which Joseph Smith presided, are far less specific than Nibley's unfootnoted information: "Resolved . . . that Elders Orson Hyde and William Smith be allowed the privilege of appearing personally before the next general conference of the Church, to give an account of their conduct; and that in the meantime they be both suspended from exercising the functions of their office" (HC 3:345). No details about their "conduct" are provided. The next conference was set for the "first Saturday in October" (3:346). However, William was restored to his office only three weeks later on 25 May, reportedly at the intercession of Joseph and Hyrum (*Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4, App. 1). That day's entry in Joseph's history is equally bland: "The case of Brother William Smith came up for investigation and was disposed of." A footnote, presumably by George A., still fails to illuminate: "That is, Elder Smith who had been guilty of some wilful and irregular conduct while in the state of Missouri, was permitted to retain his standing in the quorum of the Twelve" (HC 3:364).

Brigham Young then continues basically the same statements he had made to the Wellsville congregation:

When the book was written, Mother Smith sent it to us to examine. In company with some others, who were acquainted with the circumstances alluded to in the book, we read the manuscript, and we soon saw that it was incorrect. We paid the amanuensis who wrote the book for Mother Smith for a copy of the work, and that copy is now in the Historian's Office, and has been in our possession ever since we left Nauvoo. But the original manuscript was purloined, we suppose, from Mother Smith, and went into the hands of apostates, and was purchased of them by Orson Pratt. He had the work published in England. We do not know that Samuel W. Richards, who printed the work, knew anything about the manner in which it was written, or how brother Pratt obtained it. He printed it, we suppose, as he would any other book. But brother Pratt had it printed, and published it, without saying a word to the First Presidency or the Twelve about what he was doing. This is the way the book came into being. It was smuggled, juggled and foisted into existence as a book. (Young, "Hearken," 230-31)

Young singled out for special condemnation the hapless Pratt's mistaken statement from the preface that Joseph Smith had been involved in the book's production. He then repeated his orders and threats:

Many of the Saints may not know that the book is inaccurate; but those who have been instructed respecting its characer [sic], and will still keep it on their tables, and have it in their houses as a valid and authentic history for their children to read, need rebuke. It is transmitting lies to posterity to take such a course, and

we know that the curse of God will rest upon every one, after he comes to the knowledge of what is here said, who keeps these books for his children to learn and believe in lies.

We wish those who have these books to either hand them to their Bishops for them to be conveyed to the President's or Historian's Office, or send them themselves, that they may be disposed of; and they will please write their names in the books, with the name of the place where they reside, and if they wish to hand them over without pay in return, state so; and if they wish to get pay for them, state whether they desire it applied on Tithing, or wish the value returned in other books.

The editorial continues to twice this length, lambasting Pratt's theological views by quoting offending doctrinal paragraphs from *The Seer*, but without identifying the errors they contain. Young concludes, "This should be a lasting lesson to the Elders of Israel not to undertake to teach doctrine they do not understand" (ibid., 235).

This article was published in the *Millennial Star* 27 (21 October 1865): 657-63, along with a "Proclamation of the First Presidency and Twelve" detailing Pratt's doctrinal errors at length and ordering members to destroy items reprinted from *The Seer* or cut them out of bound works. The mission president, Brigham Young Jr., added another notice (p. 667) referring readers to the First Presidency and Twelve article about "*Joseph Smith the Prophet* and other publications also mentioned. The reasons assigned are sufficient to justify this step." Young Jr. then repeated an earlier announcement that "all copies of such works in possession of parties in this country, should be forwarded to the Liverpool Office. We are aware, however, that there are still several loose copies floating around through different parts of the Mission." He asked "the brethren in the various Conferences" to collect and forward them "on the same terms" as the First Presidency's: free, as tithing credit, or in exchange for "any of the standard works of the Church" (qtd. in Tanner and Tanner, 4).

Pratt, recuperating from what sounds like a case of pneumonia in London, read these announcements in the *Millennial Star* and meekly drafted an announcement on 25 October 1865, "To the Saints in All the World." In it he expressed contrition "that I have ever published the least thing which meets with the disapprobation of the highest authorities of the Church; and I do most cordially join with them in the request, that you should make such dispositions of the publications alluded to, as counselled in their proclamation" (Clark 2:238). Ironically, Pratt had just reached England to replace Brigham Young Jr. as president of the mission. Brigham Young Sr. had praised his son from the pulpit as having exercised "diligence" in wreaking what Pratt's biographer called "the sacred holocaust of his works" (England, 229).

## THE "REVIEW" IN NAUVOO

Much of the interpretation of Pratt's role in the publication of *Biographical Sketches* depends on the accuracy of Young's claim that he and knowledgeable "others" had read the manuscript in Nauvoo, counseled against its publication, planned on extensive revisions before publication, and ordered a manuscript copy made for that purpose ("Remarks"). Did this review in fact take place? And did Orson Pratt know about it?

First, had Brigham Young read the manuscript himself? It seems unlikely. The amount of leisure he had between June 1845 (or, more probably, November 1845, when the manuscript was finished) and January 1846, when Howard was paid for his copy, was virtually nonexistent. Intensive endowment and sealing sessions began in the temple in December, and he was sometimes there night and day before departing from Nauvoo in February. Reading a manuscript of this length could not have been done in less than a full day and probably, given Young's limited reading skills, even longer. Almost certainly, if the manuscript came to him as he claimed it did, he assigned someone else to read it.

Who might this other reader or readers have been? Wilford Woodruff was in Great Britain on a mission for much of 1845-46. George A. Smith, a logical candidate, kept a diary which exists in an elegantly recopied form. In searching for references to Lucy or her history between the summer of 1845 and February 1846, I found only one reference—to the 30 June 1845 meeting over Lucy's vision (see "Editor's Introduction"). The published version of William Clayton's diary for 1845-46 does not mention his reading this history, and the holograph version is not available. John Taylor's published Nauvoo diary ends on 17 September 1845 without mentioning Lucy's history after he read some of it in June. In any case, even Young and George A. Smith would have had first-hand knowledge of events only from Kirtland on. In short, there is, as far as I know, no corroborating documentary evidence from 1845-46 that either Brigham Young acting as an individual or "the Twelve" collectively read the fair copy and issued any advice. However, it strengthened Young's authoritative position if he could claim—as he did—that he had earlier made known his wishes but that they had been disregarded.

However, assuming that this alleged review occurred, did Orson Pratt know about it? If Young had been so firmly convinced on first reading it in Nauvoo in late 1845 or early 1846 that the book was in error, then why had this fact not so much as made its way into casual conversation with Pratt, with John Taylor, who kept a daily diary during this period, or with the ubiquitous William Clayton? Pratt and Young were close at this period. They had been together in Massachusetts when the news of the assassinations had reached them. Young had personally taught Pratt about plural marriage and sealed his



first two plural wives to him in 1844. On 30 June 1845, Pratt was one of the apostles who was present at the meeting over Lucy's vision of William beset by armed enemies. Pratt had spent July-December 1845 in New York, but he was back in Nauvoo by 11 December and was presiding at sessions in the temple during January 1846. In other words, Pratt's and Young's paths crossed often. It seems improbable that, in the course of the most ordinary greeting, they would not have asked each other what business they were engaged in and how it progressed—the nineteenth-century equivalent of "How are things going?" If Young had been spending a day or more of his valuable time reading Lucy's book or had assigned someone else to do it, why was this fact of such negligible importance that he never mentioned it, especially given the vital interest of all Nauvoo's inhabitants in Joseph Smith and especially if Brigham found it wanting? It seems even more improbable that Brigham would not have mentioned the project to Clayton or to Joseph's kinsman, George A. Smith.

Of course, it is also possible that Pratt was simply out of the information loop, even though he was in Nauvoo. He certainly did not know—or at least had seriously misunderstood—that Lucy had written the history beginning in the winter of 1844-45 or he would also have known that Joseph could not have supervised any part of the work, as he mistakenly claimed in his preface.

The final question is: Even if Pratt did not know Young's (possibly unspoken) views on the manuscript, should he have asked permission from Young and/or the Twelve before publishing it? It is difficult to say. Obviously Young thought Pratt had committed an egregious affront by not requesting this permission. Equally obviously, Pratt thought he had acted innocently and even commendably as an individual—spending his own money and making his own arrangements.

Joseph F. Smith, who worked with George A. Smith on the revisions in the Church Historian's Office in 1866, perpetuates this version of Pratt as a greedy rebel in his 1901 introduction to the *Improvement Era* edition:

[He] took it to Liverpool with him, where, without revision and without the consent or knowledge of President Young or any of the Twelve, it was published under his direction in 1853. It was afterwards discovered that the book contained errors, occasioned by its not being carefully compared with historical data. Some of the statements in the preface written by Elder Pratt were also in error; one especially that the book was mostly written in the lifetime of the Prophet, and that he had read it with approval, was incorrect. . . . For these reasons and others, mostly of a financial character, it was disapproved by President Young on August 23, 1865, and the edition was suppressed or destroyed. (JFS, 2)

While Joseph F. correctly points out that Pratt had made inaccurate claims of the prophet's involvement in the project, the rest of this description raises fur-



ther questions. For example, if the historical errors were only discovered "afterwards" (after its publication), then it contradicts Brigham Young's own (also possibly inaccurate) statement that the history had been read and disapproved of in Nauvoo. Also, Joseph F.'s hint of financial impropriety on Pratt's part perpetuates an accusation Young made only in his most intemperate outburst on this issue, his Wellsville discourse of May 1865 ("Remarks"). Both comments seem to have been slanderous.

#### THE REVISION COMMITTEE

A year later—and seven years later after his initial instructions about revisions—on 22 April 1866, Brigham Young reactivated his revision orders. At a meeting of Brigham Young, Daniel H. Wells, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Franklin D. Richards, and George Q. Cannon, Young instructed Woodruff: "As soon as G A Smith Comes home I want you to get Elias Smith & set down & Correct the Errors in the History of Joseph Smith as published by Mother Smith & then let it be published to the world" (Woodruff 5:287).

It is important to recognize that twentieth-century standards of history—particularly the concern for exact reproduction of historical documents that has developed in the late twentieth century—was not a standard which nineteenth-century historians recognized nor to which they can be justifiably held. (Of course, inaccuracies in genealogical data must be deplored, although my desire for meticulous manuscript reproduction collides here with my recognition that the reader's interest in genealogical dates is very low.)

The issue is rather how to consider deliberate textual changes. Although I consider Brigham Young's response to the 1853 edition to be an outsize tempest in a modest-size teapot and disagree with most of the editing inflicted on the manuscript from George A. Smith to Preston Nibley,<sup>31</sup> I do not consider that any of these individuals defined their activities as deliberate misrepresentations and purposeful dishonesty, as such activities would have to be considered today. Although their effects worked mischief with Lucy's document, their motives were not malicious. Dean C. Jessee reminds us that history, in Joseph Smith's world, "was a branch of literature . . . where it was not uncommon to borrow other writers' thoughts, a world where primary sources could be altered at will, a world where history was a form of promotional literature with a deep sense of mission" ("Joseph," 139).

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31. The Proctors, in creating their "revised and enhanced" version, discussed below, are forthright in presenting the document as an amalgamation of various sources silently stitched together. Although such a work does not meet the minimal editing criteria for a historic document, the reader is not in doubt about whether he or she is reading an "original."

George A. Smith's collaborator, Elias Smith, was the son of Asael Smith Jr., the brother of both Joseph Smith Sr. and John Smith, George A.'s father. Both Elias and George A. were therefore first cousins to Joseph the prophet and nephews of Lucy Mack Smith. Born 6 September 1804, Elias served in many significant positions including chief justice of the Territory of Deseret, then as probate court judge for thirty-one years (1851-82), as business manager of the *Deseret News*, and then as its editor. Elias kept a daily diary during this entire period. He does not mention the publication of *Biographical Sketches* or any negative reaction to it. Interestingly, he does note a year after its publication on Sunday, 10 December 1854, the same month that the first copies reached Utah: "Spent most of the day in the Historians office by request of the Historian G. A. Smith, reviewing and revising certain items of history that had [been?] irregularly reported at the time." Although he provides no details about these "items," he does not return to the Historian's Office, and calling the project "certain items" is different from how he later refers to Lucy's history. Nothing of the 1859 uproar finds its way into his diary.

Elias's diary entries are characteristically short: a report on the weather, a list of his activities that day, a meticulous listing of meetings attended with a complete list of speakers and, sometimes, a brief comment about their topics (both Brigham and George A. appear often in such entries), and any information on the family that is out of the ordinary, such as an illness or the arrival of a visitor. He sometimes summarized the more controversial cases he heard; and in much the same way, he makes a lawyerly note, with complete names and titles, on Lucy's history in his first mention on 2 May 1866:

Got through with the session of court to day as soon as I could and the remainder of the day or some part of it I spent at the Historian's office assisting George A. Smith Church Historian in the revision of a book written by Lucy Smith, mother of the Prophet Joseph and by some mistake, misunderstanding or other consideration published in England in [blank] as the history of "Joseph the Prophet" which was subsequently suppressed by the "First Presidency and the "Twelve," in consequence of certain errors that had been incorporated in the work. It has of late been resolved by the President Young to revise and republished it, and my services have been solicited in the revision of the book or manuscript.

Two days earlier, on 30 April, Elias had "spent the evening at G. A. Smith's and at the office of President B. Young." He does not mention the subject of their discussion, but it was no doubt during this visit when the two solicited his assistance. Before the end of the month, he records a total of eight such sessions with a ninth (and last) following on 14 September. He never mentions any details of how they worked or what corrections they

made.<sup>32</sup> He refers to the project once as “the revising job” and usually puts “Mother Smith” in quotation marks as though questioning her authorship. His final mention of the project seems pejorative in tone: “Went to the Historians office in the morning for the purpose of recommencing the work of revising the history of ‘mother Smith’ so called—the mother of the prophet Joseph” (14 September 1866). His reference to “recommencing” rather than finishing the revision suggests that, Joseph F. Smith’s later (1902) claims to the contrary, the two Smith cousins may have planned more extensive revisions than actually appear in the 1902 edition.

The Historian’s Office Journal provides a more detailed and a more complex picture of this project. Four days after the Brigham Young party’s return from Cache Valley, George A. spent most of two days on the project:

May 15, 1865. GAS in office. Corrections Jos. Smith the Prophet. R[obert] L[ang] C[ampbell] Compiling History & corrections Jos Smith the Prophet.

May 16. GAS correcting “Joseph Smith the Prophet” (his history by his Mother). RLC on History compilation & assisting Geo. A.

Over a month later, on Tuesday, 20 June, George A. and Franklin D. Richards helped George Q. Cannon “to get up an article on O. Pratts Writings and in relation to work entitled Joseph Smith the Prophet.” This entry is the last mention of the history for the rest of the summer and fall. Apparently George A. let the project lapse until either he had more time or (more likely) Brigham Young prodded him about it the following spring.

The Historian’s Office Journal records that on 30 April 1866, Robert Lang Campbell was “Re-copying portions of 1853 history.” This is the only day he did so and the only time for weeks that the term “re-copying” is used. That evening, as we have seen, Elias met, first with George A., then with George A. and Brigham Young together. Two days later a sustained effort began:

May 2, 1866, Wednesday. GAS p.m., with Elias Smith revising History of Mother Smith. RLC on historical items of 1853 History J[oseph] F. S[mith]. . . . helping to read & correct Mother Smith’s history

Thursday, 3 May, GAS, Elias Smith, RLC, & JFS Revising History of Lucy Smith, Mother of the Prophet.

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32. I made an entry-by-entry search of Elias Smith’s diary from December 1853, the month that *Biographical Sketches* was published, until June 1878 (a year after Brigham Young’s death and almost three years after George A. Smith’s death on 1 September 1875), but found no additional mention of Orson Pratt except as a speaker at various conference sessions, Lucy Mack Smith, Martha Jane or Howard Coray, or George A. Smith except for occasional family visits and conscientious notations about when he gave public addresses. Checking his diary against the Church Historian’s Office journal shows that Elias omitted four working sessions, all of which occurred during the intensive May and September periods.

## THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF LUCY'S BOOK

Friday, 4 May. GAS, Elias Smith, RLC, JFS, Revising History of Lucy Smith, Mother of the Prophet.

Monday, May 7, 1866. GAS Writing to Cap. Hooper & on revision of Mother Smith's history. RLC Drafting Hooper's letter & on revision of Mo. Smith's letter [sic]. JFS on list of apostates [This was a project he had started several days before the history revision began and was apparently unrelated to Lucy's history] & on revision of history. Elias Smith—most of the day & evening reading history.

A hiatus of several days followed, during which Robert Campbell is innocently but amusingly described as "Re-writing history." Then the project picks up again on Monday, 21 May 1866:

GAS with Elias Smith reading Mother Smith's history. RLC a.m. copying letter to B. Young Jr. & p.m. reading Mo. Smith's history.

Tuesday, 22 May 1866. GAS in office, p.m., revising Mo. Smith's history with Judge Elias Smith. RLC [worked during the day on another task in the morning but then spent this evening] till 10 p.m. on Mother Smith's History

Wednesday, 23rd. GAS In office p.m. with Judge Smith on Mo. Smith's history

Thursday, 24th May 1866. GAS & Judge Smith Revising Mo. Smith's history till one 1/4 p.m. RLC. . . . evening on Mo. Smith's History JFS. On list of apostates & p.m. & evening on Mo. Smith's history.

Friday, May 25, 1865. GAS with Judge Smith reading Mo. Smith's history forenoon.

Saturday, May 26, 1866. GAS a.m. with Judge Smith on Mo. Smith's History. RLC a.m. ditto

May 29th, Tuesday. GAS In office. RLC Copy item [sic] of history 1853 [in morning] JFS. On apostate list.

Here follows another lengthy hiatus in which George A. Smith was frequently out of the office during the summer. The final entries that mention this history occur in mid-September:

Fri. Sep. 14, 1866. GAS with Judge Smith on Mo. Smith's history. . . . RLC on Mo. Smith's history &c. JFS ditto & filing papers.

Saturday, Sep. 15, 66. GAS in Office on Mo. Smith's book. RLC copying history & d[itt]o. JFS at endowment house & d[itt]o.

Sept. 17, GAS morning & evening with Judge Elias Smith on Mo. Smith's history. RLC ditto & copying history. JFS ditto & on endowment record

Tuesday, 18th. GAS round about with bro. John L. RLC on Mo Smith's record with Judge Smith & copying history

Sept. 21, Friday. GAS on Smith genealogy &c. RLC ditto & copying history. JFS ditto.

George A. Smith left for Provo the next day, Joseph F. returned to his apostates' list, and Campbell returned to "copying history." There is no record

of more work on Lucy's history. Unfortunately, George A.'s personal writings do not cover this period. He wrote a retrospective life story before 1840, kept a daily diary from 1843 to 1847, then made sporadic entries for 1852, 1870-72, and 1874 (Dunford, 17n25).

While filling in important chronological details, the Historian's Office Journal also leaves questions. Robert Campbell and Joseph F. Smith were obviously involved in some capacity. Assuming that the "morning" of a work week would have been four hours and an "afternoon" the same, with an "evening" being perhaps two hours (conservative estimates in comparison to the length of a farmer's work-day during the nineteenth century), approximately seventy-eight man-hours were lavished on this revision project without any suggestion that the work was completed or finished.

What were they doing? Obviously, they "read" both the 1845 manuscript and the 1853 book, because notes exist on both; but either can be read through aloud at a most unhurried speed in about twelve hours. The few notes that exist could have been written down in no more than three or four hours, thus leaving approximately fifty hours unaccounted for. Were these four men looking up items in other documents? Discussing their memories? They seem to have consulted no other participants and do not mention writing letters of inquiry on matters that they may have had questions about.

#### THE QUESTION OF ACCURACY

The claim of inaccuracies, upon which Brigham Young's unprecedented act of demolition was mounted, took two forms: first, that the facts themselves were wrong, and second, that Lucy herself was too old and too grief-stricken to function adequately.

What are the facts of the case? Lucy's 1844-45 rough draft and hence the Pratt 1853 version unquestionably contain errors. In fact, as the textual notes in this volume document, Lucy was wrong on many more items than either Young or George A. seemed to recognize. But what errors were they upset about and what do these problems actually amount to? A handful of genealogical errors and a few narrative incidents with which George A. Smith takes exception. (For the sixth, William's vision, see "Young's Dislike" below.)

- Dates. While the misdating and misspelled names in the genealogical tables are, of course, regrettable, that material is irrelevant to the main subject of the book. It is important, for instance, that Stephen Smith, the brother of Joseph Smith Sr., be given the correct birth date of 23 April rather than 17 April; but the date itself has absolutely no impact on the narrative. Such de-

tails could have been silently corrected in a future edition without histrionics.

George A. Smith makes much of Lucy's missing dates. In the obituary of Lucy that he published on 5 July 1856 in *The Mormon*, then being published in New York City, he praised Lucy's history as "contain[ing] many thrilling incidents of herself as well as of her family, which was given in her own style, yet mingled somewhat with evidence of difficulty of her remembering dates" ("Obituary," 559). George A. frequently (but not consistently) adds dates to events and states to the names of towns. Certainly, these additions are helpful and appreciated by the reader, but their omission does not make Lucy's narrative inaccurate. Richard Anderson, after sorting through one of few places where Lucy was mistaken on a date, though not in the sequence of events, observes: "It is remarkable that when Lucy Smith's dictated history is inaccurate in chronology, the deviation is confined to narrow limits" ("Reliability," 27). Furthermore, George A. never changes the sequence in which Lucy relates her experiences; thus, even though she may not be able to identify the date of an event, he does not challenge her chronology. (In point of fact, she does reverse the order of a couple of events, including which came first—Zion's Camp or the commencement of the Kirtland temple.)

- Lucy has identified young Jesse Smith, the son of Asael Smith Jr., as the son of Jesse Smith Sr., thus assigning her nephew the wrong father. Again, while this error is regrettable, the main *narrative* use of this incident is the sadness of the youth's death, not his paternity, and a correction would be easy to make.
- Lucy tells of a group, bent on mobbing her son William as he preaches a sermon, but being first disarmed by his intriguing text and then convinced by his preaching so that the leader, a man named Bear, accepts baptism afterwards (chap. 43). George A.'s solution, after contacting one John Bear, was to omit the entire incident because it was apparently inaccurate in some respects, but Bear's own account seems not to have survived. Is the entire story incorrect? Did William not preach the sermon? Was there no hostile intent on the part of some listeners? Was William's text not "the poor deluded Mormons?" Was Bear not present? If present, was Bear not convinced? Was William actually mobbed instead of left to go free? Again, eliminating the account seems like an overreaction if a few changes could leave most of the story intact but correct the inaccuracies.
- En route to Missouri, Katharine gave birth to a child. Lucy's rough draft incorrectly identifies the child as a daughter. (It was a son, Alvin, born 7

June 1838.) The fair copy carries the same incorrect designation of "daughter" which George A. corrected on both Coray and Pratt, adding the child's name on Pratt (see chap. 48).

- Lucy describes herself in Chapter 43 as taking over the construction of the school/meeting house from the laggard Reynolds Cahoon with her husband's permission and pushing the project to a rapid conclusion. Although it is not completely clear what George A. and Elias take exception to, both seem to think that her role was much smaller than she gives herself credit for, and George A.'s note on Pratt suggests that Lucy did nothing while Brigham Young did everything on this particular building. Here is a flat contradiction of memories. The Smith cousins and Brigham Young were on Zion's Camp, not in Kirtland, during the period when Lucy says she was raising money and proceeding with the work. They seem to be in a poor position to challenge her memory about procedures. She specifically remembers that the building was finished to the door and window frames by the time her sons Joseph and Hyrum returned and that they commended her on the successful completion. She remembers the sashes, the order of work, and even how much money still needed to be raised to pay the project off completely. Unless Lucy had an unchecked imagination—not borne out by the rest of the manuscript—these specific details seem more convincing than the Smith cousins' generalized disapprobation or Young's claim that he built it himself (as he states in one place) or had it built (in another).
- Lucy reports that William had a vision in Missouri showing that the Saints' enemies would descend upon them. George A. Smith, to judge by the vigor with which he has marked out the passage (with horizontal, vertical, *and* diagonal lines) seems particularly offended by the implication that William may have had a vision. Yet William was an apostle and in good standing at the time of the vision; even if he had not been, there are ample scriptural and historical precedents that God is not limited to those of impeccable life when granting visions.

In short, "overreaction" is perhaps the most charitable way to characterize the rather obvious discrepancy between the staggering official denunciations and the relatively minor and infrequent errors (if indeed they are genuine errors) that Lucy actually makes. Therefore, inaccuracy cannot be the "real" problem. Howard Searle agrees, pointing out the plain fact that George A. Smith, charged with the revision, "made very few significant changes" (389).

Where Richard Lloyd Anderson comments, "It is remarkable that when Lucy Smith's dictated history is inaccurate in chronology, the deviation is confined to narrow limits" ("Reliability," 27), he cites examples to show that



when she misdates an event, they do still occur in generally correct order. He finds that "Lucy Smith's memories of the early years of the rise of Mormonism have a demonstrable degree of accuracy" ("Circumstantial," 391). His analysis of her manuscript has convincingly demonstrated that claims of inaccuracy simply cannot be maintained. In addition to corroborating Searle's analysis of the comparative insignificance of the Smith cousins' revisions ("less than 2 percent of the text was altered in any way"), he reports that over 190 of the 200 names in her history can be verified and that, although Lucy does not remember dates so accurately, most of those in error are "within a year or two" (qtd. in R. L. Anderson, "Circumstantial," 390; Shipps, *Mormonism*, 97). Anderson reports checking the "some 200 names that she mentions" against "journals, newspaper articles, or other records of the time" and finding a "better than 95% score. This does not mean," he concluded, "that there is historical perfection in Lucy's record, but clear historical responsibility. She is an excellent source for what she observed" ("Emotional Dimensions," 135-36; see "Confirmation," 390-91, for specific examples).

What about the second charge—that Lucy Mack Smith was mentally incompetent during the period in which the book was produced? There are four indications that Lucy was quite competent. First, Martha Jane Coray writes sympathetically about Lucy's physical ailments but nowhere implies that she was incoherent or disoriented because of grief. Second, John Taylor wrote in his journal on Tuesday, 17 June 1845:

Went to Mother Lucy Smith's, by her request to read some of her history, to see if it was fit or ready for publication. I had an interesting conversation with the old lady; wherein she related many things concerning the family that pleased as well as instructed me; though now quite an aged woman [she would turn seventy in two weeks], the power of her memory is surprising, she is able to relate circumstances connected with the family, with great distinctness and accuracy; she is an honor as well as an ornament to the family she belongs. (Jessee, *John Taylor*, 60)

Third, between February and October 1845, Lucy Mack Smith addressed public gatherings three times: at a Sunday meeting at "Bishop Hale's" on 23 February where she "gave a recital of the persecutions endured by her family, in establishing the church, and exhorted the brethren and sisters to bring up their children in the way they should go"; at the banquet given by bishops Whitney and Miller on 9 July for about fifty members of the Smith family, at which Lucy "addressed her kindred and the audience in a feeling and pathetic manner"; and by her own request at the October conference attended by about five thousand (HC 7:375; 433, 470-72). None of the accounts suggests that she was incoherent, confused, or suffering from

lapses of memory.<sup>33</sup> In fact, the official minutes of her conference address note that she related her account "in a concise manner" (HC 7:471).

And finally, Lucy's children, who lived through the same events, did not consider her history to be an inaccurate memoir—although they cannot be considered unbiased observers. Katharine was baptized at age sixteen immediately after the church was organized and accompanied her mother on successive moves to Kirtland where she married, to Missouri, and to Nauvoo. Six months before her death, interviewed on her eighty-sixth birthday, Katharine loaned the reporter a copy of Lucy's book, calling it "the most authentic account of the Smith family ever published" (qtd. in McGavin, 104).

In evaluating the suppression of this book, Howard Searle notes that even Joseph F. Smith, in his 1902 preface, mildly observed that "its many merits were fully recognized by the authorities, many of whom were greatly disappointed at the necessity of issuing the order to temporarily suppress its further circulation." Searle comments:

The Church Presidency's censorship of Lucy Smith's history appeared to many, at that time and afterward, to be an overreaction to the errors and deficiencies of a book that in many ways was not only useful but essential to an understanding of early Church history. . . . The authoritarian manner in which the history was suppressed has appeared somewhat incongruous to the attitudes and practices of many later leaders of the Church and must be understood in light of some of the emotional issues surrounding the publication and content of the book.

...

The Church leaders wanted to protect readers from the misconceptions and errors they perceived in the book. . . . Whether such paternalism was based on a distrust of the future Saints to judge the truth for themselves or the belief that those closer to the events could make this judgement better and easier, it was, nonetheless, felt to be necessary and appropriate. To those familiar with modern historical methods, there are obviously less drastic means than those adopted by the Presidency for correcting and preserving a historical narrative for posterity,

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33. The clerk's finished notes (tentatively identified as taken by Curtis E. Bolton, not the rough draft tentatively identified as by William Clayton) for the October 1845 conference, if reporting Lucy's address accurately, show that she jumbled the sequence of events in her summary of Missouri events. She talks about William's vision, then the arrests of Joseph and Hyrum, then her defiant invitation to the militia officers who announce they have come to kill the heads of families to do it quickly, then her heart-rending farewell to Joseph in the wagon. She also starts to tell the story of Joseph going to Washington to plead the case of the Saints with the president, then backtracks to describe the family's grueling flight from Missouri to Quincy in rain and snow. (Uncatalogued minutes of general conference, Wednesday, 8 October 1845, access no. 211325-ARCH-94, fd. 4, 8 a.m. session.) This sequence differs from that Lucy reported in her rough draft and in the Coray fair copy. The chronological confusion is avoided in the published *Times and Seasons* version by the use of summaries, leaving the matter unclear about whether the confusion in the Bolton minutes was Lucy's or his (Clayton and Bullock, 1013-14).

but these methods were not known, understood, or practiced by the Church Historians or the Church authorities in the mid nineteenth century. (Searle, 402-3)

#### OTHER REASONS FOR THE SUPPRESSION

After dismissing concern about accuracy as Brigham Young's main motivation, Searle examines more plausible reasons for the disfavor into which the book fell with Brigham Young, George A. Smith, and others: (1) They disliked the warmth with which Mother Smith's book presented her sole surviving son, William, and also Emma Smith, who had been a thorn in Young's side since 1844; (2) The suppression was part of a long-standing disagreement between Brigham Young and Orson Pratt over doctrinal interpretations; and (3) The RLDS sons of Joseph Smith, soon to begin proselyting in Utah, posed a more immediate political threat to Young. Because Lucy's history says nothing about polygamy, the omission seems to support Joseph Smith III's claim that his father had nothing to do with the practice.<sup>34</sup>

Using dissatisfaction with *Biographical Sketches* to attack Orson Pratt's doctrines when the history itself did not support or even mention the doctrines in question seems to indicate that the larger Young-Pratt controversy was a flash point. As already discussed, somehow the question of Pratt's theological beliefs became conflated in Young's mind with the unacceptability of *Biographical Sketches*. What about the other two reasons?

#### Young's Dislike of William Smith

Brigham Young's disdain for William amounted to contempt as the comments quoted above reveal. In probably his mellowest moment on the subject, Young listened to the Twelve discuss an alleged prophecy of Joseph Smith that William would become good when he became old, then summed up: "Whether Joseph said it or not I will say in the name of the Lord that if Wm. Smith lives untill He is 65 or 70 years old He will become a good humble man. He will do the best He Can. He will have to Answer for his sins. rite this Brother Woodruff & put it into the Church History. When a man give[s] way to the power of the Devil He finds it hard to recover himself again" (Woodruff 5:58). William died at age eighty-two; whether Young's prophecy was fulfilled is less certain.

Nor was Brigham alone in his negative views of William. Orson Hyde, in only the first fourteen months (February 1849-April 1850) of editing the *Frontier Guardian* at Kanesville, Iowa, briskly lambasted William as "ever idle, lazy

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34. Searle, "Early Mormon Historiography," 402-14, summarizes all of these arguments.

and quarrelsome," "unworthy the confidence of any upright and moral person," a "notorious profligate," "a poor, degraded, miserable, debauched man," and leader of a "crime steeped clan" (by which he meant William's few adherents to his short-lived church, not the Smith family), who "is a benefactor of his race in rendering absurdity ridiculous." Hyde contemptuously denied "rumors" ("the very gangrene of revenge and malice") that William was circulating: that the Mormons had burned the Nauvoo temple themselves; that they had disguised themselves as Indians to rob overland emigrants; that they maintained a "secret lodge of 50 men" among whom Brigham Young was crowned king (this "rumor" happened to be an accurate though ill-tempered description of the Council of Fifty), and that the Mormons swore a "secret" oath to "avenge the blood of Joseph Smith on this nation" (also fairly accurate).<sup>35</sup>

Wilford Woodruff preached a sermon on 17 September 1865 in which he proclaimed that all of Joseph's family "died as Marters & will be crowned in the presence of God." Then belatedly remembering William, who was still alive, he added: "Except William. If he had been a good man he would have been in the spirit world with his Fathers family long ago but he has not been fit to live or die" (Woodruff 6:246).

Daniel H. Wells told a Tabernacle congregation on 18 August 1867 that he had heard William "speak when he had the spirit of the Lord with him, and I have been much pleased with his remarks" but considered that he had "gone into darkness" and cited, as evidence, hearing William jokingly suggest laying hands in a healing blessing on a fiddle whose strings kept breaking. "You are a poor, miserable hypocrite," Wells thought at the time. "... You blaspheme against God" (JD 12:137-38).

William had been excommunicated from the Strangites for adultery in 1847, founded a church in about 1850 designed to hold believers together until Joseph III was old enough, only to see it disintegrate after about a year, pled with Brigham Young in 1854 and 1855 to be restored to his apostleship (given the appearance of *Biographical Sketches* in 1853, both events probably intensified Brigham's hostility toward both the book and William), made another overture in 1860, but then delayed, obviously hoping for a position in Joseph Smith III's newly formed Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Searle, 406-7). Roger Launius cites Joseph III's delicate handling of William as one of the most compelling pieces of evidence that he was a "pragmatic prophet": Joseph made his uncle welcome in the church but avoided giving him the high office that he so obviously yearned for. William spent his de-

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35. "Apostacy," 3 October 1849, 3; "Mother Smith," 14 November 1849, 2; "Satan Shooting Himself," 6 February 1850, 2; "William Smith," 17 April 1850, 2.

clining years writing rambling, grandiose letters that begged for relief from his chronic destitution and boasted pathetically of his chosen status (Launius, *Pragmatic*, passim). It was no doubt a relief to everyone, including himself, when he finally died in 1893, age eighty-two, in Iowa.

Yet it is hard to think that Brigham Young seriously believed that the inconstant and temperamental William could pose a threat to his own authority, unless he thought that somehow Lucy's natural affection for both William and Emma could persuade his own followers to support the RLDS church. Surely he did not find his people so gullible or easily influenced? Tellingly, despite his public statements of contempt and condemnation for Emma, he mentions her nowhere in his public or private denunciations of *Biographical Sketches*, so the hypothesis that he wanted to downplay her role in Lucy's history is not supported.

Richard L. Anderson argued in 1977 for the "William" thesis, noting that the deaths of five sons and her husband prompted Lucy to "[pour] considerable loyalty upon the remaining male of the family, the unstable William Smith. Judged by Brigham Young's private remarks, Lucy's glorification of William in a few passages of the original dictation caused him to react to the whole" ("Emotional Dimensions," 129-30). In my opinion, Anderson has used *glorification* to minimize Brigham Young's overreaction; a study of the text does not justify this term.

Jan Shippo likewise finds the William Smith thesis inadequate to account for the reaction since "inordinate attention is not devoted to William" in the narrative and perhaps most tellingly, "the revised edition [of 1902] continued to include most of Lucy Smith's accounts mentioning her youngest son" (*ibid.*, 101).

It is true that Lucy does not make a point of reporting William's vices. But according to Irene Bates's analysis (11-20), complaints about William's "instability" and "immorality" were much exaggerated, especially in the context of the times. She shows that Joseph Smith did many of the same things that William is blamed for but without being condemned as William was. It is possible that Lucy did not know about some of the reports about William's alleged misbehavior (some substantiated, some not) that drifted back from the mission field. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that she did not know about a Kirtland incident in October 1835 when William, after "an altercation" with Joseph Jr., "returned his license as a symbol of resignation from his quorum," although he was subsequently reinstated (Jessee, "Joseph," 141). And she certainly knew about the disagreement between William and Joseph over William's Kirtland debating society, a disagreement so intense that the two came to blows. Joseph Sr. acted as mediator in reconciling the two, at the conclusion of which Lucy and Emma were brought in as witnesses (HC 2:353-54). It is possible to argue that Lucy should, in the inter-

ests of full disclosure, have included such incidents; on the other hand, it is equally possible to argue that a mother is under no obligation to go out of her way to speak ill of her son, especially if the incidents are not directly related to the narrative she is engaged in telling.

When Lucy does talk about William, it is because he was in her presence and took part in an event she is talking about. She reports his courage as a teenager in turning out of their Palmyra house some men determined to seize some of Hyrum's property. He was embarrassed en route to Kirtland by the idle and flirtatious behavior of their fellow Mormon passengers and asked Lucy to put a stop to it. He held an umbrella over her head in a pouring rainstorm as Lucy searched for a house in which the passengers could take shelter. He tried to defend his father from bodily assault in the Kirtland temple. He had a visionary dream in Missouri that persecution was about to break out—hardly difficult to predict, even awake, at that point—and that the family should move away—an eminently practical suggestion that would have avoided considerable suffering several months later. (This is the dream that Brigham Young denounced so violently as “utterly false.”) William's dying father gave him a blessing praising him for persistence in doing missionary work. With a great deal of difficulty, he brought his dying wife back to Nauvoo after hopes that she would improve in another locale failed.

None of these passages “glorifies” William. Lucy does not show him as the mainstay of the family, as particularly wise or even as particularly spiritual; she reports visionary dreams by most of the family, including herself. An analysis of the number of times William's name appears in Lucy's rough draft, compared to those of Joseph Jr. and Hyrum, shows 320 for Joseph, 106 for Hyrum, and a comparatively few forty-two for William. Samuel is mentioned forty-one times; and Don Carlos, the youngest son, is mentioned twenty-five times. (This count omits the genealogy and quotations from other documents.)

Furthermore, George A. Smith's revisions omit completely only one whole passage referring to William (the Bear incident) and then apparently because it did not reflect Bear's conversion experience, not because William seemed “heroic” in it; George A. also strikes out parts of passages about William only in the case of his vision.

Shipp continues: “Perhaps animosity to Orson Pratt and William Smith is sufficient explanation for the recall of the book. But if not, and if the charges of inaccuracy cannot be substantiated, then why, in the face of the Saints' obvious thirst for knowledge about the prophet and early Mormonism, was Mother Smith's *History* condemned, recalled, and kept from them?” (ibid., 101). She argues that Brigham Young feared the appeal of Joseph's and Emma's now-adult sons. How persuasive is this hypothesis?



### The RLDS Proselyting Threat

A loosely organized group of Midwestern Saints had gathered in expectation of reconstituting the church under the leadership of the youthful Joseph Smith III. In December 1856, a month after Joseph III's twenty-fourth birthday, Zenos Gurley and Edmund Briggs approached him with the invitation to head the church. He showed them the door; but over the next four years, he "received manifestations" to the degree that, in April 1860, he told the conference, "I have come in obedience to a power not my own" (Newell and Avery, 270). The first RLDS missionaries reached Salt Lake City in August 1863. They found considerable interest in their message and made some converts; Joseph III's younger brothers, Alexander Hale Smith and David Hyrum Smith, made preaching visits periodically between 1866 and 1872. Brigham Young responded with ugly public insults about them and about Emma Smith, nor was he more compassionate or statesmanlike when Joseph III visited Salt Lake City in 1876. Three thousand converts had left Mormonism for the RLDS church by the time missionary work in Utah stopped in 1890.<sup>36</sup>

Young may have become alarmed in 1863 by the presence of RLDS missionaries; however, he waited two years to denounce *Biographical Sketches*—and this action came a year before the first of Joseph Smith's sons visited Utah. If his uneasiness about RLDS influence impacted his suppression of the book, the sequence of cause and effect seems curiously mismatched and jerky. It is especially interesting, as mentioned, that he never linked Emma's name with *Biographical Sketches* in any of his public denunciations of the book even though he seemed to blame her for the existence of the RLDS church and the behavior of her sons.

This thesis is, however, the one for which Jan Shipps argues, although she sets the argument in a broader historiographical perspective, one that Brigham Young may have "only intuitively understood" (*Mormonism*, 100). She argues that Lucy's book "sets forth an understanding of the prophet and his church" that supported RLDS claims rather than Young's views and that the suppression was part of "the process of institutionalizing orthodoxy" (101). The suppression of Lucy's book is an opportunity to see Mormonism impose increasing order "on the present by imposing order on [its] chaotic generative years" (91).

She cites as evidence Lucy's emphasis on the Smith and Mack families "with special attention paid to their religious histories" and to her own and

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36. See Launius, *Pragmatic*, chap. 10, for a discussion of the Utah missions, and chap. 11 for the legal and public relations efforts Joseph Smith III made to outlaw polygamy; see also Newell and Avery, esp. chap. 21.



Joseph Sr.'s visions and religious manifestations.<sup>37</sup> "That the prophet was Joseph was almost coincidental; it might have been Alvin or Hyrum just as well." She also sees a persistent pattern of revisions between the rough draft and Coray/Pratt versions that substitute references to Joseph for references to "us" or to the family (102-3). In short, according to Shipp, the Mormonism of Lucy's book is "familial, even tribal, rather than organizational and institutional" (104).<sup>38</sup> This insight is crucially important in understanding and interpreting the documents, even though I suspect that the Corays' reverence for the Mormon "records" provided a powerful countervailing force to the somewhat sinister undercurrent toward institutional orthodoxy that she sees.

It also explains to Shipp the twelve-year lag between the publication of the history and Young's violent public reaction. Not William, but Joseph III was the danger Young was denouncing by the unprecedentedly drastic means of calling in and destroying printed copies of the book. Lucy's history makes, in Shipp's words, an "unstated yet perfectly obvious claim that the Smith family was the royal family in this the last dispensation" (105). This statement also seems somewhat exaggerated since Lucy mentions Joseph III only when he is born and when he clings to Joseph Jr. when the latter is arrested in Missouri.

In support of her thesis, however, is the observation of Valeen Tippetts Avery, biographer of David Hyrum Smith, Joseph Jr.'s posthumous son, who proselyted with his brother Alexander in Utah in the fall of 1869. He had apparently not known until he arrived that Brigham Young had ordered the destruction of "Grandma Smith's history" and had been planning on using it in his proselyting. "He thought its repression was indicative of an attempt to curtail Smith influence in Utah. . . . Had the Smith sons not preached in Utah, and had the underlying message of Lucy Smith's manuscript not favored the Josephite interpretation of familial succession to the church presidency, their grandmother's book might have gone unremarked," argues Avery. "To suppress Lucy Mack Smith's book so completely that her grandsons could not use it violated David's sense of the primacy of family rights" (112). Thus, she, like Shipp, sees Brigham Young as hostile toward the entire Smith family who were not firmly attached to the Utah church.

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37. Although I certainly agree with her point, she has overestimated the proportion of the work devoted to this topic, which she places at "almost a third" (102). It is, rather, closer to 22 percent.

38. See also Searle: "The work is more of a memoir and family record than a Church history. It is not a balanced account of the rise of Mormonism, but more of a narration of how the Smith family struggled and sacrificed to establish the Church" (1). On this point, he is paraphrasing Richard L. Anderson, "Emotional Dimensions," 131: "It is . . . the record of how the family sacrificed to bring about the church."

Shippo is less shocked than Searle at what seems to be overkill in Brigham Young's reaction. Young had developed an antipathy for William Smith, largely due to repeated aggravations by William himself, that had become unreasonable; Young saw him as a pawn of Satan and as an instrument of evil. True, William did exasperate most people sooner or later. Lucy is the only person I am aware of who has left a record of dealings over time with William that are unfailingly loving, and perhaps he *was* someone only a mother could love wholeheartedly and persistently. It is also true that Brigham Young had been remarkably generous, both with Lucy and with the Smith family in general, considering the church's strained financial resources during the Nauvoo period. Furthermore, while ignoring William's poverty, Young sent Katharine Smith Salisbury at least two gifts, of \$400 and \$200, the last in 1871 when she was in her late fifties. The accompanying letter spoke of the "deeply cherished" memory of Joseph Smith: "For his sake, his relatives and members of his family, notwithstanding differences of opinion, are kindly regarded and would be . . . received with open arms were they willing to adhere to the principles taught by the Prophet" (qtd. in McGavin, 106-7).

Richard L. Anderson presents a somewhat incomplete version of Brigham Young's suppression of Lucy's book, that minimizes Young's overreaction, in the semi-official *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*: "The first edition of Lucy's memoirs was recalled by Brigham Young. However, his goal was accuracy, not suppression, since he initiated a second edition. . . . The President charged the careful Woodruff and two Smith family members to 'correct the errors in the History of Joseph Smith as published by Mother Smith, and then let it be published to the world'" (Anderson, "Lucy," 1357). While correct as far as it goes, Anderson, who has done otherwise impressive work with the documents and sources, neglects in this article to mention Young's other reasons, does not account for (or mention) the fact that, although he lived another eleven years, Young did not have a corrected edition published, fails to mention the 1901 *Improvement Era* edition completely, and cites the Nibley 1945 version without a date, thereby allowing the careless or ill-informed reader to suppose that Brigham swiftly replaced a defective version with a proper one.

Such an approach does the historical facts a disservice. It is disturbing to contemplate this episode of intellectual and historical suppression, not only for its authoritarianism but for the tactics Brigham Young used. As someone who, like Lucy and like Martha, embarked on this arduous project as a labor of love, I find Brigham Young's and George A. Smith's behavior particularly painful. I do not think that God rejects gifts laid so lovingly on his altar. While it is common to admire Young's vigorous expressions and to enjoy his "hyperbole," it is no doubt much more entertaining and pleasurable to do so from a comfortable distance. There is nothing entertaining about Young's behavior in this instance. It is dis-

trekking to see the president of the church slander the mental competence of a seventy-year-old woman when the documentary record, including her sharing the platform with him before five thousand, shows otherwise. It is unpleasant to hear a man revered as a prophet sneer at a faithful mother of twelve who donated her time and sacrificed her economic well-being, dismissing her as a sensation-seeking would-be novelist. It is not edifying to watch him publicly browbeat, humiliate, and threaten an apostle with disfellowshipment over a nonmalicious mistake. And it is particularly disappointing to hear him justify all of these behaviors by accusations that the book is a "tissue of falsehoods," an accusation that, on closer inspection, is itself a falsehood. In short, this episode does not reveal Brigham Young at his finest hour. Whatever his strengths—and he had many—he was not employing them on this occasion.

#### THE CORAY FAIR COPY IN UTAH

Meanwhile, both the 1844-45 rough draft and the 1845 Coray fair copy came to Utah and passed into the Church Historian's vault, where they have remained ever since. When, exactly, did the church acquire them? Confusingly, most of the documents refer to a single "manuscript," but it seems reasonable that the rough draft (partly sewed sheets and loose pages) and the fair copy in its sturdy ledger were kept together. According to the family, "Martha Jane Knowlton Coray kept the original manuscript in her possession for at least six years while she and Howard made preparations for moving west, aided the other Saints in the migration, and added three more children to their family. Some time after their arrival in Salt Lake City in 1850, Martha Jane gave her original manuscript to President Brigham Young" (Cooper, 3). B. H. Roberts, in his *Comprehensive History of the Church*, also reports that the manuscript came to Utah in Martha Jane Knowlton Coray's possession (1:14). Jan Shippo reports a charming and widely circulated story that the manuscript "stayed in the possession of Howard Coray for many years until it was finally turned over to the Church Historian, for which consideration, oral tradition tells us, he received an overcoat." She acknowledges that no source has been identified for this tale (Shippo, *Mormonism*, 97, 182n24). Martha Jane, in her 1865 letter to Brigham Young, does not date the transfer of the manuscript. Joseph F. Smith, in his 1901 preface, says that Martha Jane, not Howard, gave Lucy's history (presumably both the rough draft and the fair copy) to Brigham Young (JFS, 1), but without specifying either a time or place.

This scenario contradicts Brigham Young's 1865 statement that the manuscript had been "in our possession ever since we left Nauvoo" (Young, "Hearken," 230). His larger statement, however, contains a number of other hyperbolic statements and misstatements. It is possible that Young meant that he knew where he could lay his hands on the copy from the time it was com-

pleted in Nauvoo. This would certainly have been true if it had been in the Corays' possession. A Coray family memoir, quoting *Periodicals and Works Published by the Church in 1853*, reports: "Previous to the Twelve leaving Nauvoo they obtained a manuscript copy of the work from Elder Howard Coray" (qtd. in Weeks and Davis, 5). While this statement supports Young's, it is not clear where the information came from. In either case, there is no serious question about either the manuscript's provenance or its destination.

Regardless of the manuscript's location during this murky period, an 1855 inventory of materials in the Historian's Office listed "Mother Smith's history in manuscripts." The plural wording suggests both the rough draft and the Coray fair copy (Searle, 384).

Although Brigham Young appointed a revisions committee in 1859 and announced a possible revised edition in both 1860 and 1865, no revised edition followed. According to Coray family tradition, "Martha Jane would never give her consent to the publication of the revised copy [as corrected by George A. Smith and Judge Elias Smith]. She maintained that the history was in the direct words of Mother Smith and should not be changed" (Cooper, 3). It is not clear why her consent was necessary or how she could have stopped a reissue—especially if Brigham Young had decreed otherwise, and most especially in light of her conciliatory capitulation in her 1865 letter to Young that the book should be suppressed. Did she tell Brigham one thing and her family another?

But as matters turned out, the question simply never came to the test. After the 1853 edition, a hiatus of forty-eight years in its LDS publishing history followed. According to Joseph F. Smith, George A. and Elias Smith followed their 1859 instructions "carefully to revise and correct the original work throughout," which they did to Young's "entire satisfaction. The revised and only authentic copy thus prepared and reported upon was retained by President George A. Smith" until his death (Preface, 2). George A. died in 1875, Brigham in 1877.

Joseph F.'s statement, while reassuring and clear, cannot be completely accurate since there were apparently *three* sets of revisions: (1) George A.'s and Elias's marked 1853 volume, now at BYU; (2) another copy that Elias alone edited, reportedly at LDS Church Archives; and (3) George A.'s markings on the Coray manuscript. (Elias's corrections on this manuscript—if they are Elias's—are limited to fewer than half a dozen notations.) The corrections on the 1853 version at BYU and the Coray 1845 fair copy were by no means identical, as the footnotes on the text will show. Furthermore, the printed book became part of the George A. Smith papers contributed to Brigham Young University by the Provo, Utah, branch of the family (he settled three of his plural wives in Provo), while Lucy's rough draft, the Coray fair copy, and the Elias Smith copy became part of the holdings of the Historian's Office. The LDS Church Historical De-

partment Library lists four copies of the 1853 volume as being held in its vault but does not specify which of them bears Elias's notations. I was not allowed to see Elias's copy.

Joseph F. Smith says that, after George A.'s death, "it" (the "revised and only authentic copy") "was committed into my keeping where it has remained until now" (2). Since Joseph F. Smith had control over the Historian's Office vault, he could have been speaking as though his personal possession and the manuscript's location in the vault were one and the same thing; but based on this statement, Howard Searle has hypothesized another published or manuscript copy, now lost, that collates George A.'s and Elias's changes.

This scenario is quite unlikely for two reasons. First, Howard Searle's "thorough search of the L.D.S. Church Archives and First Presidency's papers has not turned up such a copy" (418, 420). Second, the obvious purpose of Joseph F. Smith's statement was to reassure readers of the *Improvement Era* version that they were reading "the revised and only authentic copy." As a textual analysis of the *Improvement Era* version shows (see discussion below), the text used as the printer's copy of this version was the published 1853 *Biographical Sketches* with virtually no substantive corrections or changes that cannot be accounted for by tallying up the existing George A. and Elias Smith annotations.

As Joseph F. Smith continues his brief history of the book's publication, he notes that, after a hiatus of twenty-five years, from an unknown quarter came the proposal to print the work "as a serial in the *Improvement Era*," a proposal to which the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, publishers of the *Era*, gave "unanimous" assent, reinforced by church president Lorenzo Snow's "sanction, and his hearty approval" (Preface, 2). After serialization, it was printed as a book by the *Improvement Era* in 1902 with the title *History of the Prophet Joseph by his Mother Lucy Smith: As Revised by George A. Smith and Elias Smith*.

#### STRUCTURE AND ANALYSIS OF LUCY'S BOOK

An analysis of the space Lucy devotes to various events compared to the space each roughly occupied in chronological church history gives some idea about how the project developed. For instance, the sequential chapters on Lucy's own siblings with which the book opens and the lengthy genealogy tables of Mack and Smith ancestry in Chapter 9 constitute a "pre-marriage" preface occupying 11 percent of the book. Lucy's description of what may be called pre-Mormon material—from her marriage to Joseph Sr. until Joseph Smith Jr.'s first vision—occupies another 11 percent.<sup>39</sup> The New York years—from first vision with the

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39. Richard Anderson's estimate that the pre-1831 material occupies "a full third" is slightly overstated ("Confirmation," 389).

traditional date of 1820 until the removal of the church to Kirtland in 1831, constituting 46 percent of the 1820-44 Mormon history—receive 31 percent of the text. The Kirtland (Ohio) 1831-38 period—29 percent of the chronology—is given 13 percent of the narrative pages. The Missouri period is an anomaly. Although it coexisted with the Kirtland period from 1831 until the Mormons were finally forced out in 1838-39, Lucy was there only from the summer of 1838 until February of 1839; 14 percent of the total pages are devoted to the events of those few months, but 63 percent of *those* pages are taken up by Hyrum's affidavit of the Missouri conflicts, imprisonments, and expulsions. The five-year (21 percent of the history) Nauvoo period takes the final 4 percent of the narrative—suggesting both fatigue and haste—while an appendix containing writings by Don Carlos Smith and Eliza R. Snow takes the last fourteen pages. Although this final arrangement may not perfectly reflect Lucy's intentions, the fact is that 22 percent of the material is pre-Mormon—a clear emphasis on the antecedents of the Mack/Smith families.

The main differences between Lucy's 1844-45 rough draft and Pratt's 1853 publication are omissions and additions. (For the purposes of this larger analysis, the Coray and Pratt versions can be considered as a unit.)

About 10 percent of Lucy's original material was omitted, much of it personal family references and Lucy's original preface, according to Searle. He concludes: "The over-all effect of the Corays' revision [was] to make Lucy's history less of a personal family record and more of a Church history and biography of Joseph" (Searle, 385). Searle is correct in contrasting the literary effect of Lucy's rough draft with that of the Pratt 1853 book, but he may not be completely accurate in ascribing it to the Corays' influence. Although it would be helpful to have a more exact description of the method of composition, documentary evidence exists that the manuscript went through at least three drafts (notebook —> Lucy's rough draft —> intermediate draft of which only a few pages have survived), on which Lucy, by Martha Jane's description, was consulted extensively, before it reached the finished form of the fair copies.

The first omission from Lucy's rough draft is an important one, since it is Lucy's own preface to the manuscript, a section not present in the Coray and Pratt versions. If it had remained, the reader would have first met Lucy in this very long and complex but clearly crafted sentence:

Having attained my 69[th] year, and being afflicted with a complication of diseases and infirmities many of which have been brought upon me by the cruelty of an ungodly and hard hearted world and do . . . many . . . times threaten to put a period to my Earthly existence, I feel it <a privilege as well as> my duty . . . to give . . . an account, not <Exclusively> . . . of my own manner of life from my youth up, but after saying somewhat concerning my ancestors, as well as myself,



to trace carefully up, even from the cradle to the grave The footsteps of some . . . whose life . . . has been such as . . . to excite an intense . . . curiosity> in the minds of all who ever knew them personally or shall hear of them hereafter. (Chap. 1)

Lucy here portrays herself with a bold humility, appealing to the reader's sympathies by listing her advanced age, her ill health, and her unmerited sufferings before modestly announcing that she plans to talk, not of herself, but of her ancestors and the undefined "some" who excite "intense curiosity." She thus positions herself as a link, not only between the generations of her ancestors and her posterity but also between the reader and the object of the reader's curiosity. She thus enters into an immediate relationship with the reader, a personal and even intimate relationship, since her frank recital of ills is an appeal to the generosity of the reader's sympathy.

I think it is also significant that Lucy describes the cause of her ills not as fate or as capricious suffering inflicted by God for his mysterious purposes but rather as the malignancy of human agency. This view in itself suggests the importance she assigns to human agency and human choice. She further communicates an important insight into her understanding of human nature by the two adjectives to which she ascribes the human "cruelty" that has caused her grief. These adjectives are "ungodly" and "hard hearted." I think it is not reading too much into Lucy's words to see here the twin sturdy foundations of republican thought: the best sources of civic virtue are a combination of proper piety toward God and responsible benevolence toward one's fellow human beings.

As a second example, Lucy tells the story of her father, Solomon Mack, who had quite an adventurous life, first as a privileged son whose promise was betrayed by declining family fortunes—certainly a position with which Lucy could identify—then as someone whose early manhood was endangered by patriotic but unromantic service in the Revolutionary Army. In her rough draft, Lucy stands as the intermediary in translating this story for the reader: "I will firstly take up an old document which I have in my possession written by my father in the 80 year of his age and from which I shall perhaps make a [...] number of extracts before I <conclude my> ~~get through with my detail~~ narrative ~~My Parents~~ (My Father) <Solomon Mack> writes as follows . . ." The 1853 version begins the same way: "My father, Solomon Mack, was born . . . His father, Ebenezer Mack, was a man of considerable property, and lived in good style . . ." However, she (or perhaps the Corays) apparently saw that this method of telling the story was going to be cumbersome and ends, as Lucy began, by quoting Solomon's narrative directly.

Given what I have said about Lucy's positioning herself as a link between the generations of her family and between her story and her reader, the edito-



rial decision to recast this story into Lucy's own words may have actually been the better choice. At the least, I have mixed feelings about it, especially given the inherent awkwardness of inserting large chunks of someone else's text into a personal narrative. Unlike the quoted segments of Joseph Smith history, however, which Lucy lived through, participated in, and at least theoretically had her own opinion about, these events in her father's life occurred before she was born.

When Solomon describes his marriage to Lucy's mother, Lydia Gates, the editing impoverishes an important description of Lucy's family of origin. The 1853 version reads simply: "In the spring of 1759 . . . I became acquainted with an accomplished young woman, a school teacher, by the name of Lydia Gates. . . . To this young woman I was married shortly after becoming acquainted with her." In contrast, this same passage in Lucy's 1845 narrative, which also quotes her father's autobiography, contains not only more information about Lydia but also, which is more to the point, Solomon's feelings about Lydia and, hence, a glimpse into the marriage and family that formed the context and shaped the ideals that Lucy took into her own marriage with Joseph Smith. Solomon Mack says:

In the spring of 1759 . . . I became acquainted with an amiable and accomplished young woman a school Teacher by the name of Lydia Gates . . . to whom I was shortly united in the bands of matrimony, and <a> most worthy <and invaluable> companion <did> she prove to for I soon discovered that she was not only pleasant and agreeable by reason of the polish of Education but she also possessed that inestimable jewel which in a wife and Mother of a family is truly a pearl of great price namely <a> truly pious and devotional Charecter. (Chap. 1)

I think it is self-evident that, as Solomon prized these characteristics in his wife, Lucy grew up in a household in which the message was unmistakable that piety and spirituality were suitable adornments for a woman, enhancements of a wife and mother, and precious attributes to be taught to her own children.

As a third example, when Lucy fell ill with an unspecified but life-threatening ailment in Randolph as a young married woman in about 1802-03, the revised transcription reads: "I made a solemn covenant with God, that, if he would let me live, I would endeavour to serve him according to the best of my abilities. Shortly after this, I heard a voice say to me, 'Seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.'" In contrast, Lucy's manuscript shows her wrestling much more actively with God to extract the blessing from him—and phrasing her covenant in detailed terms that show she had thought seriously about the role of religion in her life:

<I> covenanted with God if he would let me live I would endeavor to get that religion that would enable me to serve him right whether it was in the Bible or

where ever it might be found even if it was to be obtained from heaven by prayer and Faith. At last a voice spoke to me and said Seek and ye shall find knock and it shall be opened unto you. . . . (Chap. 11)

Lucy here casts her covenant in terms of finding a true religion, not just one in which she can serve God to the best of her ability, but "serve him right." She catalogues three important traditional sources of knowledge: scriptural knowledge, the wisdom of the existing churches (I gather that this is what she means by "where ever it might be found"), and even by direct revelation (meaning that it is not currently found on earth). I think it is also important that in Lucy's terms, she receives her answer "at last," while in the Pratt version, she receives her answer "shortly."

As a fourth and well-known example, Lucy's narrative includes a casual reference to folk magic when she is talking about their farm labors and also about her husband's remarkable visions:

. . . Let not my reader suppose that because I shall pursue another topic for a season that we stopt our labor and went <at> trying to win the faculty of Abrac drawing Magic circles or sooth saying to the neglect of all kinds of buisness. (Chap 17)

Both the Coray manuscript and Orson Pratt eliminate completely any references to "the faculty of Abrac," to drawing magic circles, and to soothsaying.

These examples are relatively simple ones. More complex are such editorial changes as the addition of the first vision narrative from the *Times and Seasons*, a topic which Lucy does not include in her rough draft at all, and an energetic reworking of the story of how Joseph received the gold plates from the angel—whom Lucy identifies as Nephi—to which have been added numerous details and expansions. Also, interestingly, Joseph Smith expresses a fear to his family that the possession of the gold plates will make them vulnerable to the violence of thieves "for the sake of the gold if they know we have them" while this detail is omitted completely from the 1853 version (Chap. 29).

It is important to realize that estimates of omissions and additions cannot be more than rough approximations. Whole pages are missing from Lucy's rough draft, especially in the last quarter of the manuscript, and many pages are damaged, while rough notes, fragments, outlines, and at least two pages from the intermediate manuscript mean that all material counted as "rough draft" may actually be earlier or later material. Furthermore, the rough draft includes numerous strike-outs that duplicate significant portions of material included in the rough draft. If these limitations are carefully considered, however, there is some utility in looking at the composition. Using the computer's word-counting capability, I eliminated all notes from both Lucy's rough draft

and the Pratt 1853 version but left in strike-outs. This exercise showed that Lucy's rough draft contains 85,997 words while Pratt's is 8.7 percent longer: a total of 97,876 words. Of these totals, Lucy's contains relatively few quotations, although there is usually a note to the reviser about where to find the material to be quoted. (I did not count her father's autobiography as a quotation because it does not correspond to the published version of Solomon Mack's *Narrative* [sic].) Lucy's rough draft contains 1,850 quoted words (2 percent of the total), while the 1853 version contains 9,219 quoted words (9 percent of the total).

Perhaps the most significant finding, however, is that passages in Lucy's manuscript amounting to 12,453 words (14 percent of the total) constitute unique wording that does not appear in either the Coray or the Pratt manuscript, while double that amount, 28,166 words (excluding quotations), representing 28.7 percent of the 1853 book, have no counterpart in Lucy's rough draft. If the quotations in Pratt are added to the total of "unique" material, the percentage of additions increases to 38 percent. Searle estimates these additions at about 25 percent. Naturally, not all of these passages contain new events; rather they are often "final" reworkings of events or episodes that appeared in truncated or sketchy form in Lucy's rough draft. Furthermore, no significant extended passages appear in Pratt that do not have counterparts in Coray's 1845 fair copy. And, as a final consideration, 4,869 words of the total 9,219 words quoted in the 1853 publication (53 percent) are in a single addition—the appendix that includes Don Carlos's mission and letters, which are also written out in the Coray fair copy. In other words, comparisons of Lucy's rough draft with Pratt's 1853 version that do not also consider the 1845 Coray fair copy are likely to exaggerate the significance of the differences between the two volumes.

However, omissions are only part of the story. It is also important to recognize that, compared to the rough draft, a sizeable portion of the published version consists of quotations by someone else—letters, poems, genealogical material, Hyrum's Missouri affidavit, the Solomon Mack autobiography, and sections of Joseph Smith's history which had appeared serially in the *Times and Seasons*. Adding this material, particularly that of Joseph Smith's official history—which was designed for quite a different audience, I would argue—makes Lucy sound as if she is simply walking off-stage while someone else performs. These dropped-in passages are introduced with fairly abrupt transitions, for example: "Here I shall introduce a brief history . . . given by my son . . ." (chap 49). In my literary judgement, the copied material alters Lucy's voice in the direction of greater impersonality.

## DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS

This section briefly describes each—for want of a better word—“manifestation” of Lucy’s book.

**Martha Jane’s Notebooks**

There is some evidence that Martha Jane took down the original dictation in homemade notebooks and that she then used these hasty notes and her memory to create the first draft, identified and published here as Lucy’s 1844-45 rough draft. As evidence, among the loose sheets in the rough draft are half-sheets on which paragraphs have been hastily jotted down. These are arranged in no particular order, but they are obviously different from the full sheets, sewed along one side, that make up most of Lucy’s rough draft.

Chapter 52 contains a reference to “History rough manuscript continued from book 18 Page 8,” which I take to be a reference to these notebooks. One small, homemade notebook has survived—the only one of which I am aware—in Brigham Young University’s Archive of the Mormon Experience. Howard Searle identifies it as “the Joseph Smith, Sr., Family History Notebook.” It is written entirely in Martha Jane’s hand but cataloged, not under her name, but under Lucy Mack Smith’s (Searle, 362-63). A “Copy of an Old Notebook,” ACC. # 139126, is a typescript created at Brigham Young University in 1945 to look as much as possible, down to the size of the page, like the holograph notebook. It was acquired in 1977 as part of the Wilford Poulson Collection (Searle, 363).

The introductory material describes it as a “little home-made booklet of 64 pages of dimly-ruled sheets. It is sewed through three holes in the center and measures 4 1/8 inches by 6 3/8 inches.” The paper is “badly soiled and stained” and watermarked; the writing consists of both lead pencil and ink, “with at least three different kinds of ink.” In making the typescript,

an effort has been made to preserve the original spelling, capitalization and punctuation of the original writers. The material has also been carefully proof-read once and corrections made. Added material in ( ).

The copying was supervised by Prof. M. Wilford Poulson [of the psychology department], permission being obtained through the courtesy of Mrs. Harold S. Walker of Pleasant Grove, Utah by Mrs. Jaunita [sic] Brooks of St. George, Utah during the summer of 1944.

Its first five pages are an outline of Christianity under the Roman emperors, but p. 6 begins with text taken from John Smith’s missionary journal:

in the year 1836 joseph & John Smith went to new Portage town of Norton—while there administered P. blessings to the church baptized 16 heard that our mother aged 73 [93] had arrived at Kirtland N. Y. distance 500 miles we returned directly home—found her in good health & excellent spirits much rejoiced to meet so

great a number of her children and grand children as she did not expect ever to see them again. [A footnote adds a cross reference to p. 213 of the Pratt 1853 book. Mary Duty Smith was actually ninety-two, not ninety-three.]

The next few pages give a brief summary of Mary Duty Smith's death, and the second of Joseph Sr.'s and John's missions, including Jesse's abusive treatment and debt exaction from Joseph Sr., then continues with additional entries from John's diaries. (Substantive differences from the Pratt version are identified in the notes.)

On page 23 is a chronological list, either as an aide-memoir for Lucy's and Martha's discussion, or to keep the sequence straight. Interestingly, the item about the first vision is inserted at a slant interlinearly into the list, obviously added as an afterthought.<sup>40</sup>

1811 William born 1st vision received  
1811 moved to Lebanon  
1813 taken sick in Lebanon  
1814 moved Norrige  
1816 moved to Kirtland Palmira in Jan  
1819 moved Manchester  
1820 Joseph received first vision  
1822 Alvin died

The notebook then continues with Samuel's first mission, corresponding to part of Chapter 34. (See notes for substantive variants.)

#### Lucy's Rough Draft, 1844-45

The history of how this manuscript was created has already been discussed. The original is in the LDS Church Archives, available to view both on microfilm and in photocopy. There are no page numbers. It consists of approximately 208 pages with perhaps a dozen fragments on odd-sized or damaged sheets that clearly are part of the narrative history. An additional thirty pages or so are included in the rough draft microfilm, even though they consist of copies of revelations or miscellaneous papers and are not connected to the history.

Many of the pages have stitching marks running along the left margin, showing that the book had once been a ledger or (less likely) that Martha Jane had sewn her manuscript bundle together as she had earlier made her notebooks, by folding and stitching smaller pieces of paper.

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40. In the minutes of Lucy Smith's October 1845 general conference address, she gives the date of Joseph's receiving the plates as 22 September 1827 ("It was Eighteen years ago <last> 22nd of September . . .") but continues "it is 18 years since I begun to receive this gospel of Glad tidings to all people" (Lucy Smith, *Minutes*, Bolton version, pp. 8-9). This sequence suggests that she considered the Book of Mormon and not the first vision to mark the beginning of the restoration.

These unpaginated sheets are filled from the top to the bottom and to the very edges of the margins. Occasionally they contain asterisks referring to material added at the bottom of the page or contain a quickly sketched hand with a pointing finger, sometimes labeled "NB" (*nota bene*) as an aide-memoir. There are also hastily written reminders to add material at given points from other sources, usually the *Times and Seasons*. Although it is obvious that Martha Jane was writing quickly, for the most part her hand is legible and clear.

Martha Jane deals with word breaks at the right margin in three ways. First, if they lack only a letter or at most two, she writes them in above the word. I have included them silently in the word. Second, she will add up to a couple of syllables either above or below the line, usually writing very small and sometimes on a slant. Third, she will simply break the word at whichever letter reaches the margin, irrespective of syllabification (e.g., *notw-ithstanding*), and continue on the next line, sometimes with a linking = where we would use a hyphen and sometimes without.

Martha Jane's characteristic misspellings include *immagine*, *prarie*, *priviledge*, *opperation*, *maner*, *beaureau*, *sacrafice*, *seperate*, *saught*, *conveiniently*, *togather*, *buisness*, and *evill*. Yet at the same time, comparatively difficult words such as *ascertain*, *casuistry*, *subpoena*, *vehemence*, and *pursuance* are spelled correctly.

"S/s" and "M/m" are particularly difficult to distinguish in Martha Jane's hand since size is often the only distinguishing feature; and when the letters are written in haste, often size is quite subjective. In most of these cases, I have given the scribe the benefit of the doubt and let the sentence context determine capitalization.

The rough draft captures Lucy's characteristic dialect and grammar, as when she talks about a Captain Martin in Missouri who defended her sons, ordering: "if any man attempts to . . . shoot them prisoners . . ." She also characteristically uses *eat* (probably pronounced *et*) in place of *ate* ("He finally consented and eat without him"). In reporting conversation, she uses the vigorous colloquialisms: "said I," "said she." She does not distinguish in the usual way between *farther* and *further*, using *farther* for both; frequently uses *lay* for *lie* ("every thing that lays in your power"; "another trouble laying at his heart"), and confuses nominative and objective pronouns ("It is me," said Joseph). A hint at the pronunciation by Lucy or Martha Jane (or both) is the fact that Martha Jane twice wrote *ages* when she meant *edges*.

An unusual convention which appears throughout both the rough draft and the fair copy is the use of a comma instead of an apostrophe in possessive constructions: "from its mother,s arms." (She also uses the more conventional apostrophe.)



Cooper, Martha Jane's great-grandson, adds that he

tried to determine if Martha Jane, who had been a teacher and a woman with a reputation for considerable learning, had contributed any of her own vocabulary or writing ability while writing for Mother Smith. None of Martha Jane's writings gave any indication that this happened. Nowhere in her writings has she shown any inclination to use adjectives, adverbs, or the easily flowing language which is found in the *History of Joseph Smith*. From this book alone the writer can say with Preston Nibley that Mother Smith's place as the "first woman of the Church" is secure, and the writer might also add that Martha Jane played a most important [sic] part in helping her to secure it. (Cooper, 8)

Martha Jane's surviving diary supports Cooper's analysis: "Aug. 6, 1873. Nellie Washed—Mary worked all around and Laura cooked—I herded forenoon—and cleaned Beadsteads [sic]—Mrs Mecum called—Haying goes on hauled 3 loads Hay to day."

A photocopied reproduction of the Lucy Mack Smith rough draft is also available at LDS Church Archives and in the archives at BYU's Lee Library. (David Whittaker, as mentioned earlier, loaned me his personal copy of this reproduction.) The Church Archives copy is not cataloged. It is bound with a perforated spine and covered in dark red plastic. It was sold by Deseret Book during the mid-1980s<sup>41</sup> without any prefatory material or explanations of who made the arrangement of material, when it was done, or how, although it is obvious that the arrangement of sheets, particularly loose ones, generally follows that of the 1853 version.

The unidentified arranger has typed page numbers at the foot of each sheet (pp. 159 and 160 are reversed and numbered out of order) and added frequent notes above and below the manuscript itself on the photocopied sheets which were then, in turn, photocopied. These notes are made with a san-serif, electric typewriter, typical of the IBM Selectric model available from at least the early 1970s on. These typed head- and footnotes frequently omit punctuation, contain occasional misspellings or mistaken words (*their* for *there*), and contain other usage problems ("the Smith's Tunbridge Vermont farm"), etc. These comments are also not always lucid: "shows how Lucy asked more specifically and how she dictated many additional incidents." The arranger has also occasionally inserted hand-written page numbers between lines or paragraphs indicating which portion of the 1853 edition the holograph corresponds with.

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41. Michael Marquardt heard that this rough draft was available in June 1986. Wesley P. Walters purchased his copy, labeled "Martha Coray MS," from Deseret Book in Salt Lake City for \$30 plus tax the next month.



A supervisor at the LDS Church Archives told me that it was an unauthorized photocopy but knew nothing about its background. I was unable to learn anything about it from former Deseret Book personnel or from individuals to whom archival personnel referred me as possible leads.

### The Intermediate Manuscript

Richard L. Anderson hypothesizes that between Lucy's 1844-45 rough draft and the Coray fair copy at the Church Archives came a document he calls the "Coray Rough Manuscript," which he thinks was taken to England ("Production," 1). I argue rather that the next stage after Lucy's draft was an intermediate manuscript, most of it lost, from which two finished fair copies were prepared—Lucy's, which Pratt took to England, and Coray's, which went to Utah.

Although Jan Shipps did not compare the Coray manuscript with Lucy's rough draft or with Pratt's 1853 *Biographical Sketches*, she correctly notes that versions of Lucy's book after the rough draft stage represent increased distance between her oral history and the more polished final project. "Every alteration, substitution, addition, and deletion exaggerates the distance between Mother Smith and the readers of her history. . . . The measure of documentary authenticity of the 1853 edition of Mother Smith's History is in direct proportion to the amount of material carried over from earlier versions of the work without change" (*Mormonism*, 95).

The Proctors agree with Shipps that the Corays' version, to which they argue Lucy gave final approval, weakened Lucy's voice: "The Corays deleted many of her soliloquies, they axed intimate details of family life and affections, they sometimes avoided emotion, they polished her phrases. . . . The Corays' edits led to a more fussy, formal speech pattern than Lucy is given to. Ironically, their changes sound old-fashioned to the modern ear, as opposed to Lucy's more direct speech" (xxii).

I concur that comparisons of the rough draft and the 1853 Pratt book show a loss in immediacy and "rawness"—not considered literary felicities in the nineteenth century as in the twentieth. However, the distance between the 1853 Pratt and 1845 Coray versions is so slight that a different conclusion is inescapable: The majority of the changes between Lucy's rough draft and the Coray fair copy entered the work at an earlier stage, one that I am calling the intermediate-manuscript stage, not at the final revision stage; and Lucy, by Martha Jane's testimony, was intensively and repeatedly involved in rereadings and revisions at that point. Shipps also accepts Searle's estimates that 25 percent of the 1853 *Biographical Sketches* consists of revisions while 10 percent of the rough draft has been omitted. In point of fact, he has overestimated the

amount of added material by about 11 percent. Omissions are best determined by identifying episodes such as the "faculty of Abrac." (See discussion above.)

There is, to my knowledge, no information extant on how Howard, primarily, but to some extent Martha Jane, produced the intermediate manuscript. Scenarios of possibilities may begin, on the one hand, with Lucy's closest attention and constant supervision—perhaps even with the Corays working in the same room, pausing to ask her about the possible rephrasing of a sentence or proposing a wording change and receiving her permission before it was written down. At the other extreme Lucy may have simply told the Corays to do what they thought best. Obviously decisions had to be made about material that appears in Lucy's rough draft but not in the Coray fair copy or, conversely, material in the Coray fair copy which has no counterpart in Lucy's rough draft. (Most cases of added material are uncomplicated—mere quotations from already existing material, such as extracts from Joseph Smith's history published in the *Times and Seasons*.) Unfortunately, we have no indication of how these decisions were made.

As an example of the first instance—material in Lucy's rough draft that does not appear in Coray's—Lucy dictated an account of taking tea with the ladies of Palmyra and rebuffing their attempts to express sympathy (or perhaps to patronize her) because she was still living in a log house, pointing out that she knew where *her* husband was at night and that *her* sons were not drinking daily in the local grogeries (chap. 17). The sheet is loose and, in the existing condition of Lucy's manuscript, it is not possible to determine where she meant to include it. Did Martha and/or Howard persuasively argue that this story was better left out lest it present Lucy as tactless? Was the story dictated as an afterthought and then simply overlooked on its loose sheet in the process of copying the manuscript, being discovered (if at all) after the Palmyra period was already written? Did Martha take down the dictation but later did she and Howard, or Howard alone, decide to omit it without consulting Lucy? Without more information, there is simply no way of determining what happened; but its existence in Lucy's rough draft is revealing, both of her spunky refusal to define herself as socially less equal than these leading ladies and also, especially in light of later widespread reports of drinking among the Smith men, her willingness to guard her family's reputation.

This semi-final intermediate draft, I hypothesize, was prepared on loose sheets, since one misplaced sheet from this version (chap. 34 in the 1853 version) has survived as an unattached fragment in Lucy's manuscript. A comparison of this sheet with Lucy's rough draft and the Coray fair copy shows the relationship distinctly. The writing in the intermediate draft is significantly more legible. The

addition of punctuation and paragraphing is particularly anomalous. It corresponds more exactly to the 1853 edition (note the use of *rejoined*), but additional changes have been made in the 1853 version):

| <i>Lucy, 1844-45</i>  | <i>Intermediate</i>  | <i>Coray, 1845</i>   |
|---|--|--|
| the whooping cough or measles or some other ketchin disease <del>and</del> and if they come I'll go some where else to board  | the—Whoopping couch [ <i>sic</i> ] or measles or some other Kitchin disease. And if they come I'll go somewhere else."   | the whooping cough or measles, or some other contagious disease, and, if <i>they</i> come, I will go somewhere else."  |
| Why Maddan [ <i>sic</i> ] said the landlord that is not necessary[ry] you can still have one large room.  | "Why, Madam," said the lanlord, that is not necessary, you can still have one large room."   | "Why, madam," said the landlord, "that is not necessary, you can still have one large room."   |
| Well I don't care said she I want them both and if I can't have them I won't stay.  | "I dont care' said she, "I want 'em both and if I can't have 'em I won't stay.   | "I don't care," said she, "I want 'em both, and if I cant have 'em, I won't stay—that's it."   |
| Never mind said its no matter I will go some where else I presume I can get Some other room just as well.   | Never mind said I it is no matter, I presume I can get some other room just as well.   | "Never mind," said I, "it is no matter; I suppose I can get a room somewhere else, just as well."  |
| No you can't though avowed the lady for we hunted all over the town and could'nt find one single one till we came here  | "No, you cant though, rejoined the lady, for we hunted all over town and we couldnt find one single one till we got here."   | "No, you can't though," rejoined the lady, "for we hunted all over the town, and we could not find one single one till we got here."   |
| —<br>This instance of human nature carries its own moral therefore it needs no remarks.   |  |  |
| I left immediately and soon came to a long row of rooms and as one of them seemed to be almost at liberty I ventured to call and enquire of the owner if I could not rent it a few days I found the proprietr to be | I left without farther delay, and presently came to a long row of rooms; <del>one of</del> and as one of them seemed to be almost at liberty, I enquired of the owner if I could rent it for a few days, <whom> I found the <del>proprie</del> te upon farther | I left immediately, and went on my way. Presently I came to a long row of rooms, one of which appeared to be almost vacant. I inquired if it could be rented for a few days. The owner of the buildings, I |

a fine cheerful old lady  
<probably near 70 years of  
age> A when I requested  
asked her if She had a roon  
[sic] which she could spare  
me at any price Well I stat-  
ing the circumstances as I  
had don in the Land lord  
before —

Well I don't know said  
She where ~~did~~ are you go-  
ing to Kirtlang [sic] said I  
What ~~are~~ be you said she.  
be you baptists no said I we  
are Mormons. Mormons!  
said she ~~in~~ in a quick but  
low and good natured tone.  
Why I never heard of them  
before what be they —

acquaintance to be a cheerful  
old lady near 70 years of age;  
I mentioned the circum-  
stances to her as I had to  
<the> lanlord before.

"Well I don't know," said she  
"where be you going."

"To Kirtland replied I.  
"What be you ~~said she~~  
<she continued>. "be you  
baptists?"

I told her we were Mor-  
mons.

"Mormons," ~~she~~ ejaculated  
she in a quick good natured  
tone, "What be they? I never  
heard of them before.

found to be a cheerful old  
lady, near seventy years of  
age. I mentioned the cir-  
cumstances to her, as I be-  
fore had done to the land-  
lord.

"Well, I don't know,"  
said she; "where be you go-  
ing?"

"To Kirtland," I replied.  
"What be you?" said she.  
"Be you Baptists?"

I told her that we were  
"Mormons."

"Mormons!" ejaculated  
she, in a quick, good-na-  
tured tone. "What be they?  
I never heard of them be-  
fore."

The second (and last-known) example of what I believe to be a surviving page from the intermediate version deals with Jerusha's death. (See chap. 46, which contains two rough draft versions, and the 1853 published version.)

*Lucy, 1844-45*

When Hyrum left home he  
requeste[d] Don Carlos to  
see to his family accord-  
ingly Don Carlos moved  
into the same house with  
them in a short time after  
Hyrum left Jerusha  
<Jerusha> his wife was  
confined had a daughter  
which she named Sarah as  
her heath continued very  
poor for some time after  
the birth of her child she it  
was taken care of by one  
Mrs Grenolds who stayed

*Intermediate*

About one year after my hus-  
band returned from his mis-  
sion a misfortune happened  
our family that wrung our  
hearts with more than com-  
mon grief. Hyrum ~~being un-~~  
~~der the necessity of going to~~  
Missouri's wife Jerusha ~~who~~  
was taken sick ~~during his ab-~~  
~~sence~~ and after an illness of  
perhaps 2 weeks died while  
her husband was absent on a  
mission to Missouri. She was a  
woman whom every body  
loved that ever knew her for

*Coray, 1845*

About one year after my  
husband returned from this  
mission, a calamity hap-  
pened to our family that  
wrung our hearts with  
more than common grief.  
Jerusha, Hyrum's wife, was  
taken sick, and, after an ill-  
ness of, perhaps two weeks,  
died while her husband was  
absent on a mission to Mis-  
souri. She was a woman  
whom everybody loved  
that was acquainted with  
her, for she was every way

with its mother during Hyrums absence Jerusha's health was still on the decline she became subject to fainting fits at last she sent for a physician who gave her some mild restoratives[ve] and left her saying he thought she would be better soon she still grew worse and in a short time she sent for me and said she did not think before that her time to die was so near but she was sure she should not live but a very little while. ~~She then sent~~ ~~for~~ her children were then brought to her and She kissed them and ~~took~~ bid them and us farewell and immediately expired It was a time of dreadful mourning with us all ~~when~~ <that> followed this sad disaster—

she was every way worthy and the family were so deeply attached to her that if she had been an own sister they could not have been more afflicted at her death.

worthy. The family were so warmly attached to her, that, had she been our own sister, they could not have been more afflicted by her death.

### The Coray Fair Copy, 1845

The fair copy is a beautiful holograph document, filling a ledger approximately 7.25 by 12.25 inches of lined paper with each page hand-numbered. According to Searle, Howard Coray wrote the first 162 pages; then a page is cut out of the journal and the narrative, without a break, continues in Martha Jane's handwriting from p. 163 to p. 307 where Howard completes the narrative and three appendices: a missionary journal of Don Carlos Smith, the letters of Don Carlos Smith 1836-39, and poems by Eliza R. Snow (Searle, 384). Because the verso of p. 162 is blank, pagination from the point where Martha Jane begins writing is conventionally rectos = odd, versos = even from that point to the end of the manuscript.

The title page reads, in elaborate and beautiful letters, "The History of Lucy Smith, Mother of the Prophet." Each chapter number and heading is centered vertically with substantial white space above it. The chapters do not begin on new pages. Occasional corrections or comments are written in George

A. Smith's blunt pencil and vigorous hand with a very few (only three or four) corrections in a very fine hand (probably Robert Lang Campbell's) and a different color of ink. Written on the last page (a loose sheet but one that has simply come out of the binding), in George A.'s pencil is a list of items: (See textual notes.)

p. 76 - near bottom of "which had never entered into my heart that they were all wrong:—

p. 75 - which of them are right or are they all wrong. (See pt. 2)

p. 87th - about Joseph's not getting the plates

p. 87-8 - about Alvin's death

p. 101 - about Joseph showing his mother the Urim & Thummim

p. 103 - Urim & Thummim about Joseph's person

105 - Bear paragraph.

p. 106 - about the U. & T. again

116 - par 2 Mrs. Harris snake story

p. 118 - Harris carrying home the Mss.

Chap 29 132 ex parte examination

p. 137 - Had Joseph ever met D Whitmer before

p. 140 He [rest of line blank]

p. 135 Joseph and O move to Waterloo. Qy [query] was it not Fayette Pa

137 last par. see Waterloo occurs again.

p. 155 - Elias furnished a note "something to be raised up in his family do good to mankind"

after 176 page 157 of book & next par.

167 - about Mrs. Green P. Young & Book of Mormon

p. 170 - John Whitmer presiding at Kirtland

p. 175 - Mother Smith leads the Coy

p. 194 - in history Vol. 14 pa. 150 Mill Star at [another?] about Sidney Rigdon's story Is Rigdon's saying the keys of the [sic] are taken from the Church in the history

p. 196 - Joseph's Mission East

p. 197-98 Make a note for the persecutions in Jackson Co. Rev. Sec. 101 Chap 43 to be reconstructed.

p. 206 - Heb 6-17

p. 209 - see about Joseph's going to Palmyra with Martin Harris

On the next page is a single half-line: "210 Date of"

As already discussed, Coray's 1845 fair copy was copied from the original fair copy left in Lucy's custody and can be considered a surrogate for it.

#### Orson Pratt's 1853 *Biographical Sketches*

The history of the publication of this document has already been discussed, and the text is presented in parallel columns with that of Lucy Mack Smith's 1844-45 rough draft for the reader's inspection. Unfortunately it is not

possible in the notes to present every change made between the Coray 1845 fair copy and the Pratt version; ideally, such a presentation would make it possible to identify a pattern of changes. For instance, "my husband" in Coray frequently becomes "Mr. Smith" in Pratt. The meaning is not altered, but would a pattern of such changes be significant? Perhaps.

The book is bound in black with gold foil stamping on the cover. It measures 16 cm. The type is small by twentieth-century standards but not by historical standards. No information is available on the size of the print run or on reprintings.

### The George A. and Elias Smith Corrections

George A. Smith made corrections twice, once on a copy of *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations*, published by Orson Pratt in 1853 (see above), and once on the Coray 1845 fair copy (see discussion below). The two sets of corrections correspond roughly with each other but are not identical. George A. obviously did not copy one set of corrections to the next document but rather relied on his memory about what was "wrong." Most striking to even the casual reader, however, is how few such corrections there are and, for the most part, how hastily they are made in both places.

George A. also adds the names of states after the names of cities, though not consistently, adds some dates to events, and inserts words omitted in copying that the sense and grammar of the sentence obviously call for.

In a few places (but not consistently), it also seems that George A. Smith was reading the Coray fair copy with Pratt's *Biographical Sketches* in hand, since he follows it in preference either to Lucy's rough draft (I found no examples where he accepted wording from Lucy so distinctive that it could not be explained by ordinary usage or grammar) or to solving a problem in a third way. In Chapter 28, Lucy says that Oliver Cowdery's arrival was not "unexpected" to Joseph; Coray says Joseph was not "disappointed," and George A. has changed this word to "surprized," the same word that Pratt uses.

Some of George A. Smith's changes are not really corrections but are stylistic editing of the kind no longer done on historic documents. For instance, in Chapter 50 on the Coray fair copy, he has edited this passage thus: "~~Soon after this~~ the brethren were compelled to lay down their arms; and sign away their property. This was done quite near our house. [GAS: new paragraph] ~~so that I could distinctly hear~~ <sup><d></sup> General Clark's notable speech ~~on this occasion;~~ and, without . . ."

Some of George A.'s changes introduce confusion. For example, in Chapter 34 he has edited the account of Joseph Sr.'s baptism to remove the informa-



tion provided by Lucy that it happened on the same day as the organization of the church. It is unclear why he would have done this, or on what authority, since there is no evidence that Martin Harris, who was baptized on the same occasion, ever claimed a different date. Lucy was almost certainly present, and George A. absolutely was not, since his family did not join the church until 1832 and did not come to Kirtland until 1833. In fact, this editing inserts a confusing reading. The sequence suggests that, first, Joseph Sr. and Harris were baptized, then, second, the church was organized. However, Joseph's exclamation is one of joy that his father was not just baptized, but baptized *into the church*.

There is some—but quite slight—evidence that George A. Smith wanted to reduce references to William Smith, Emma Smith, or to Lucy herself. For instance, when Joseph learns that the first 116 pages are lost, his first concern is for Emma's reaction. He cries out that he cannot (strikeovers by GAS) "return to my wife with such a tale as this? I dare not do it, lest I should kill her at once." George A.'s editings on some passages regarding William are included in the textual notes, but there is not enough information in most cases to determine whether the editing is motivated by a desire to reduce William's appearances in the manuscript or because of external evidence that the passage is inaccurate. For instance, George A. struck out a passage regarding the conversion of Mr. Bear (chap. 47), but apparently on the basis of its inaccuracy. However, when he took out a passage in Chapter 50 about William's vision of trouble in Missouri, it was apparently in response to Brigham Young's claim that William had wanted Joseph to die in Missouri.

The corrections to *Biographical Sketches* are written in the margins of the small black-bound printed volume, held in BYU's Mormon Americana collection. The catalog entry identifies George A. Smith and Elias Smith as the authors of the corrections.<sup>42</sup> Most of the corrections have been made in a large, sprawling hand with a blunt pencil by George A. Smith, presumably, who in-

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42. Howard Searle, who consulted Dean Jessee on the handwriting, says that Thomas Bullock made notes on pp. 198 and 200, while Robert Lang Campbell made notations on pp. 198 and 202. Although the sprawling hand "has the general appearance of some of George A.'s writing, it does not compare favorably on some specific letters. With such a small writing sample, a positive identification of the unknown editor is not very likely. Whether George A. dictated, approved, or actually wrote some of the notes is still problematical" (Searle, 418). To my unpracticed eye, the handwriting in the BYU volume is the same rough, pencilled scribble as that which appears throughout the Coray fair copy and especially on the last page where the editor has made a list of pages where changes are desired. It is true that some of these corrections may be by Elias Smith, for Elias's diary (MS 1319, holograph, LDS Church Archives), though usually written in black ink, is also somewhat difficult to read. In fact, his 1866 entries show a distinct tremor. Pending more exact identification, calling this writer "GAS" is a convenient shorthand.

initialed one entry. The second set of corrections, presumably by Robert Lang Campbell, is made in exquisite and tiny cursive in black ink. The note on the flyleaf, signed by George A. Smith and Robert Lang Campbell, may have been written by Campbell. This note reads:

This work was written in Nauvoo in 1845 by Mrs. Howard Coray, from Narrations of Lucy Smith, Mother of the Prophet, after his death. Her memory having been very much impaired, and somewhat Shattered by the Successive losses of a husband and four Sons, as well as by care and old age, the work contains many things which are incorrect. It was entitled the History of Mother Smith by herself; the metamorphose [*sic*] in the title and preface were added without her consent or knowledge; and the Mss. was Surreptitiously obtained from her by Isaac Sheen, who sold it to Orson Pratt, who published it without the consent or knowledge of the First Presidency or any of the Twelve.

Geo. A. Smith, Rob. L. Campbell

The inside back cover of this volume bears the following biographical note signed by George A. Smith. There is no indication whom he is writing about:

after his wifes death, he came to Scott Co Ills—preaching, tarried 3 wks [illegible] him a wife then returned to Nauvoo hearing of [illegible] C's death in Sept preached in Scott co. went to Nauvoo in November with Laura his wife & all his 2 children that winter of 41 & 2 stayed in Nauvoo & worked mostly for Joseph to sustain his family, he moved to Plymouth in the fall of 1842 summer of 1843 was in Nauvoo while back <forth> his wife 1843-4 chopped wood <stayed at Plymouth> & prepared his farm by making fences & cleared timber in the spring of 1844 he farmed near Plymouth. — Geo. A. Smith

In a second copy of the Pratt 1853 history, Elias Smith is reported to have separately marked editing changes, deletions, and corrections. This copy is in the LDS Church Archives (Searle, 418). My request to examine it was denied, but it seems doubtful that it contains significantly more or significantly different changes than those created in the jointly corrected copy since, as the textual notes show, only trivial changes have been made in the 1901-03 *Improvement Era* editions that are not in George A. Smith, cannot be accounted for by editorial fashion/preference, or that are not the introduction of new errors.

As discussed above, Searle believes that there may have been a third copy of the printed volume, whereabouts unknown, which collated the changes from both of the Smith cousins and came into possession of Joseph F. Smith after the death of George A. Smith in 1875 (418-19). I think it is more likely that Joseph F. Smith, in an effort to keep things simple, referred to the various corrected versions, none of which (except for Coray) was technically a manuscript, as a single document.

### The RLDS 1880 Edition

In February 1878, the Publication Board of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints appointed a committee of three—W. W. Blair, Joseph Smith III, and H. A. Stebbins—to prepare the 1853 text of *Biographical Sketches* for new publication. They also added some explanatory footnotes “to clarify what they considered confusing statements” (Pement and Edwards, 70), meanwhile retaining Orson Pratt’s 1853 notes. The type was set and the book published in 1880 at Plano, Iowa, then headquarters of the RLDS church.

This edition included a new preface by the RLDS committee along with Orson Pratt’s preface. The volume includes the mission report and letters of Don Carlos Smith (see Appendix) but not the poems of Eliza R. Snow commemorating the deaths of Joseph Smith Sr., Don Carlos Smith, and Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

The preface for the 1880 edition shows that the publishers were well aware of the LDS controversy over this work, then only fifteen years in the past. It begins:

The object that the Board of Publication has in the reissue of this work, is to place in the hands of those of the church, and others who may desire it, one means of becoming acquaint[ed] with the history of the Latter Day Saints during the lifetime of those with whom the work originated. “Mother Smith’s History,” comes into our hands in the same way that any other book, written and published by one connected with the church without authorization from the church, might do, and for this reason, we to whom the work of revision has been intrusted, give the work to the reader as we find it; with such additions as are deemed necessary, made by marks of reference and foot-notes. Nor do we vouch for the correctness of the statements made in the body of the work, being contented to let it pass with the statement that it is believed to be in the main correct.

Coming as it did three years after Brigham Young’s death and during a no-holds-barred contest over authority between the two churches, this statement is a critique of Young’s violent handling of the 1853 publication. This preface contradicts two major points Young made—the accuracy of Lucy’s memory and the inappropriateness of Pratt’s independence. (Tellingly, it does not challenge Young’s opinion of William Smith, who was still alive in Iowa at this point.) Joseph Smith III, who knew Orson Pratt in Nauvoo and had met him again only four years earlier when Joseph III had visited Salt Lake City in 1876, appraised Pratt in his memoirs as “quick, alert, active, pleasant-mannered, and perhaps one of the brainiest men that ever accepted Latter Day Saintism during the first years of the church’s existence. . . . Truly it has ever been a mystery to me . . . that such a man as Elder Orson Pratt, of so brilliant a mind, with such love of humanity, and such willingness to defend what he believed to be right,

could ever have submitted to such domination as I have reason to believe was exercised over him" (JS III, 32).

In the second paragraph of the 1880 preface, this critique becomes a blunt attack on Utah Mormonism's authoritarianism:

At the time the book was first published it was spoken and written of quite highly, the preface having been written by Orson Pratt, then, as now, one of the ablest men among the Utah Mormons. Soon after its publication, and after a large number was sold, President Brigham Young, under the plea that it was a false history and would do mischief, ordered its suppression; the Saints were counseled to give them up, either freely, or in exchange for other works of the church, that they might be destroyed. Under this order large numbers were destroyed, few being preserved, some of which fell into the hands of those now with the Reorganization. For this destruction we see no adequate reason; unless it be found in the fear that a plain story told by the mother of the first president of the church, might possibly convey views to the minds of its readers, opposed to the then ruling powers.

The present impracticability of giving a more extended and satisfactory history of Joseph Smith, under the supervision of the Reorganized Church; in connection with the fact that Elder E. W. Tullidge's work, "Life of Joseph, the Prophet," has been put upon sale, have determined the Board to publish this work without change in the text.<sup>43</sup>

The remainder of the preface is a quotation from the *Millennial Star's* promotional articles, Brigham Young's January 1855 denunciation of its "many mistakes," and Orson Pratt's March 1855 acknowledgement of errors.

This edition was reprinted at Lamoni, Iowa, in 1908. The editorial work for a new (1912) edition was undertaken by Heman C. Smith, apostle and Church Historian of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. He initialed the contextual footnotes that he added to those from Pratt's 1853 edition and the 1880 RLDS edition, and these have remained in later editions. Heman Smith was born 27 September 1850 in the now-defunct Mormon colony named Zodiac founded by Lyman Wight near Fredericksburg, Texas. The third son and fourth child of Spencer Smith and Anna C. Wight Smith, Heman was baptized at Zodiac on 7 October 1862 by W. H. Kelley. The family then moved to Nebraska where Smith was ordained an elder on 14 March 1874 in Gallands Grove District

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43. Tullidge published *The Life of Joseph the Prophet* in 1878, claiming in the preface that Joseph F. Smith and Eliza R. Snow had read and revised the manuscript. Both denied doing more than reading it "informally" and offering "a few minor suggestions." After receiving a commendatory letter from Joseph Smith III in May 1879, Tullidge sold the copyright to the RLDS church, was received into membership that fall, was ordained an elder, and became RLDS Church Historian. An 1880 second edition of *The Life of Joseph the Prophet* took the orthodox RLDS position that polygamy was a creation of Brigham Young. For a discussion of this history and its ambivalent reception in RLDS circles, see Walker, *Wayward*, 310-11.

Conference at Harlan, Iowa, and was appointed to Nebraska at the 1876 conference. He was ordained a seventy at the semi-annual conference near Council Bluffs by James Caffal and others, then ordained sixth president of seventies at the Independence annual conference in 1885 and appointed secretary. He married Vida E. Smith at Independence on 2 June 1886, and they had four children. On 30 March 1888, he was ordained an apostle. He served on the *Saints' Herald* staff (1895-1900) and as Church Historian from 1897 until his death in Independence on 17 April 1919 (Knisley).

In 1969 Herald House in Independence reissued this 1912 edition in facsimile, again under the title *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations*. A fifth printing of 371 pages appeared in 1990, but the book is now out of print.

There are thirteen notes in the 1880 edition (counting those picked up from Pratt's 1853 edition) and twenty-seven in the 1912/69 editions. In the footnotes accompanying the parallel edition, I use "RLDS" inclusively to refer to all three editions; if a note was added after the 1853 edition, I indicate the editions (1912, 1969) parenthetically.

#### *Improvement Era Versions, 1901-03*

The next documentary development was the edition of 1901-03, serialized in the *Improvement Era* under the title: "The History of Joseph Smith by His Mother," with a preface by Lucy's grandson, Joseph F. Smith. (Lorenzo Snow had approved the project just before his death on 10 October 1901.) It was published in thirteen monthly installments from November 1901 to January 1903.<sup>44</sup> The appendix omits Don Carlos Smith's diary account of his 1838 mission with George A. Smith but includes his two letters to his wife and the three poems by Eliza R. Snow.

In his introduction, Joseph F. Smith, who had worked on the book in 1866 as assigned by George A. Smith and who was now president of the church, gave a simplified and not totally accurate overview of the project's

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44. Joseph F. Smith's introduction and chaps. 1-3, appear in 5, no. 1 (November 1901): 1-16; chaps. 4-12, 5, no. 2 (December 1901): 81-102; chaps. 13-16, 5, no. 3 (January 1902): 161-71; chaps. 17-19, 5, no. 4 (February 1902): 241-59; chaps. 20-23, 5, no. 5 (March 1902): 321-38; chaps. 24-28, 5, no. 6 (April 1902): 401-21; chaps. 28-34, 5, no. 7 (May 1902): 481-99; chaps. 35-37, 5, no. 8 (June 1902): 561-73; chaps. 38-41, 5, no. 9 (July 1902): 641-60; chaps. 42-47, 5, no. 10 (August 1902): 737-58; chaps. 48-49, 5, no. 11 (September 1902): 817-42; chaps. 50-54, 5, no. 12 (October 1902): 913-38. A note on this last page reads: "An appendix containing a mission journal and letters by Don C. Smith; poems by E. R. Snow on the death of Joseph Smith, Senior, and Don Carlos Smith; and on the martyrdom of the Prophet and Patriarch, will begin in No. 1 vol. 6 of the Era." The appendix contains Don Carlos Smith's letters to Agnes Coolbrith Smith on 25 June 1836 and 25 July 1839 but not his mission journal, which appears in the 1845 Coray version and the 1853 Pratt version. This appendix appears in 6, no. 1 (January 1903): 209.

history, then justified the existence of the new edition with the popular explanation of factual inadequacies resulting from lack of documentation and Lucy's mental deficiencies: "Some statements contained in the work were considered somewhat overdrawn," he wrote, "—a circumstance easily accounted for when we remember the age of Mother Smith, the losses she had sustained in the death of a husband and four sons, and the consequent lapses of her memory" (JFS, 1).

In his journal Brigham Young Jr. recorded twice talking about the project with Joseph F. Smith. On 23 October 1901 Young unquestioningly asserted the standard view of its inaccuracy: "Pres. Smith is about to publish Lucy Smith's book which was suppressed by Father because of its untruthfulness. He, Jos. will carefully revise it before publishing it in the 'Era.' I regret it for so many are dead who knew more than the living about this matter." Two days later, again in Joseph F. Smith's office, Brigham Jr. listened as the church president "read me [a] portion of manuscript from Lucy Smith Book. Her story I always understood was false. Geo. Q. C. in Life of Prophet was correct. Pres. Smith doubted Bro. Cannon."<sup>45</sup>

In 1902 the serialized chapters were published as a book: *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother Lucy Smith as Revised by George A. Smith and Elias Smith* (Salt Lake City: Improvement Era, 1902), 296 pp., including Joseph F. Smith's introduction and "The Ancestry of Joseph Smith the Prophet" by Archibald F. Bennett, reprinted from the April 1929 issue of *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*.

In tracing the pattern of changes from 1853 through George A. Smith (and his associates), the *Improvement Era*, and Preston Nibley in 1945, it is clear from the punctuation, word order, and word choice that the *Improvement Era* (IE) edition was typeset from a copy of the 1853 published version. This fact is a particularly ironic commentary on Brigham Young's rage against its "tissue of lies." The IE version includes virtually all of the changes George A. marked on the Coray 1845 fair copy. This printer's copy was not, however, the 1853 George-Elias-

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45. Young does not specify the episodes about which he and Joseph F. disagreed, nor is it clear whether Brigham Jr. had ever read Lucy's book. A reading of George Q. Cannon's reverential and formally written biography, drawn largely from *History of the Church*, also fails to disclose conspicuous differences. For instance, Cannon says Joseph Jr. returned from a trip to the East three days after Joseph III was born on 3 November; the birth actually occurred on 6 November and Joseph Jr. had returned 5 November (145). Cannon dates the birth of Joseph's and Emma's first child after the loss of the 116 pages, rather than before (55); he describes David Whitmer's arrival as completely spontaneous, without either the visit from Joseph Sr. and Lucy or the letter from Joseph Jr. requesting aid (65); and names Lucy only twice in Cannon's biography: once at her marriage to Joseph Sr., and once when she engages a militia unit in Missouri in conversation while Joseph Jr. is writing a letter (25-26, 264).



Robert Campbell volume now at BYU; some of George A.'s changes are the same in both volumes, but some changes, even for the same passage, are different from each other. In these cases, the IE edition follows the George A.-Coray version. This pattern suggests that the Historical Department vault copy, which I was not permitted to see, may contain the collated changes.

One of the unanswered questions about the *Improvement Era* edition is who, exactly, prepared the manuscript to be retypeset. While it is clear that an 1853 printed version was used, supplemented by the handwritten corrections on the fair copy by George A., someone made editorial decisions about punctuation changes, American spellings instead of British, a few rearranged paragraphs, and a number of small grammatical changes. Except for omitting Joseph Sr.'s dying blessings to his children except for Hyrum's and Joseph's, no material was omitted that had not been marked out or altered by George A. Smith. The editor of the *Improvement Era* in 1902 was Joseph F. Smith himself, but he probably confined himself to policy making and ceremonial functions.

The IE edition still, however, constitutes the corrected revision that Brigham Young said he had ordered in 1845 in Nauvoo, delayed for more than half a century. As Howard Searle points out, the corrections "were not nearly as extensive as the furor over the book would suggest." Searle classifies these changes as omissions of references to William, Emma, and other family matters; corrections in dates, names, and grammar; additions and deletions of historical events, omission of profanity and vulgarity, and omission of possible criticism of Joseph Smith or the church (422).

#### **Preston Nibley 1945 Reprint of the *Improvement Era* Version**

In 1945 Preston Nibley, then Assistant Church Historian, reissued a slightly revised edition of the 1901-03 versions, retitled *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother, Lucy Mack Smith, with Notes and Comments by Preston Nibley* (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallis). It begins with Joseph F. Smith's 1901 introduction, then with Nibley's own foreword. While praising the book as "one of the most beautiful narratives and yet one of the most tragic in our Church literature," he again apologizes for it:

The first edition of this volume, published in England in 1853, was criticized by some of the Church Authorities, on account of inaccuracies of statement, as explained by President Joseph F. Smith in the preceding introduction. When one considers that Mrs. Smith was in her seventieth year when this history was dictated; that her life had been one of uncommon hardship and toil; that she had had little opportunity for book-learning and education—then one must agree that, if errors were made, they were errors of the mind and not of the heart. (ix)

The *Improvement Era* version created unique typographical errors, some of



which are carried over into the Nibley edition. This fact makes it clear that he did not return to an earlier source or one closer to the original, but continued from the recent (i.e., 1901-03) printed version.

Nibley made relatively few substantive changes, shifting paragraphs to a different order in two cases and omitting some material considered indelicate (profanity and reports of Missouri rapes), three times indicating the omissions with ellipses but usually not. (See text notes.) The *Improvement Era* editor and Nibley both make minor grammatical corrections (e.g., from "my nature sunk" to "my nature sank"). Nibley also, while leaving in indications of oaths (e.g., "d——d") silently omits profanity (e.g., "for God's sake"). He includes Joseph Sr.'s dying blessings only for Hyrum, Joseph, and Samuel.

In addition to keeping the comparatively few notes Orson Pratt added to the text, which Nibley designates with asterisks, he adds others more lavishly, designated with numbers. (The first of his notes on a page is always "1.") While supplying helpful dates and other items from the *History of the Church*, his notes sometimes only restate the obvious. For example, in describing the illness that afflicted Lucy en route to Missouri and Katharine's childbirth, he comments: "These circumstances illustrate the difficulty the Smith family had on their journey to Missouri in the summer of 1838."

Nibley follows Pratt in having full and exact chapter summaries on his contents page, altered only by the few corrections inserted earlier by George A. Smith. Nibley does not include titles with the chapters, which are identified only by number. He uses arabic, rather than roman numerals for the chapters, the first time this is done.

Interestingly, Nibley has a pattern of changes in quoted documents (especially Hyrum Smith's lengthy affidavit in Chapter 49—Nibley, chap. 48), while the *Improvement Era* retains the wording of the 1853 version, which in turn follows the *Times and Seasons* version. (See text notes.)

Nibley moved the Smith and Mack genealogical data (chap. 9) to an appendix, added another appendix with information about Lucy's children, and dropped the original appendix containing the diary/letters from Don Carlos Smith and the poems of Eliza R. Snow. As a result of moving Chapter 9 to the appendix, Nibley's chapter numbers from that point on are one less than those of Pratt and the *Improvement Era*.

Martha Jane's and Howard Coray's great-grandson Robert Cooper (7-18) in 1965 compared the Pratt 1853 and Nibley 1958 versions and identified 282 changes in nine categories, not including the preface and appendices:

1. Spelling
2. Date or time (9)
3. Grammar (19)

4. Transpositions (11)
5. Minor additions (38)
6. Major additions (1—the inclusion of Joseph Smith's 1838 first vision account)
7. "Vocabulary" (112)
8. Minor omissions (67)
9. Major omissions (25). One of these omissions comes from Hyrum's affidavit, not from Lucy's language, and deletes his report of rape in general and one gang-rape in particular (chap. 49).

According to the analysis by Jerald and Sandra Tanner, a comparison of Nibley's 1954 printing and the Pratt 1853 *Biographical Sketches* shows the addition of 436 words, changes in 220, and deletions of 1,379—a total of 2,035 changes "without any indication," while 736 words "have been deleted with the omissions properly indicated" (Tanner and Tanner, 4). Genealogically speaking, it would have been more useful if both they and Cooper had compared Pratt's 1853 edition with the *Improvement Era* version, rather than Nibley's, since the more significant changes were made at the earlier point.

It is difficult to determine the number of printings and differences, if any, among Bookcraft's printings of Nibley's book, but there were new printings in at least 1954, 1957, 1958, 1965, 1975 (as Vol. 18 of the forty-volume LDS Heritage Library "with notes and comments by Preston Nibley"), and 1979.

Nibley's edition was used as the text for Roy W. Doxey's *Study Guide for Special Interests*, published by the MIA general boards in 1958. "Special Interests" was a class provided for single people in the LDS church over the age of about twenty. This forty-page typeset manual for 1958-59 moves systematically through the book in twenty-five lessons and is helpful in showing how Lucy's narrative has been officially assimilated as faith-promoting material, in contrast to its faith-destroying status under Brigham Young. Consider, for instance, these comments and questions:

Show wherein the Prophet's mother was a religious person yet she did not affiliate with any church in the early period of her life. What bearing do you think this has on our life and that of her own life and that of her gifted son, the Prophet? (2)

It is important to note that Lucy Mack's life was preserved to later write the history of her son Joseph. (3)

(Chap. 20) Assuming that there is no L.D.S. meeting to attend, is it better to go to the churches of the world or to read the Bible? What would be your answer in the light of what is given by Joseph Smith? (9)

The footnote on p. 142 suggests that you read the History of the Church 1:39 and compare it with the information on p. 142 . . . [and] Pearl of Great Price,

## THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF LUCY'S BOOK

Joseph Smith 2:68-75. [This footnote, annotating Joseph's and Oliver's baptisms of each other, refers the reader to the story of John the Baptist restoring the Aaronic priesthood.] Discuss the information given above in pointing out the necessity of baptism and authority to administer the ordinance.

This study guide misidentifies Lucy's brother Daniel as "David" (1).

### Modern Microfilm Photomechanical Edition, 1965

In 1965 Jerald and Sandra Tanner of Modern Microfilm Company produced the first photomechanical reproduction of the 1853 text under the title, *Joseph Smith's History: The Book Brigham Young Tried to Destroy, by His Mother* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., 1965). They borrowed a copy from a collector of rare Mormon books for their facsimile edition. They argue that the *Improvement Era* version was a "falsified reprint"; they correctly point out that the *History of the Church* description of its printing history (7:519) omits all mention of the Pratt 1853 version and, by saying it "was finally published . . . in October, 1901," leaves the impression that "it was never printed prior to 1901" (Introduction, 1).

The detailed introduction reviews the history of the book's recall, quotes liberally from the public documents and articles about it, and provides a ten-page listing of changes made between the 1853 and 1954 versions. The year of the Tanners' reissue, with deliberate irony, was the centennial of Brigham Young's suppression of the 1853 version, and they concluded their introduction with the statement: "The changes we have shown . . . should give the reader an idea of the way in which the Mormon Historians 'revise' history."

### Arno Press Facsimile Edition, 1969

The second photomechanical reprint appeared in 1969 after Edwin S. Gaustad queried Leonard J. Arrington, then a professor of economics at Utah State University (Logan), about out-of-print works that "might be suitable for inclusion in the Arno Press *Religion in America* facsimile reprint series" (Shipps, *Mormonism*, 91). After reviewing the explosive history of official reactions to *Biographical Sketches* for Gastaud, Arrington countered Brigham Young's description of the book as "'a tissue of lies from beginning to end,'" calling it instead "'informative, basically accurate, and extremely revealing of Joseph Smith's early life and his family background . . . [that] perhaps tells us more about Mormon origins than any other single source'" (qtd. in *ibid.*). Arrington also hypothesized that Young was hypersensitive to Lucy's "'favorable references and space devoted to William Smith'" (qtd. in *ibid.*)

This version identifies the author as Lucy Smith and the title as *Biographi-*

*cal Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet*. It has no notes or appendices and only Orson Pratt's introduction (Searle, 426).

**Grandin Press Reproduction, 1995**

In 1995 Lyndon Cook's Grandin Press of Orem, Utah, brought out the third photomechanical reproduction of the 1853 edition. In an editorial decision that was both merciful and helpful, Cook enlarged the type to 140 percent of the original, bringing it to a comfortable size for reading (approximately 12 point) on a conventional 6x9-inch page. In this edition, on p. 87, line 2 after the beginning of Chapter 20, a small superscript holograph cross appears after "Alvin," thus making it possible to identify the specific 1853 copy used in the reproduction. This edition begins with Pratt's preface and includes the appendix containing Don Carlos Smith's personal writings and Eliza R. Snow's three commemorative poems.

Cook's brief "Publisher's Note" reads: "At age seventy-eight [actually sixty-eight] with the help of scribes, Lucy Mack Smith followed her father's example and wrote an autobiographical narrative. It was published in England in 1853 through the efforts of Orson Pratt." He quotes a descriptive statement from Donna Hill, author of *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon*, about the narrative, provides a paragraph of biographical information about Lucy herself, and notes the photomechanical enlargement of the type. His only evaluative comment about the content itself is: "As the narrative progresses, Joseph Smith, the Prophet, becomes the leading figure throughout a large portion of the book—thus his prominence in the title of the work."

**The Proctor "Revised and Enhanced History," 1996**

In 1996 Scott Facer Proctor and Maurine Jensen Proctor produced a 504-page edition, *The Revised and Enhanced History of Joseph Smith by His Mother* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft). The Proctors are part-time institute teachers, the parents of eleven children, and a husband-wife artistic/writing team. They have co-produced a popular series of books about LDS church history sites, Book of Mormon locations, the Holy Land, and the Mormon exodus across the plains. Former editors of *This People*, they focused in this edition on providing readers with an easy-to-read narrative history that simultaneously includes textual materials used previously only by scholars. They thus supplement or replace material in the 1853 edition with Lucy's 1844-45 rough draft or with text from Martha Jane's notebook or "their own [the Proctor's] words" (Leonard, 213) where the rough draft is more vivid or more detailed, without interrupting the text by scholarly apparatus. They explain that they use the rough draft as "the foundation of the text" supplemented by the Pratt 1853 version "to supply

structure, chapter divisions, and some transitions, as well as to fill in missing gaps" (xxx).

They enrich the text with chapter endnotes, numerous attractive photographs, and helpful maps. They follow Nibley in shifting the genealogical material (chap. 9 in Pratt's 1853 edition) to an appendix and supplement it with a simplified genealogical chart for the Joseph and Lucy family. The book includes a chronology, bibliography, and index, the latter particularly welcome since none of the 1853 reprint/reproductions or any of the Nibley editions do so, making their use as reference works difficult.

They state as their own purpose: "to find Lucy buried in the material, be true to her voice, and at the same time create a book that [is] accessible and inviting to a wide audience" (xxxiii). Probably in an effort to achieve accessibility, they silently standardize spelling and punctuation, including in quotations in endnotes. They also silently delete material that they consider problematic in content, a decision they do not discuss in their extensive and generally clear introduction on editorial methods. For instance, where Lucy's rough draft reads: "... let not my reader suppose that because I shall pursue another topic for a season that we stopt our labor and went <at> trying to win the faculty of Abrac drawing Magic circles or sooth saying to the neglect of all kinds of buisness we never during our lives suffered one important interest to swallow up every other obligation ..." (chap. 17), it appears in the Proctor text as: "... let not my reader suppose that because I shall pursue another topic for a season that we stopped our labor. We never during our lives suffered one important interest to swallow up every other obligation ..." (87)

#### The Vogel Parallel-Column Partial Edition, 1996

Also in 1996 appeared the most thorough scholarly edition of Lucy Mack Smith materials: *Early Mormon Documents*, Vol. 1, compiled and edited by Dan Vogel (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996). It reproduces Lucy's 1844-45 rough draft in parallel columns with Pratt's 1853 *Biographical Sketches*, the first edition to do so.

Vogel painstakingly reconstructs the text, including strikeovers, insert, superscripts, and Martha Jane's distinctive practice of breaking words at the end of the line between any two letters with an equal sign instead of a hyphen. He omits chapter headings from the 1853 published version, thus making correlation between other versions difficult, but emphasizing the degree to which the two versions match each other. He omits, with a note, most of the material quoted from the Doctrine and Covenants, Pearl of Great Price, *Times and Seasons*, etc. Because of Vogel's focus, he omits the "progenitors" material (chap. 1-7, 9) and ends with the migration of the church from New York to Ohio—

the fourth paragraph of Chapter 39. Thus, it covers only to 1831 of Smith family and early Mormon history. The Lucy Mack Smith history is also only 238 pages of this 708-page book. The rest of the text consists of documents from other members of the Smith family (both nuclear and extended) and various legal, vital, and township records—more than 450 documents in all projected for his multi-volume series.

The text includes illustrations (but unfortunately only one map), a bibliography, an index, and extensive source, biographical, and contextual footnotes. The use of footnotes rather than endnotes makes it particularly easy to use this work as a reference. It won the Mormon History Association's 1997 award for Best Documentary Book.

*Early Mormon Documents* Vols. 2 and 3, compiled and edited by Dan Vogel (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998, 1999) continue this massive documentary compilation from the same time period with the collections of Philastus Hurlbut, William H. and Edmund L. Kelley, Chester C. Thorne, Arthur B. Deming, Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, and John H. Gilbert, newspapers from Palmyra, early converts, a publisher who refused to print the Book of Mormon, neighbors, merchants, public and church records, and newspaper items. The books have some illustrations, extensive footnotes, a bibliography, and an index. Although of uneven utility, these documents shed further light on the Smith family and on events covered in Lucy's book. Vogel projects an eventual total of five volumes in his *Early Mormon Documents* series. He is the author of two other books about early Mormonism: *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986) and *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), and is the editor of *The Word of God: Essays on Mormon Scripture* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989).

#### EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

Strikeouts are rendered as such. Insertions above the line are indicated in angle brackets < > unless the insertion is a single letter. All of my own additions are in square brackets [ ], but I do not supply inadvertent omissions in Lucy's rough draft or remove accidentally doubled words from her text.

In Martha Jane Coray's manuscript, words frequently continue to the very edge of the paper as far as possible with the letter or letters that will not fit appearing on the next line, whether that point represents a conventional syllabic break or not. Sometimes, but not always, she marks these continuations with =. I have silently omitted the equal signs from this version.

Although neither Lucy Mack Smith nor Orson Pratt consistently give names for actors in their narratives, sometimes it is possible to identify them.



For example, Lucy praises Sidney Rigdon's wife, whom she does not name, but sources are readily available to identify her as Phebe Brooks Rigdon. All individuals whose names (or at least surnames) are given or can be deduced are listed in "Biographical Summaries."

I have not added capitalization or punctuation, even though Martha Jane very frequently omitted terminal punctuation in the rough draft.

There are no conventional paragraphs in the Coray manuscript. Very rarely a sentence ends and the rest of the line to the margin is left blank. Since these half-lines correspond with subject breaks typical of conventional paragraphing, such points are paragraphed in the typeset version.

Martha Jane used a combination of extra spaces, single dashes, double dashes, and longer dashes in the place of periods or semi-colons as terminal punctuation. In all cases, I have omitted extra spaces, since they appear inconsistently within sentences as well, standardized all dashes to M-dashes, with no spaces, and added no other terminal punctuation if it does not appear in the original.

Where a word or portion of a word is illegible, I have bracketed that word, written the discernible letters, and used a period to represent each illegible letter, although the results can, at best, be considered only an approximation. I have used [sic] sparingly and only in cases when the word in question could more easily be explained as a typographical error.

Although the footnotes in the two-column portion of the text are voluminous, much of the historical and biographical material that the readers may expect to find in the footnotes appears in the "Chronology" in the front matter and the "Biographical Summaries of Named Individuals" in the back matter. I reserve the textual notes to document variations from the rough draft and the 1853 published version as they appear in the 1845 Coray fair copy; in holograph corrections by George A. Smith, Elias Smith, and Robert Lang Campbell on both the fair copy and on the published text, in the *Improvement Era* edition, and in the Preston Nibley edition.

A few "Contextual Notes" appear in the text as interruptions of the two-column material. Although such interruptions are unwieldy, I hope they will be seen as helpful, since they contain additional documentary material that is too long to fit conveniently into a footnote.

In the notes, I use these shortened designations for the variants:

1. "Coray," meaning "Coray fair copy."
2. GAS, meaning the writers of holograph corrections on the Coray fair copy and on the 1853 printed edition at the BYU library. "GAS on Coray" means that the correction appears on the fair copy. "GAS on Pratt" means that it appears in the 1853 printed edition.
3. IE, meaning the *Improvement Era* edition.



4. Nibley, meaning Preston Nibley's editions.

5. RLDS, meaning the two separate (and one facsimile) editions prepared by the RLDS Church.

I do not include variants from the Proctor edition.

I do not try to capture in the notes inconsequential changes among the Lucy rough draft, Coray fair copy, and Pratt publication, examples of which are:

1. Minor paraphrasing. Lucy: "in consequence of", Coray: "in consequence of which", Pratt: "consequently"; "these facts" for "those facts" (when only one set of facts is under discussion), "did all that was in his power" to "did all in his power," etc.

2. Punctuation and capitalization. Pratt—or whoever prepared the manuscript for printing in 1853—added commas with a heavy hand and substituted British for American spellings.

3. Numbers spelled out or given as numerals

4. Variations in abbreviating or spelling out titles (e.g., "Colonel," "Major") and months. These abbreviations are used inconsistently within and between editions.

5. Paragraphing

6. Open or closed hyphenation in compound words

8. British/American spellings (e.g., *travelled/traveled*, *marvellous/marvelous*, *neighbour/neighbor*, *towards/toward*, etc.). The RLDS edition, for instance, while faithfully reproducing the 1853 edition, silently reverses its British spellings back to American ones. Although I do not note spelling changes, I do identify typographical errors, since they are useful to scholars in determining editions and printings.

9. Word order: "She suffered in her sickness beyond description . . ." in Coray becomes in Pratt: "She suffered beyond description in her sickness . . ."

10. In editions from 1853 on, I have not usually added footnotes about the inclusion of words obviously called for by the grammar and sense of the sentence: ". . . the whole of which *was* a dense forest."

Even though the Coray fair copy can be considered a surrogate for the Coray/Pratt 1853 printed version, in a few passages I note the Coray wording even when it is identical to the Pratt version because it contains what I consider to be a substantive change and I wished to let the reader know exactly when the change entered the text. (This assumes, of course, that the Coray fair copy in Salt Lake City corresponds exactly to Lucy's fair copy, which Pratt acquired from Almon Babbitt and took to England. For the reasons discussed in the text, it is impossible to know whether this assumption is accurate in all cases.)

And finally, the reader will note that footnotes in the parallel passages are

numbered consecutively within each column down to the next paragraph break, then begin numeration with the second column until it reaches the parallel paragraph break, and so forth.

### CONCLUSION

Jan Shipps, who was the first to explain in a published work the provenance and textual history of Lucy's book, stressing the role of the Corays in producing it, summarizes its importance in this way:

Every reference in the typescript Introduction to the unpublished Journal History of the LDS Church is taken from Mother Smith's *History*, . . . as are all references to events in 1830 and 1831. . . .

[The Arno Press facsimile edition] quickly became the premier printed resource for information about young Joseph Smith and the beginnings of Mormonism.

Except for the slender store of scattered autobiographical statements left by the Prophet, his mother's history is practically the only direct source of information about Joseph's early life. Moreover, although it is obviously retrospective, Lucy Smith's narrative is a rare and valuable firsthand account provided by an observer closely connected to the primary participants in the early development of the Mormon movement. Her work occupies, therefore, a place of central importance in the Mormon historical corpus. . . .

Mother Smith's history not only provides invaluable information about the Mormon prophet and early Mormonism, but information about the process by which Mormonism survived the death of the prophet as well. (Shipps, *Mormonism*, 181n6, 92, 93)

But Lucy's book is more. It is a spiritual autobiography, a family memoir, and a woman's document. Without in any way diminishing its enormous contributions to early Mormon historiography, it is time to critically establish its text as a contribution to the field of women's history and to count it among the treasures of Mormon women's personal writings.

## CHRONOLOGY

- 15 Sept. 1732      Solomon Mack is born at Lyme, Connecticut.
- 4 Jan. 1759      Solomon Mack and Lydia Gates marry at the Second Congregational Church, East Haddam, Connecticut.
- ca. 1760      Jason Mack, Lucy's oldest brother, and the first of the seven children, is born.
- ca. 1761      Lovisa Mack, Lucy's oldest sister, is born.
- ca. 1762      Lovina Mack, Lucy's second sister, is born.
- ca. 1764      Lydia Mack, Lucy's third sister, is born.
- 15 June 1766      Stephen Mack, Lucy's brother, is born.
- 1770      Daniel Gates Mack, Lucy's brother, is born.
- 12 July 1771      Joseph Smith Sr. is born at Topsfield, Massachusetts.
- 28 Jan. 1773      Solomon Mack Jr., Lucy's brother, is born.
- 8 July 1775      Lucy Mack is born at Gilsum, New Hampshire. She gives her own birth year as 1776, making her a year younger than her actual age.
- ca. 1779      Solomon and Lydia Mack move their family from Gilsum, New Hampshire, to Montague, Massachusetts, where they remain until about 1788.
- 31 Jan. 1780      Lovisa Mack marries Joseph Tuttle at Gilsum, New Hampshire.
- 26 Jan. 1786      Lydia Mack marries Samuel Bill at Gilsum, New Hampshire.
- ca. 1789-91      Lovisa Mack Tuttle suffers a serious two-year illness (consumption), is miraculously healed, and enjoys three years of good health (ca. 1791-94).
- ca. 1792      For about six months, Lucy visits sister Lovisa at South Hadley where she rings the newly hung bell.
- 1794      Lovina Mack, unmarried, dies of consumption after a three-year illness through which Lucy nurses her. Lucy is approximately sixteen through nineteen (rather than thirteen as she says). Thirty-three-year-old Lovisa Mack Tuttle dies en route from South Hadley to Gilsum with her father. She leaves no children and is buried next to Lovina.

## CHRONOLOGY

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| 1794-95      | Lucy lives with her brother, Stephen, at Tunbridge, Vermont, for about a year.   |
| 1795         | Lucy returns to her parents' house briefly, then returns to Stephen's.   |
| 24 Jan. 1796 | Lucy Mack and Joseph Smith are married in Tunbridge, Vermont, by Seth Austin.  |
| 6 Dec. 1797  | Joseph Sr., brother Jesse, and father Asael Smith help found a Universalist society in Tunbridge.  |
| ca. 1797     | Lucy and Joseph's first child dies at birth. (See chap. 9 notes for a discussion of this child's gender.)  |
| 11 Feb. 1798 | Alvin Smith is born at Tunbridge, Vermont.   |
| 9 Feb. 1800  | Hyrum Smith is born at Tunbridge, Vermont.   |
| 1 June 1801  | Brigham Young is born at Whitingham, Vermont; he is four years older than Joseph Jr.   |
| ca. 1802     | The Smiths move to Randolph, Orange County, Vermont, seven miles away, where Joseph Smith Sr. opens a store that proves unsuccessful. Lucy becomes very ill and is healed during a conversion experience. Joseph Sr. is defrauded in his ginseng venture and moves the family back to Tunbridge. |
| 17 May 1803  | Sophronia Smith is born at Tunbridge, Vermont. Jason Mack, Lucy's oldest brother, visits them between about May 1803 and May 1804. Lucy has a comforting dream that Joseph Sr. will become a believer in due time.   |
| 10 July 1804 | Emma Hale is born at Harmony, Pennsylvania.  |
| 27 Aug. 1804 | Solomon Mack buys land at Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, and rents it to Joseph and Lucy. Joseph farms in the summers and teaches school in the winters.   |
| 23 Dec. 1805 | Joseph Smith Jr. is born at Sharon, Vermont.   |
| 15 Mar. 1806 | Joseph Sr. recommends Polly Beckwith as his replacement as a teacher at Sharon. <sup>1</sup>   |
| 3 May 1806   | Joseph Smith Sr. witnesses a land transaction between Solomon Mack and his son Daniel G. Mack at Sharon.   |
| 21 Mar. 1807 | Solomon Mack, pressed with financial worries, mortgages his land in Vermont, perhaps precipitating Joseph's and Lucy's move to Tunbridge.  |

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1. Vogel 1:646 notes that "the handwriting and signature are inconsistent with known samples of Joseph Smith Sr.'s handwriting."

## CHRONOLOGY

- 15 Oct. 1807 Joseph Smith Sr., Jesse Smith, and other Tunbridge residents petition the legislature for relief from providing their own military equipment for their mandatory militia service.
- 13 Mar. 1808 Samuel Harrison Smith is born at Tunbridge, Vermont.
- 1808-10 The Smith family moves to Royalton, Windsor County, Vermont. Joseph Jr. possibly attends school on Dewey Hill, taught by Deacon Jonathan Rinney. Joseph Sr. appears on tax rolls for 1809, 1810, and 1811.
- 13 Mar. 1810 Ephraim is born at Royalton and dies 24 March 1810.
- 13 Mar. 1811 William Smith is born at Royalton, Windsor County, Vermont, the eighth child and sixth living son of Joseph Sr. and Lucy Smith. Joseph Sr. reports the first of seven visions, five of which Lucy records.
- after May 1812 Family moves to Lebanon, New Hampshire, approximately twenty miles away. Soon afterward, Joseph Sr. reports a second vision of a beautiful tree with delicious fruit that he calls his family to partake of.
- Winter 1812-13 Typhoid fever strikes the family. By fervent prayer, Lucy and Joseph Sr. receive an assurance that the dying Sophronia will live. Joseph turns seven in December 1812. After an aggressive operation for osteomyelitis, Joseph recuperates at Salem, Massachusetts, with Jesse Smith, his brother's uncle. He is still walking on crutches in 1816.
- 8 July 1813 Katharine is born at Lebanon, New Hampshire. (See discussion about her birth year in chap. 9 notes.)
- by May 1815 The Smith family is no longer listed on the Lebanon tax rolls and has probably moved to Norwich, Vermont. The seasons of 1814, 1815, and 1816, unnaturally cold because of volcanic dust, cause crop failure.
- 15 Mar. 1816 Norwich town authorities formally "warn out" the Joseph Smith family, a device for moving indigent arrivals into another jurisdiction; these writs had to be issued within a year of a family's arrival. For dating problems caused by this document, see Vogel 1:222-68. Joseph Smith Sr. reports his third vision: images in a garden bowing to him.
- 25 Mar. 1816 Don Carlos is born at Norwich, Vermont, the tenth child and seventh (or eighth) son of Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith.
- Fall 1816 Joseph Sr. moves to Palmyra, Ontario (now Wayne) County, New York.

## CHRONOLOGY

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| Jan. 1817           | Lucy and the children follow Joseph Sr. to Palmyra. They live in a small house on Main Street.   |
| Apr. 1817           | Joseph Smith Sr.'s name appears on a Palmyra road list.  |
| 6 May 1817          | Howard Coray is born in Stueben County, New York, to Silas Coray and Mary Stephens Coray.  |
| 26 June 1817        | George A. Smith is born to John Smith and Clarissa Lyman Smith. He is eleven and a half years younger than Joseph Jr.  |
| May 1818            | Joseph Smith Sr. reports his sixth vision—being locked out of the building on the day of judgement.  |
| 1819                | Joseph Sr. reports his seventh vision—of the peddler who will tell him what one thing he lacks for salvation.  |
| Apr. 1819-Apr. 1820 | The Smiths live in a small cabin on Samuel Jennings's property just north of the Palmyra/Manchester township line.   |
| 1820                | Traditional date of a revival in the Palmyra area and Joseph Smith's first vision.   |
| 3 June 1821         | Martha Jane Knowlton is born at Covington, Boone County, Kentucky.   |
| July 1821           | Joseph Sr. and Alvin contract for their land in Manchester.  |
| 18 July 1821        | The Smiths' youngest child, Lucy, is born at Palmyra.  |
| 1822                | The Smiths build their cabin on the Manchester farm and move into it before July 1823 when their tax assessment increases markedly.  |
| 2 July 1822         | Zachariah Seymour, the Evertson land agent, dies.  |
| July 1823           | The Smiths mark their third harvest since contracting for their farm.  |
| 21 Sept. 1823       | Moroni visits Joseph Jr. three times the same night.   |
| 22 Sept. 1823       | As Joseph Jr. leaves the field where he has been working with his father and brothers, Moroni repeats the message and tells him to inform his father. Joseph recounts his experience to the entire family. He makes his first visit to the Hill Cumorah. Moroni tells him to return with Alvin the next year. <sup>2</sup> |

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2. D. Michael Quinn has made the most thorough effort of which I am aware to reconstruct what happened at each of Joseph Jr.'s visits to the Hill Cumorah between 1823 and 1827. (See *Early*, 160-67.) This chronology follows his reconstruction for the four visits, echoing all of his warnings about its tentativeness, because it is most useful in explaining what Lucy does (and especially does not) say. She apparently did not know about all of these annual visits.

## CHRONOLOGY

- 19 Nov. 1823      Alvin dies of an overdose of calomel soon after beginning work on the new frame house.
- 20 Nov. 1823      Dr. Gain C. Robinson, owner of Palmyra's first drug store, notes receiving a \$3.00 fee for "Joseph Smith visit."
- 17 May 1824      A new land agent, John Greenwood, is given power of attorney in Canandaigua.
- 22 Sept. 1824      Joseph Jr. makes his second visit to the Hill Cumorah without Alvin. Quinn suggests that Lucy's details—about the plates' disappearance when he puts them on the ground—actually happened during the first visit.
- 29 Sept. 1824      Joseph Smith Sr. publishes a paid advertisement in the *Wayne Sentinel* for six weeks, announcing that he dug up Alvin's body on 25 September, disproving rumors that someone had mutilated or dismembered the body. The advertisement also runs on 6, 13, 20, 27 October and 3 November 1824.
- Fall 1824-Spring 1825      Baptists and Presbyterians collaborate in a lengthy and effective revival. Lucy, in an X'd out passage, talks about the "great revival" after Alvin's death, then the effort to effect an interdenominational union (chap. 21). Lucy, Sophronia, Hyrum, and Samuel become Presbyterian.
- 22 Sept. 1825      Joseph Jr. makes his third visit to the Hill Cumorah. Either he was alone or, Quinn suggests, he may have taken Samuel Lawrence with him and Moroni refused to appear.
- Oct. 1825      Josiah Stowell/Stoal, of Chenango County, New York, hires Joseph Jr. to look for a Spanish treasure mine in Pennsylvania. Joseph boards at the home of Isaac Hale at Harmony and meets Emma.
- Oct.-Nov. 1825      The frame house begun by Alvin is completed and the family moves in.
- 1 Nov. 1825      Joseph Sr., Joseph Jr., and seven others sign "Articles of Agreement" for a treasure-seeking company in Harmony, Pennsylvania.
- 17 Nov. 1825      The company disbands. Joseph Jr. lives with Josiah Stowell during the winter of 1825-26, probably doing farm work in exchange for his board, and attending school.
- Dec. 1825      John Greenwood sells the Smith farm to a group of three men because the family's payments are in arrears. The new titleholders agree on 15 December to let Hyrum try to raise \$1,000.



## C H R O N O L O G Y

- 20 Dec. 1825 Quaker Lemuel Durfee Sr. takes over ownership of the farm and house and allows the family to live there until the spring of 1828 in exchange for Samuel's labor.
- 20 Mar. 1826 Joseph Jr. is summoned to a judicial hearing at South Bainbridge, New York. Peter G. Bridgeman, Josiah Stowell's nephew, charges him with being a "disorderly" person. Joseph Sr. is a witness.
- 22 Sept. 1826 Joseph Jr. makes his fourth visit to the Hill Cumorah. Moroni tells him that if he meets the Lord's requirement he can have the plates next year. From his seer stone, Joseph learns that he should bring Emma Hale with him.
- Fall 1826 Joseph Jr. and Samuel Lawrence go to Pennsylvania where Joseph proposes to Emma Hale and is rebuffed by Isaac Hale.
- 2 Nov. 1826 Hyrum Smith marries Jerusha Barden.
- Nov. 1826 Joseph farms for Joseph Knight Sr. of Colesville and becomes close friends with Newel Knight.
- 18 Jan. 1827 Joseph Jr. and Emma are married by "Squire Tarbill" [Zachariah Tarbell] at South Bainbridge without her father's permission. They go to Manchester and work on the family farm for the next spring and summer.
- 16 Apr. 1827 Lemuel Durfee notes that Samuel H. Smith begins working seven months to pay him for the Smith family's continued residence on their farm.
- Aug. 1827 Joseph gets Emma's possessions from Harmony.
- 20 Sept. 1827 Josiah Stowell and Joseph Knight Sr. visit the Smith family, perhaps in anticipation of Joseph Jr.'s receiving the plates on the 22nd.
- 16 Sept. 1827 Lovina Smith, Hyrum and Jerusha's oldest daughter, is born.
- 22 Sept. 1827 Soon after midnight, Joseph Jr. and Emma take Joseph Knight's wagon to the Hill Cumorah where Joseph receives the plates while Emma prays.
- Oct.-Nov. 1827 The family exerts considerable ingenuity to keep the plates from the mob.
- Dec. 1827 Alva Hale arrives from Harmony and takes Joseph and Emma back with him, carrying the plates concealed in a barrel of beans. Martin Harris remembers the date of the move as the last of October or first of November; Joseph Knight recalls it as November.
- 30 Dec. 1827 Sophronia marries Calvin Stoddard at Palmyra.

## CHRONOLOGY

- Dec. 1827-Feb. 1828 Emma and Reuben Hale act as scribes. Joseph refuses to show Isaac Hale the plates. Joseph and Emma move into a small house behind the Hale farm.
- ca. Jan. 1828 Martin Harris and Hyrum go to Harmony to visit Joseph Jr. and get a transcript of some Book of Mormon characters. Mrs. Lucy ("Dolly") Harris, enraged that Martin went without her, arranges for her future son-in-law, Flanders Dykes, to copy Martin's transcript.
- ca. Feb. 1828 Martin and Dolly Harris visit Joseph Jr. in Harmony for about two weeks. Martin takes Mrs. Harris home, then returns.
- Feb. 1828 Martin Harris takes a transcript of Book of Mormon characters to New York City and shows them to Professor Charles Anthon, Columbia University.
- 12 Apr. 1828 Martin Harris acts as scribe for Joseph and completes 116 pages.
- 14 June 1828 Martin Harris persuades Joseph to let him show the 116 pages to his family.
- 15 June 1828 Alvin, firstborn of Joseph and Emma, dies a few hours after birth.
- ca. 7 July 1828 Joseph goes to Manchester and learns that Martin Harris has lost the 116 transcribed pages. The Urim and Thummim are taken from him but returned a few days later. Joseph receives two chastising revelations (D&C 3 and D&C 10; the latter is dated as late summer 1828 in HC and as May 1829 in the Book of Commandments).
- 11 Sept. 1828 Dr. Gain Robinson notes medicine and consultation "for Boy Harrison." Hyrum has been caring for the younger children.
- after 22 Sept. 1828 Joseph Sr. and Lucy visit Joseph Jr. and Emma at Harmony and have a cordial visit with the Hales. They return home to find that Sophronia and Samuel have been very ill.
- 22 Sept. 1828 Joseph Jr. begins translating again using either the Urim and Thummim or (more probably) his seer stone.
- ca. Oct. 1828 Oliver Cowdery is hired to teach school at Manchester and boards with the Smith family.
- Feb. 1829 Joseph Sr. and Samuel Smith visit Joseph and Emma at Harmony; Samuel may have acted as scribe during this visit. Joseph Jr. receives a revelation for his father, now D&C 4.
- Apr. 1829 The Smith family moves from the frame house into their for-

## CHRONOLOGY

- mer cabin, now occupied by Hyrum and Jerusha Smith. Their daughter Lovina is now about eighteen months old and Jerusha is pregnant with Mary, who will be born in June. Lemuel Durfee Sr.'s daughter, Mary Durfee Nichols, and her husband Roswell move into the frame house.
- 1 Apr. 1829      Oliver Cowdery and Samuel Smith leave the Smith home in Manchester on foot and reach Joseph's and Emma's home in Harmony, Pennsylvania, on 5 April.
- 6 Apr. 1829      Joseph buys 13.5 acres from Isaac Hale, securing title on 25/26 August 1830.
- 7 Apr. 1829      Oliver Cowdery begins his work as Joseph's scribe.
- 15 May 1829      Joseph and Oliver, in response to revelation, baptize each other, then Samuel. This is the traditional date of John the Baptist's restoration of the Aaronic priesthood. Samuel's baptism date is also given as 25 May (HC 1:44) during a second visit. He returns home and reports Joseph's "success."
- 25 May 1829      Hyrum visits Joseph Jr. and Emma in Harmony, followed by Joseph Knight Sr., who brings them provisions, plus a pair of shoes, lined paper, and \$3. About this time, Lucy Harris initiates a hearing before the magistrate at Lyons, county seat of Wayne County (organized in 1823). Lucy Smith remembers this event as after August 1829 with Oliver still acting as Joseph's scribe and when Joseph was on the point of moving to the Whitmer home; however, the move came about 1 June 1829 and the translation was finished before August. Martin Harris dates this legal hearing in March.
- 1 June 1829      David Whitmer arrives to take Joseph and Oliver to his father's house in Fayette township, New York.
- 3 June 1829      The translation of the Book of Mormon recommences and is finished by the month's end.
- 11 June 1829      Joseph Jr. copyrights the Book of Mormon.
- late June 1829      Oliver Cowdery baptizes Hyrum Smith in Seneca Lake. David and Peter Whitmer are baptized.
- 21/28 June 1829      Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer (who remembered that it was a Sunday), and Martin Harris become, at their request, the Three Witnesses.
- 22/23 June or 29/  
30 June 1829      The Eight Witnesses sign their statement that they have seen and "hefted" the plates. Joseph Jr. returns the plates to Moroni at Manchester.

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- 27 June 1829 Mary, the second child and second daughter of Hyrum and Jerusha Smith, is born.
- ca. late June 1829 Traditional date for the restoration of the Melchizedek priesthood by Peter, James, and John.
- 17 June 1829 Jesse Smith, answering a letter from his nephew Hyrum Smith, violently repudiates Mormonism's claims and calls "a fool story" the report that Joseph Sr. has a "wand or rod" like the Egyptian magicians.
- 29 June 1829 Lucy recalls this Monday as the day on which Joseph Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, and possibly others contracted with E. B. Grandin to publish the Book of Mormon.
- 30 June 1829 All of the Whitmer party except Peter Whitmer return to Wayne County.
- 1 July 1829 Alexander McIntyre warns Joseph Jr. that a mob is waiting to waylay him on his way to Palmyra to sign the contract. Joseph disarms them by his polite greeting.
- July 1829 Oliver Cowdery begins making an entire second copy.
- ca. 15 Aug. 1829 John H. Gilbert begins typesetting the Book of Mormon with the assistance of John H. Bortles on the press.
- 25 Aug. 1829 E. B. Grandin, after once refusing to print Book of Mormon, agrees when Martin Harris mortgages his farm for the full amount of \$3,000 for 5,000 copies. Grandin buys more type that winter.
- Summer 1829 Solomon Chamberlain takes sixty-four printed but unbound pages and goes on a mission of 800 miles through Canada.
- 1 Oct. 1829 Samuel leaves on a mission to Livonia, New York.
- 4 Oct. 1829 Joseph Jr. arrives back at Harmony, Pennsylvania, from Manchester.
- 6 Nov. 1829 Oliver Cowdery at Manchester writes to Joseph Jr. at Harmony, reporting that he has copied the Book of Mormon manuscript up to Alma 36 and that the printing is continuing slowly.
- 9 Dec. 1829 Abner Cole, using the name Obediah Dogberry, announces in his new weekly *Palmyra Reflector* (first issued on 2 September), that he will publish sections of the Book of Mormon. Extracts appear on 2, 11, 13, and 22 January 1830.
- 28 Dec. 1829 A letter from Oliver Cowdery to Joseph Jr. says that Joseph Sr. is coming immediately to get Joseph Jr. to stop the pirating.

## C H R O N O L O G Y

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| late Jan. 1830   | Joseph Jr. returns to Manchester to force Cole to stop publishing extracts from the Book of Mormon.   |
| 10 Mar. 1830     | A Presbyterian committee calls on Lucy, Hyrum, and Samuel about their eighteen months of nonattendance. Lucy apparently misremembers this visit as occurring the previous fall.   |
| 19 Mar. 1830     | The completed Book of Mormon is advertised for sale in this and the next three issues of the <i>Wayne Sentinel</i> : 2, 9, and 26 March. The complete run of 5,000 copies is not finished until the summer of 1831.   |
| 22 Mar. 1830     | Eunice Stoddard, the first child of Sophronia Smith Stoddard and Calvin Stoddard, is born at Palmyra and dies in infancy.   |
| 29 Mar. 1830     | Lucy, Hyrum, and Samuel H. Smith are suspended from the Presbyterian church for nonattendance.  |
| 6 Apr. 1830      | Joseph Smith organizes the "Church of Christ"; the traditional site is the Peter Whitmer Sr. home in Fayette township, but other evidence suggests Manchester as the site. Joseph Sr. and possibly Lucy are baptized on this date.  |
| 9 June 1830      | The first church conference is held at the Whitmer home in Fayette with about thirty present; eleven are baptized, including three of Joseph's siblings and Jerusha Barden Smith. Joseph Sr., Hyrum, and Samuel Smith are ordained.   |
| 27-28 June 1830  | Joseph Jr. visits the Knights at Colesville. A mob gathers and prevents baptisms. Early on the 28th, they baptize thirteen, including Emma.   |
| ca. 30 June 1830 | Joseph Jr. is arrested at Colesville after performing some Knight family baptisms and taken before the Chenango County justice for disorderly conduct on 1 July. He is defended by James Davidson and John Reid and acquitted at midnight, immediately rearrested by a constable from Broome County, taken fifteen miles to another trial, and again acquitted. |
| 30 June 1830     | Samuel goes on another mission to Livonia, New York, where Alva Beman and Joseph Noble live.  |
| 1 July 1830      | Samuel Smith leaves a Book of Mormon with Rhoda Young Greene, wife of minister John P. Greene and sister of Brigham Young.  |
| early July 1830  | Joseph Jr. and Oliver Cowdery return to Colesville to complete the confirmations but have to flee from a mob through an exhausting and frightening night in the woods. Some   |

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scholars identify the next morning as the time they received the Melchizedek priesthood from Peter, James, and John.

- Aug. 1830      Oliver Cowdery at the Whitmer home in Fayette commands Joseph Jr. to change D&C 20:37; Joseph persuades the members that he is right.
- 16 Aug. 1830      Joseph Sr. appears before Justice Nathan Pierce representing Hyrum, who is charged with an outstanding debt by Levi Daggett.
- late Aug. 1830      Joseph Sr. and Don Carlos visit Joseph Sr.'s relatives in Potsdam and Stockholm, New York, for a week, taking Joseph's father Asael Sr. a copy of the Book of Mormon.
- 31 Aug. 1830      Hyrum arrives in Fayette, bringing with him Parley P. Pratt, who has been converted by a borrowed Book of Mormon.
- Sept. 1830      Joseph and Emma move from Harmony to the Whitmer home at Fayette with Newel Knight's help.
- 1 Sept. 1830      Oliver Cowdery baptizes Parley P. Pratt.
- 19 Sept. 1830      Parley P. Pratt baptizes his brother Orson at Canaan, New York; it is Orson's nineteenth birthday.
- 26-28 Sept. 1830      The second conference meets at Fayette with sixty-two members. After much disagreement about Hiram Page's revelations received through a seer stone, Joseph Jr. receives D&C 28 designating him as the only person to receive revelation for the church.
- late Sept. 1830      Joseph Sr. and Don Carlos return from their visit to Asael Smith and other relatives.
- late Sept. 1830      Joseph Jr. and Emma visit Joseph Sr. and Lucy at Manchester; Joseph receives a revelation for Hyrum to move his family to Colesville and for Joseph Sr. to prepare a place at Waterloo for his own family.
- 28 Sept. 1830      Levi Daggett swears out a warrant for Hyrum's arrest for a debt of \$21.07; it is returned on 26 October stating that neither Hyrum nor any of his property can be found. This may be the nighttime invasion that Lucy describes in which William routs the intruders.
- 7 Oct. 1830      Joseph Sr. is arrested for debt and jailed for thirty days.
- 10 Oct. 1830      Sunday: Samuel Smith is able to visit Joseph Sr. in prison but cannot effect his release to the jail yard.
- 14 Oct. 1830      Hyrum has moved to Colesville by this date.

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- ca. 17 Oct. 1830 Joseph Jr., in Waterloo, receives D&C 32, instructing Parley P. Pratt, Ziba Peterson, Oliver Cowdery, and Peter Whitmer to go on a mission to Native Americans on the Missouri frontier. Before the month's end, they are preaching at Kirtland, Ohio, with notable success. Soon after the missionaries' departure, Samuel moves Lucy and the younger children (Joseph Sr. is still in jail) to Waterloo, New York.
- 21 Oct. 1830 Joseph Jr., in Fayette, dictates Moses 5:43-51 (PGP).
- 26 Oct. 1830 A writ against Hyrum for a debt owed to Alexander McIntyre is returned; the officer failed to find either Hyrum or any attachable property.
- ca. Oct.-Nov. 1830 Emma, who is pregnant with twins, exhausts herself in helping to prepare the missionaries' clothing and is ill for four weeks.
- 4 Nov. 1830 Orson Pratt comes to Fayette to meet Joseph (D&C 34).
- 7 Dec. 1830 Joseph Jr. and Emma come to Waterloo for a preaching meeting at Lucy's home.
- 10 Dec. 1830 Sidney Rigdon and Edward Partridge come from Ohio to Waterloo to meet Joseph Jr. (Vogel gives the date as about 7 December.)
- 11 Dec. 1830 Joseph baptizes Edward Partridge.
- 14 Dec. 1830 Joseph Sr., released from prison, joins his family at Waterloo. (If he was arrested in early October, he should have been released in early November after serving a thirty-day sentence. Either Lucy has misremembered the date of the arrest, the term of imprisonment, or the date of his release.)
- Dec. 1830 At a conference Joseph Jr. announces a revelation that the church must move to Kirtland (D&C 36:3).
- 6 Jan. 1831 Lucy writes from Waterloo to her brother, Solomon Mack, and his wife, explaining the Book of Mormon and the Mormon restoration.
- 8 Jan. 1831 According to Lucy's date (chap. 9), Katharine Smith marries Wilkins Jenkins Salisbury, probably at Waterloo. (George A. Smith dates the marriage as 8 June, making the probable location Kirtland.)
- by 15 Jan. 1831 John Whitmer arrives at Kirtland to preside over the branch there.
- 24 Jan. 1831 Joseph and Emma with Sidney Rigdon, Edward Partridge,



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and Joseph (not Newel) Knight Sr. leave for Ohio, arriving 1 February.

- 4 Feb. 1831      Joseph Jr. advises Isaac Morley to abandon his "common stock" farm, calls Partridge to be the first bishop.
- 9 Feb. 1831      Joseph Jr. introduces the law of consecration (D&C 42).
- 21 Feb. 1831      Martin Harris's note to Grandin to pay for printing the Book of Mormon falls due.
- 3 Mar. 1831      Joseph tells Hyrum in Colesville to bring the Saints to Kirtland. Hyrum, Joseph Sr., and others move to Ohio, leaving Newel Knight to organize the Colesville Saints and Lucy to lead the Fayette Saints.
- 1/7 Apr. 1831      Martin Harris sells his 151-acre farm to Thomas Lakey for \$3,000 to cover the Book of Mormon debt. By the end of the month, he settles some property upon his wife, from whom he separates, and leads several other families to Kirtland. Hyrum Smith leads the Colesville branch to Kirtland, departing from New York before the end of April.
- 30 Apr. 1831      Emma gives birth to twins (Thaddeus and Louisa) in Kirtland. They die within three hours. She adopts John and Julia Murdock's twins, born the same day—Joseph and Julia—when the mother dies in childbirth.
- ca. 1 May 1831      Lucy leaves Waterloo with a group of about eighty Saints, bound for Kirtland. Icebound at Buffalo, they see the passage miraculously open before them. They arrive at Fairport/Kirtland about 14 May.
- ca. 1 June 1831      Joseph Sr., Lucy, and their families move to a farm a little outside Kirtland (current site of the temple).
- Winter/Spring 1831      Ezra Booth (Methodist minister), John Johnson and Mary Musselman Johnson and family, visit Joseph. Joseph heals Mary's lame arm.
- Apr./May 1831      A Mormon girl prophesies earthquakes in China.
- June 1831      Simonds Ryder joins the church because of the Chinese prophecy. Luke S. Johnson, Robert Raftburn, and Sidney Rigdon go on missions throughout Ohio.
- 3-6 June 1831      At the fourth general conference of the church, held at Kirtland, about 200 attend. Among the mission assignments, Hyrum is commanded to go to Missouri by way of Detroit. Samuel Smith and Reynolds Cahoon are instructed to be companions.

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| 19 June 1831         | Joseph Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Martin Harris, Edward Partridge, W. W. Phelps, Joseph Coe, and A. S. Gilbert go to Missouri. About this time, Lucy and Almira Mack accompany Hyrum, Lyman Wight, John Corrill, and John Murdock north to Pontiac and Detroit, Michigan, on their way to Missouri.                           |
| 28 June-25 July 1831 | The Colesville Saints leave Thompson, Ohio, and arrive at Kaw Township, Missouri.  |
| late July 1831       | Lucy returns to Kirtland.  |
| 3 Aug. 1831          | Sidney Rigdon dedicates the temple site at Independence, Missouri.   |
| 9 Aug. 1831          | Joseph Jr. and ten others leave Independence to return to Kirtland. About this time, Samuel and Reynolds Cahoon return from their mission to Missouri.   |
| 27 Aug. 1831         | Joseph Jr. and his party reach Kirtland.   |
| 12 Sept. 1831        | Joseph Jr. and family move into the John Johnson home in Hiram, Ohio (about thirty miles southeast of Kirtland), where he and Sidney Rigdon work on translating the Bible. A conference authorizes W. W. Phelps to buy a press and type for the <i>Evening and the Morning Star</i> , to be published at Independence. |
| 29 Oct. 1831         | Joseph Jr. receives a revelation at Hiram, Ohio, for Samuel Smith and William E. McLellin to serve a mission.  |
| 31 Oct. 1831         | Orson Hyde is baptized at Kirtland, Ohio, by Sidney Rigdon.  |
| 1-12 Nov. 1831       | Four special conferences are held. The conference at Hiram, Ohio, votes to publish 10,000 copies of the Book of Commandments.  |
| 20 Nov. 1831         | Oliver Cowdery and John Whitmer take the revelations to Missouri for printing.   |
| 3 Dec. 1831          | Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Jr. preach throughout Ohio until 10 January 1832 to counteract Ezra Booth's anti-Mormon articles.   |
| 27 Dec. 1831         | Samuel and William McLellin return from their mission.   |
| 25 Jan. 1832         | Joseph Jr. receives a revelation at Amherst, Ohio, instructing Samuel Smith and Orson Hyde to serve a mission to the East.   |
| 8 Mar. 1832          | Jesse Gause and Sidney Rigdon are ordained counselors in the presidency of the high priesthood.  |
| 24-25 Mar. 1832      | Joseph Jr. is tarred by a dozen men who break his tooth and  |

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John Johnson Sr.'s collar bone. Sidney Rigdon is beaten, dragged outside, and left in the cold. He is concussed and delirious.

- 29 Mar. 1832      Joseph Murdock Smith dies of complications from exposure during mobbing.
- 2 Apr. 1832      Joseph leaves Hiram, Ohio, for Missouri with Newel K. Whitney, Peter Whitmer, and Jesse Gause. Emma, turned away by Elizabeth Ann Whitney's aunt, finds herself with no place to stay.
- 9 Apr. 1832      Brigham Young is baptized, confirmed, and ordained an elder at Mendon, New York, followed by Joseph Young and Heber C. Kimball.
- 9/12 Apr. 1832   Elizabeth Salisbury, the oldest child of Katharine Smith Salisbury and Wilkins J. Salisbury, is born at Lebanon, Madison County, New York.
- 12 Apr. 1832      Maria Stoddard, the second and last child of Sophronia Smith Stoddard and Calvin Stoddard, is born at Kirtland.
- 24 Apr. 1832      Joseph Jr. arrives at Independence, Missouri.
- 1 May 1832        A council at Independence authorizes W. W. Phelps to publish 3,000 copies of the Book of Commandments and Emma's hymnal.
- May 6-June 1832   Joseph, Sidney Rigdon, and Newel K. Whitney take the stage from Independence. When Whitney's leg is broken, Joseph stays with him in Greenville, Indiana, for four weeks.
- 29 May 1832      Mary, daughter of Hyrum and Jerusha Smith, dies a month before her third birthday.
- June 1832        Joseph reaches Kirtland; he spends most of the summer at Hiram translating the Bible, completing the New Testament in July.
- 5 July 1832      Sidney Rigdon claims that the "keys of the kingdom" have departed unless the Saints build him a house. Joseph explains that he holds the keys irrevocably, and a court delivers Sidney to the buffetings of Satan. Lucy places this event about three months too early.
- 20 July 1832      Frederick G. Williams works as Joseph's scribe until January 1836.
- 1 Aug. 1832      Jesse Gause and Zebedee Coltrin take a mission for the East. Coltrin, ill, returns on 19 August. Gause disappears; his name is replaced in church records by Frederick G. Williams.

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- 22 Sept. 1832 John, third child and first son of Hyrum and Jerusha Smith, is born. He later becomes a long-serving patriarch to the church.
- Oct. 1832 Joseph Jr., Emma (eight months pregnant with Joseph III), and Julia move into the upper floor of the Whitney and Gilbert store. Joseph leaves for New York.
- 6 Nov. 1832 Joseph III is born at Kirtland the day after Joseph Jr.'s return.
- 8 Nov. 1832 Brigham Young, Joseph Young, and Heber C. Kimball arrive at Kirtland from Mendon, New York.
- Nov. 1832 Joseph begins writing his personal history. This first six-page draft contains the earliest account of the first vision.
- 1833 Brigham Young, Joseph Young, and Heber C. Kimball go on a mission to Kingston, Ontario, Canada, where they organize three branches.
- Jan. 1833 Jared Carter goes on a mission to Michigan where he baptizes many of the people whom Lucy taught in the summer of 1831. (This may be a second mission since David Dort's record shows that he was baptized in 1831; however, Samuel Bent, the Presbyterian deacon, was baptized in January 1833.)
- 22-23 Jan. 1833 At a conference of elders, Joseph Jr. speaks in tongues and institutes the ordinance of washing feet. Joseph Sr. gives him a blessing.
- Lucy describes a private family meeting about this time at which Joseph Jr. washes his brothers' feet; they speak in tongues and send a messenger for Lucy. She abandons her bread unbaked to join them.
- 24 Jan. 1833 The School of the Prophets begins.
- 2 Feb. 1833 Joseph starts on his revision of the Old Testament.
- 27 Feb. 1833 Joseph receives the Word of Wisdom.
- 14 Feb. 1833 William Smith marries Caroline Grant. They have two daughters, birth dates not known to me: Mary Jane and Caroline L.
- 8 Mar. 1833 Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams are ordained as counselors in the First Presidency in a meeting of the School of the Prophets.
- 18 Apr. 1833 About 300 old settlers in Independence plan to eject the Mormons. There had been acts of violence as early as the spring of 1832.

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- 1 May 1833      John Smith (brother of Joseph Sr.) and family, including son George A., depart from Potsdam, New York, and arrive at Kirtland on 25 May.
- 1 June 1833      Joseph announces the construction of the Kirtland temple.
- 5 June 1833      George A. Smith hauls the first load of stone while others dig the temple foundation.
- June 1833      Doctor Philastus Hurlbut is excommunicated for adultery and begins collecting affidavits about the Smith family in New York that are published with additions by Eber D. Howe in 1834 as *Mormonism Unveiled*.
- Summer 1833      Sophronia Smith Stoddard becomes deathly ill in Kirtland but is healed by faith through the administration of Jared Carter.
- 16 July 1833      The *Evening and Morning Star* publishes an editorial on "free people of color," then retracts it when it outrages the "old settlers."
- 20 July 1833      A mob in Independence destroys the printing press, tears down Phelps's house, destroys the Book of Commandments, and tars and feathers Edward Partridge and Charles Allen.
- 23 July 1833      During a second mob attack on Independence, the Mormons agree that half will leave by 1 January 1834 and the rest in April 1834.
- 11 Sept. 1833      The Kirtland conference agrees to print the *Latter Day Saint Messenger and Advocate* there and also to transfer the *Star* to Kirtland with Oliver Cowdery as editor.
- 26 Sept. 1833      Joseph Jr. writes a lengthy doctrinal letter to his uncle, Silas Smith, on the need for continuous revelation.
- 1 Oct. 1833      Oliver Cowdery and Newel Whitney go to New York to buy a printing press.
- 5 Oct. 1833      Joseph Jr., Sidney Rigdon, and Freeman Nickerson leave Kirtland on a mission to Upper Canada.
- 19 Oct. 1833      Governor Dunklin of Missouri rejects a petition from Orson Hyde and W. W. Phelps.
- 31 Oct.-7 Nov. 1833      Mobs attack Mormon settlements in Jackson County; 1,200 flee into Clay, Ray, Van Buren, and Lafayette counties.
- 4 Nov. 1833      Joseph Jr. and party return from their Canadian mission. Probably during the fall or early winter, Joseph Jr. has his parents move into his and Emma's Kirtland home. Lucy falls,

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- suffers from inflammation of the eyes, and is healed by her faith and the administration of the elders.
- 22 Nov. 1833 Don Carlos Smith comes to live with Joseph at Kirtland to learn printing.
- 25 Nov. 1833 Orson Hyde and John Gould arrive from Missouri to report to Joseph at Kirtland.
- 1 Dec. 1833 Oliver Cowdery and Newel Whitney return from New York with a printing press.
- 13 Dec. 1833 The first issue of the *Evening and Morning Star* is printed by Oliver Cowdery.
- 18 Dec. 1833 Joseph Smith Sr. is ordained patriarch to the church by the First Presidency in an emotional meeting, the minutes of which, kept by Oliver Cowdery, include his account of the restoration of the Aaronic priesthood.
- 29 Dec. 1833 Wilford Woodruff is converted the first time he hears Zera Pulsipher and Elijah Cheney preach at Richland, New York.
- 8 Jan. 1834 Enemies in Kirtland fire thirteen rounds from a cannon at 1:00 A.M. Work on temple continues.
- 12 Feb. 1834 Martin Harris is tried before the Kirtland high priests/elders council for accusing Joseph "of not understanding the Book of Mormon, of wrestling too much, and of drinking when he was translating the Book of Mormon." Martin says Joseph did these things before the book was translated; he is forgiven.
- 17 Feb. 1834 Joseph organizes the first high council at Kirtland.
- 22 Feb. 1834 Parley P. Pratt and Lyman Wight arrive at Kirtland, destitute, having traveled all 800 miles on foot from Missouri to report conditions there.
- 24 Feb. 1834 Joseph Jr. receives a revelation (D&C 103) ordering the organization of Zion's Camp.
- 26 Feb.-28 Mar. 1834 Joseph Jr. and Parley P. Pratt go east to obtain volunteers for Zion's Camp.
- 9 Apr. 1834 Doctor Philastus Hurlbut is found guilty of threatening Joseph Jr. and is placed under a peace bond by a court in Chardon, Ohio.
- 18-22 Apr. 1834 Joseph Jr. attends conferences at New Portage and Norton, Ohio.

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- 27 Apr. 1834 Hyrum, fourth child and second son of Hyrum and Jerusha Smith, is born.
- 4 May 1834 Joseph Jr. preaches in the new (unfinished) schoolhouse west of the temple.
- 5 May 1834 Zion's Camp, with a maximum of 204 men, leaves Kirtland. It reaches Missouri, about 900 miles away, on 3 July. The men are attacked by cholera on 24 June, and Joseph Jr. disbands the camp on 25 June. Fourteen die before the outbreak ends on 28 June, including Lucy's nephew Jesse Johnson Smith, son of Asael Smith Jr., who dies 1 July 1834.
- 9 July 1834 Joseph Jr. and Hyrum start for Kirtland with Frederick G. Williams and others.
- 13 Aug. 1834 Samuel Harrison Smith marries Mary Bailey.
- 1 Sept. 1834 Joseph works as the foreman in the temple's stone quarry.
- Oct. 1834 Eber D. Howe, with affidavits by Philastus Hurlburt, publishes *Mormonism Unveiled*.
- 3 Oct. 1834 Lucy Salisbury, the second child and second daughter of Katharine Smith Salisbury and Wilkins J. Salisbury, is born at Willoughby, Lake County, Ohio (or at Lebanon, Madison County, New York).
- 16-20 Oct. 1834 Joseph Jr., Lucy, Joseph Sr., Hyrum, David Whitmer, Frederick G. Williams, Oliver Cowdery, Roger Orton, and possibly Martin Harris visit the Pontiac Branch of the church.
- 1 Dec. 1834 The School of the Elders begins studying the *Lectures on Faith*. It closes during the last week in March 1835.
- 9 Dec. 1834 At a family blessing meeting, Joseph Sr. refers to his and Lucy's firstborn dead son (Lucy later remembered this child as a daughter) and at least one occasion when he had been intoxicated. He pronounces patriarchal blessings on members of the family, recorded by Oliver Cowdery.
- 14 Feb. 1835 Twelve apostles are chosen by Three Witnesses, all from Zion's Camp: Lyman E. Johnson, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, David W. Patten, Luke S. Johnson, William E. McLellin, John F. Boynton, Orson Pratt, William Smith, Thomas B. Marsh, and Parley P. Pratt.
- 28 Feb. 1835 The Seventy are chosen from those who went on Zion's Camp. Joseph Young, Hazen Aldrich, Levi W. Hancock,



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- Sylvester Smith, Leonard Rich, Zebedee Coltrin, and Lyman Sherton are the seven presidents.
- 26 Apr. 1835 Orson Pratt and Thomas B. Marsh arrive at Kirtland and are ordained members of the Twelve.
- 4 May 1835 The Twelve leave on missions for Pennsylvania and New York.
- mid-May 1835 John Whitmer replaces Oliver Cowdery as editor of the *Messenger and Advocate*; Phelps lives with Joseph Jr. and helps him compile the Doctrine and Covenants.
- 3-5 July 1835 Michael Chandler sells Joseph Jr. four Egyptian mummies and two rolls of papyrus. Joseph identifies them as the writings of Abraham.
- 30 July 1835 Don Carlos Smith marries Agnes Coolbrith at Kirtland.
- 17 Aug. 1835 The general assembly approves the Doctrine and Covenants and also an Article on Marriage while Joseph Jr. is in Michigan.
- 14 Sept. 1835 The Kirtland High Council authorizes Joseph Smith Sr. \$10 per week for his expenses as a patriarch and the same to Frederick G. Williams as scribe; Oliver Cowdery is appointed recorder.
- mid-Sept. 1835 The Doctrine and Covenants is published.
- 18 Sept. 1835 Solomon Jenkins Salisbury, the third child and first son of Katharine Smith Salisbury and Wilkins J. Salisbury, is born at Kirtland, Geauga County, Ohio.
- 26 Sept. 1835 The Twelve return from their missions.
- 5 Oct. 1835 The second footwashing session is held. A third follows on 12 November.
- 7-11 Oct. 1835 Joseph Sr. becomes very ill with a fever. Joseph Jr. administers mild herbs; when they have no effect, Joseph Jr. administers to him with David Whitmer, rebuking the disease. Joseph Sr. "arose, dressed himself, shouted, and praised the Lord." They wake up William to sing "songs of praise" with them (HC 2:289).
- 26 Oct. 1835 Samuel is charged in Chardon with avoiding military duty, is fined \$20, and sells a cow to pay the fine.
- 27 Oct. 1835 Samuel's wife, Mary Bailey Smith, almost dies giving birth to Susanna Bailey Smith, their first child. Frederick G. Williams helps her. Joseph prays.

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- 29 Oct. 1835 Joseph Jr. and William disagree over the case of the Elliots whipping their fifteen-year-old daughter; Joseph defends the parents. When Lucy attempts to testify, Joseph objects because the matter is settled. William accuses him of doubting their mother's testimony, and the two brothers almost come to blows before Joseph Sr. and Lucy intervene.
- 30 Oct. 1835 The high council censures William.
- 31 Oct. 1835 Hyrum tries to reconcile Joseph and William. Joseph agrees to confess if William will. William starts spreading stories about Joseph, convinces Samuel. Lucy does not mention this episode.
- 8 Nov. 1835 Joseph chastises Emma for leaving a meeting before the sacrament. She weeps but says nothing.
- 24 Nov. 1835 Joseph performs his first marriage: Newel Knight and Lydia Goldthwaite.
- 12 Dec. 1835 Joseph attends a debate at William Smith's home.
- 15 Dec. 1835 Orson Hyde complains to Joseph that the temple committee store extended more lenient credit to William Smith than to him.
- 16 Dec. 1835 Joseph attends a second debate at William's and wants to end the school because the debates are too heated. William, angry, assaults Joseph.
- 17 Dec. 1835 Lucy and Joseph Sr. visit Joseph Jr. to discuss the estrangement between him and William.
- 18 Dec. 1835 William writes to Hyrum asking forgiveness for fighting with Joseph and asking to be released from his apostleship. Joseph Jr. encourages him to keep the apostleship, to control his temper, and not to judge him.
- 29 Dec. 1835 William is charged with speaking disrespectfully of Joseph and assaulting him. Joseph Smith Sr. gives fifteen patriarchal blessings.
- 1 Jan. 1836 The Smith family meets with Martin Harris to help reconcile the differences between Joseph and William. Joseph Sr. offers a powerful prayer. William confesses his faults and the two brothers ask each other's forgiveness. Lucy and Emma are brought in as witnesses.
- 2 Jan. 1836 William confesses his faults to a church court and is forgiven.
- 4 Jan. 1836 Hebrew school begins.

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- 6 Jan. 1836 William McLellin hires Joshua Seixas to teach Hebrew for seven weeks for \$320. He begins teaching 19 January.
- 13 Jan. 1836 Jerusha, fifth child and third daughter of Hyrum and Jerusha Smith, is born.
- 21 Jan. 1836 Washings and anointings begin. The First Presidency anoints Joseph Sr. with oil and blesses him as patriarch; he blesses each member; Joseph Jr. reports receiving a vision of the celestial kingdom. Anointing meetings continue through 28 January. Between 21 January and 1 May 1836, Saints see heavenly beings, hear heavenly choirs, and have other spiritual manifestations.
- Jan/Feb. 1836 *A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints*, selected by Emma, is published by Frederick G. Williams, dated 1835.
- 27-31 Mar. 1836 The Kirtland temple is dedicated with 1,000 men present for meetings that begin at 9:00 A.M. and end at 4:00 P.M. during which many spiritual manifestations occur.
- 17 May 1836 Ninety-two-year-old Mary Duty Smith, wife of Asael Smith, makes the 500-mile trip from Stockholm, New York, to Kirtland with her sons and grandchildren. Satisfied that Joseph Jr. is a prophet, she declares her intention of being baptized but dies 27 May.
- 20 June 1836 Frederick Granger Williams Smith, the fifth biological child and third son of Joseph Jr. and Emma, is born.
- 22 June 1836 Joseph Sr. and his brother John go on a mission to the East to give patriarchal blessings where they are spitefully treated by their oldest brother, Jesse.
- 29 June 1836 A mass meeting of citizens at Liberty, Missouri, mandates the peaceful departure of the Saints from Clay County. The Mormons accept this decision and begin moving into Ray County, incorporated as Caldwell County in December 1836.
- 25 July 1836 Joseph Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum, and Oliver Cowdery and companions go to Salem, Massachusetts, via Buffalo, New York City, and Boston, searching for treasure in a basement.
- 7 Aug. 1836 Agnes Charlotte Smith, the first child of Don Carlos Smith and Agnes Coolbrith Smith, is born at Kirtland.

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- 7 Sept. 1836 Calvin Stoddard dies at Kirtland. Sophronia marries William McCleary on 11 February 1838.
- Sept. 1836 Joseph Jr. and his party return to Kirtland "some time in September."
- early Oct. 1836 Joseph Sr. and John Smith return to Kirtland after their 2,400-mile trip in the East where they had visited relatives and preached.
- 2 Nov. 1836 The articles are drawn up for the Kirtland Safety Society. About this time Joseph Jr. and Martin Harris go to New York, visiting Calvin Stoddard's father, Silas, at Palmyra. Joseph reports a vision of apostasy at Kirtland.
- ca. Dec. 1836 Joseph Jr. warns that a spirit of apostasy is affecting a third of the Saints. David Whitmer and Wilford Woodruff also warn the Saints to humble themselves.
- 22 Dec. 1836 The gathering to Kirtland is stopped because of the Saints' poverty.
- 29 Dec. 1836 Missouri's governor Lilburn Boggs signs a compromise bill creating Caldwell County exclusively for Mormons.
- Winter 1836-37 Joseph Sr. conducts weekly public prayer meetings each Thursday evening in the temple.
- 2 Jan. 1837 The first meeting of stockholders of the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company is held to reorganize it from a banking society. Lucy and Joseph Sr. are among the stockholders.
- 6 Jan. 1837 The first Kirtland Safety Society banknotes begin circulating; redemption in specie stops 23 January. By 1 February the notes are discounted at one bit (12.5 cents) on the dollar.
- Jan.-Mar. 1837 The second edition (5,000 copies) of the Book of Mormon is published at Kirtland.
- 27 Mar. 1837 Mary Bailey Smith, the second child and second daughter of Samuel and Mary Bailey Smith, is born.
- 3-5 Apr. 1837 W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer are accused of buying Missouri land with church funds, then selling them to church members at a profit; witnesses include David W. Patten and Thomas B. Marsh.
- May 1837 The Panic of 1837 begins in New York; banks stop payments in Ohio by 17 May.
- 27 May 1837 Parley P. Pratt, greatly disillusioned by economic problems,

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- writes a harshly critical letter to Joseph Smith for which he later apologizes.
- 29 May 1837 Frederick G. Williams, David Whitmer, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman E. Johnson, and Warren Parrish are called to a church court, but it closes in confusion when Rigdon, Cowdery, and Williams leave. Johnson and Orson Pratt charge Joseph Jr. with misrepresentation and extortion. Dissidents meet in temple, declare that Joseph Jr. is a fallen prophet, and want to replace him with Whitmer.
- 1 June 1837 Joseph sets Heber C. Kimball apart as president of the British Mission; seven of the Twelve leave from New York 1 July. Perhaps about this time, Joseph Jr. accuses Parrish of stealing \$25,000. When Frederick G. Williams, as justice of the peace, refuses to give him a search warrant, Joseph drops him from the First Presidency.
- 4 June 1837 Perhaps on this date, at a meeting in the temple, Warren Parrish tries to drag Joseph Sr. from the stand, while John Boynton threatens to stab William Smith. Lucy says Joseph is in Cleveland; no trip to Cleveland is recorded in his history.
- 12-14 June 1837 Joseph Jr. is bedfast with an unspecified illness.
- by 7 July 1837 Joseph Jr. resigns from the Kirtland Safety Society, leaving its management to Warren Parrish and Frederick G. Williams.
- 27 July 1837 Joseph leaves for Canada, is stopped at Painesville by writs and lawsuits, then leaves by night on 28 July.
- late Aug. 1837 Joseph Jr. returns to Kirtland.
- Aug. 1837 The *Messenger and Advocate* stops publication with this issue but contains a prospectus for the *Elders' Journal*.
- 3 Sept. 1837 At a conference at Kirtland, Frederick G. Williams is not sustained as counselor. Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Smith Sr., Hyrum, and Uncle John Smith are introduced as assistant counselors and unanimously sustained. Not sustained as apostles are Luke S. Johnson, Lyman E. Johnson, and John F. Boynton.
- 10 Sept. 1837 At a meeting in the Kirtland temple, Luke and Lyman Johnson, John Boynton, and John P. Greene confess and are returned to their offices.
- 17 Sept. 1837 109 missionaries are called from Kirtland.
- 27 Sept. 1837 Joseph, Sidney Rigdon, William Smith, and Vinson Knight

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- leave for Missouri, arriving at Far West about 1 November 1837.
- Oct. 1837      The *Elders' Journal* prints its first issue, is suspended when the press is burned in December 1837, and resumes publication in Far West in July 1838.
- 2 Oct. 1837      Sarah, sixth child and fourth daughter of Hyrum and Jerusha Smith, is born.
- 13 Oct. 1837      Jerusha Barden Smith dies at Kirtland.
- 7 Nov. 1837      At a Far West conference where Joseph Jr. presides, Frederick G. Williams is replaced by Hyrum. David Whitmer is reluctantly accepted as stake president, while John Whitmer and William Phelps are sustained after confession.
- 10 Nov. 1837      Joseph Jr. leaves Far West for Kirtland.
- 10 Dec. 1837      Joseph Jr. arrives at Kirtland. The dissident movement, calling itself the "old standard" and organized as the "Church of Christ," is at its height in Kirtland. Public declarations against Joseph are made by Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, David Whitmer, John Boynton, and Warren Parrish.
- 24 Dec. 1837      Hyrum Smith marries Mary Fielding Smith.
- 5 Jan. 1838      At a conference in Far West, the Saints reject David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and W. W. Phelps as the local presidency; then the high council excommunicates Phelps and John Whitmer.
- 11 Jan. 1838      At a meeting in the home of Joseph Sr. and Lucy, Joseph Jr. gives instructions to the brethren, then assures them that his life is safe for five more years (1843).
- 12 Jan. 1838      A warrant is issued for Joseph Jr. for fraud. He flees toward Missouri with Sidney Rigdon by night. They wait at Norton, Ohio, for their families.
- 13 Jan. 1838      Luke Johnson arrests Joseph Sr. for performing a marriage without proper authority but also helps him escape. Joseph Sr. hides at Oliver Snow's for two or three weeks.
- 16 Jan. 1838      In Dublin, Indiana, Joseph Jr. stays nine days with Brigham Young, who had fled from Kirtland on 22 December. They chop wood to earn money.
- 5 Feb. 1838      A general assembly at Far West rejects David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and W. W. Phelps for Word of Wisdom violations and for profiteering from land sales.

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| ca. 7 Feb. 1838 | Joseph Sr. continues his underground existence at Brother Taylor's at New Portage, Ohio, then with Edwin D. Woolley.   |
| 11 Feb. 1838    | Sophronia Smith Stoddard marries William McCleary at Kirtland.   |
| 14 Mar. 1838    | Joseph Jr. and Emma arrive at Far West.  |
| 17 Mar. 1838    | Samuel Smith and his family arrive at Far West. Mary is four and a half months pregnant.   |
| 4 Apr. 1838     | Sidney Rigdon and his family arrive at Far West.   |
| 11-12 Apr. 1838 | Oliver Cowdery is excommunicated by the Far West high council.   |
| 13 Apr. 1838    | Charges are brought against David Whitmer, but he withdraws from the church. Luke and Lyman Johnson are excommunicated.  |
| 20 Apr. 1838    | Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde leave Liverpool after baptizing about 1,500 in nine months.  |
| 22 Apr. 1838    | Sophronia Coolbrith Smith, second of Don Carlos Smith and Agnes Coolbrith Smith's three daughters, is born at Norton, Ohio.  |
| 7 May 1838      | Lucy, Joseph Sr., and their family leave for Missouri with sixteen-year-old Lucy and accompanied by three of their married children: (1) twenty-two-year-old Don Carlos, his twenty-nine-year-old wife Agnes, and their two daughters: Agnes Charlotte, who would turn two in August, and three-week-old Sophronia; (2) thirty-five-year-old Sophronia, her six-year-old daughter Maria by Calvin Stoddard, and her second husband, forty-four-year-old William McCleary; and (3) twenty-four-year-old Katharine, who is eight months pregnant, her twenty-eight-year-old husband, Wilkins Jenkins Salisbury, and their three children: six-year-old Elizabeth, three-year-old Lucy, and two-year-old Solomon Jenkins. Joseph Jr., Hyrum, and Samuel are already in Missouri. William and Caroline apparently did not travel with the family but had apparently reached Missouri by the time they got there. |
| 11 May 1838     | William E. McLellin is tried at Far West; no verdict is recorded, but he is considered excommunicated from this time.  |
| 18 May 1838     | Joseph Jr. and his party choose the site of Adam-ondi-Ahman on the Grand River.  |
| 1 June 1838     | Joseph Jr. returns to Far West.  |



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- 2 June 1838 Emma gives birth to Alexander Hale Smith at Far West. He is her sixth biological child and fifth son.
- 4 June 1838 Joseph, Hyrum, and Sidney Rigdon leave Far West for Adam-ondi-Ahman.
- 7 June 1838 Alvin Salisbury, the fourth child and second son of Katharine Smith Salisbury and Wilkins J. Salisbury, is born en route to Missouri, about thirty-five miles from Huntsville. Lucy becomes very ill from exposure.
- 17/19 June 1838 Sidney Rigdon's "salt sermon" intensifies hostilities. The Danites are organized around this time.
- ca. 19 June 1838 Through her faith Lucy's strength is restored. Her family is reunited at Huntsville, Missouri. They reach Far West a few days later.
- 1 July 1838 About this time Joseph Jr. arranges for Joseph Sr. and Lucy to manage a large tavern he bought from Sidney Gilbert.
- 6 July 1838 Over 500 Kirtland Saints set out for Missouri; only 260 are left by the time they reach Springfield, Illinois, about the half-way point. About this time, William and Caroline Smith, both dangerously ill, are brought to Joseph Sr.'s and Lucy's home for nursing.
- 1 Aug. 1838 Samuel Harrison Bailey Smith, the third child and only son of Samuel Harrison Smith and Mary Bailey Smith, is born.
- 6 Aug. 1838 A fight between Mormons and non-Mormons at the Gallatin election near Adam-ondi-Ahman sets the scene for armed conflict. Joseph Jr. is in Far West.
- 8 Aug. 1838 Joseph Jr., Hyrum, and a large party call on Judge Adam Black in Daviess County. He writes a statement that he will support the Constitution, which he later says was extorted under duress.
- 11 Aug. 1838 Joseph leaves Far West for the Grand River to welcome a colony of Canadian Saints settling at Adam-ondi-Ahman.
- ca. 20 Aug. 1838 While Samuel is at Far West, Mary Bailey Smith is sent to Far West in a wagon during a drenching rainstorm with her newborn son and two daughters, ages one and two, by neighbors who report the prospect of mob violence. (George A. Smith dates her evacuation at about this time; Lucy recalls it as three days after the birth.) Lucy nurses her slowly back to health.
- 30 Aug. 1838 Governor Boggs orders Major General David Rice Atchison

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- to call out the militia. About this time Neil Gillum/Gillum, a militia captain, begins beating, plundering, and burning out the Saints at Hunters Mills.
- Fall 1838 Two militia companies of Mormons are organized under Alexander Doniphan in Caldwell County and Hiram G. Parks in Daviess County.
- 25 Sept. 1838 Don Carlos Smith and George A. Smith leave on a mission to Kentucky and Tennessee to raise funds for the struggling Saints in Missouri.
- 2 Oct. 1838 The Kirtland Company arrives at Far West and, on 4 October, reaches Adam-ondi-Ahman.
- 11 Oct. 1838 The Saints surrender De Witt County and evacuate to Far West. About this time, Agnes Coolbrith Smith is forced from her home by a mob, walks three miles through three inches of snow, and wades the Grand River carrying her two daughters. She takes refuge at Lyman Wight's home at Adam-ondi-Ahman.
- 25 Oct. 1838 At the Battle of Crooked River, between forces led by David W. Patten and Samuel L. Bogart, three Mormons and one non-Missourian are killed. It is reported to Boggs as a massacre.
- 27 Oct. 1838 Boggs issues an order that the Saints must leave the state or be exterminated.
- 30 Oct. 1838 The Haun's Mill Massacre leaves about eighteen Mormons dead and fifteen wounded. The militia, under General Samuel Lucas, reinforced by Neil Gillum with about 150 men, reaches Far West a little after sunrise. Samuel Bogart then joins Lucas's army.
- 31 Oct. 1838 Joseph, Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, and George W. Robinson are delivered by George Hinkle, the Far West militia colonel, to General Lucas. Given Bogart's known enmity for those who fought against him at Crooked River, Samuel Smith and several others slip out under cover of night and make their way with much hardship to Quincy, Illinois.
- 1 Nov. 1838 Hyrum and Amasa M. Lyman are arrested and put with the other prisoners.
- 2 Nov. 1838 Lucas orders Alexander W. Doniphan to execute Joseph and Hyrum. Doniphan refuses. Lucy and her daughter Lucy bid goodbye to Joseph and Hyrum at Far West, and they are

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driven to Independence. Joseph Sr. collapses with grief and anxiety.

- 9 Nov. 1838 Joseph Jr., Hyrum, and the five other prisoners are taken to Richmond, Ray County, where they are held in chains.
- 13 Nov. 1838 Joseph F. Smith, first child of Hyrum and Mary Fielding Smith, is born at Far West; he is Hyrum's seventh child.
- 23-28 Nov. 1838 At the Richmond judicial proceeding, presided over by Judge Austin A. King, of the eighty arrested by General John B. Clark at Far West, fifty-three are taken to court. Joseph, Hyrum, Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin, Alexander McRae, and Sidney Rigdon are sent to Liberty Jail; Parley P. Pratt, Morris Phelps, Luman Gibbs, Darwin Chase, and Norman Shearer are jailed at Richmond. The others are released.
- 1 Dec. 1838 Imprisonment at Liberty Jail begins.
- 25 Dec. 1838 Don Carlos Smith and George A. Smith return to Missouri from their mission, traveling the last hundred miles on foot and partly at night to avoid a mob.
- 21 Jan. 1839 Emma takes Hyrum's wife Mary and her baby, Joseph F., to visit Joseph Jr. and Hyrum at Liberty Jail. It is Emma's third visit. Mercy Fielding Thompson (Mary Fielding Smith's sister), Mercy's own eight-month-old baby, and Joseph III also were in the group.
- 5 Feb. 1839 Sidney Rigdon, who was ordered discharged from jail, leaves by night. Phebe, after accompanying him on the first leg of the journey, returns to Far West for the children, meeting Sidney at Tinney's Grove a few days later.
- 7 Feb. 1839 With the aid of Stephen Markham, Emma starts from Far West with her four children. She reaches Quincy, Illinois, on 15 February.
- 15 Feb. 1839 Lucy and her family—apparently the same family group that had come to Missouri—leave Far West for Illinois.
- 21 Feb. 1839 Lucy and her family reach the swampy banks of the Mississippi in continual storms of snow, sleet, and rain. Samuel and Seymour Brunson take them across the river to Quincy on 22 February. Back in Far West, a committee is appointed to sell Joseph's and Lucy's tavern to a buyer from Clay County.
- ca. 28 Feb. 1839 Samuel moves his family from the crowded dwelling where Joseph Sr., Lucy, and his sisters are living. About this time, Lucy's and Joseph's daughter Lucy becomes very sick. Mother Lucy, while nursing daughter Lucy, becomes pain-

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- fully ill with cholera but is cured through the herbal remedies of a botanic physician.
- 17 Mar. 1839      Brigham Young presides at a conference at Quincy, Illinois. George Hinkle, Sampson Avard, John Correll, Reed Peck, W. W. Phelps, Frederick G. Williams, Thomas B. Marsh, Burr Riggs, and others are excommunicated.
- 25 Mar. 1839      Howard Coray and other members of his family are baptized in Pike County, Illinois.
- 6 Apr. 1839      Joseph, Hyrum, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae, and Caleb Baldwin are transferred to Gallatin Jail.
- 9-11 Apr. 1839      At Gallatin, Daviess County, in a grand jury hearing presided over by Thomas Birch, the prisoners are ordered transferred to Boone County.
- 11 Apr. 1839      In a letter to Joseph Jr. and Hyrum, Don Carlos reports that his mother and sister Lucy are on the mend.
- 15 Apr. 1839      Joseph, Hyrum, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae, and Caleb Baldwin begin their journey to Boone County. They are allowed to escape that night.
- 21 Apr. 1839      Lucy receives spiritual assurance that Joseph and Hyrum will reach Quincy the next day and prophesies as much to Edward Partridge. That night she sees them in a vision, sleeping on the prairie without blankets or food.
- 22 Apr. 1839      Joseph, Hyrum, and the three other escapees reach Quincy, Illinois.
- 25 Apr. 1839      Joseph chooses Commerce and Montrose as the future gathering places for the Saints.
- 26 Apr. 1839      Members of the Twelve (Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John E. Page, and John Taylor) meet in Far West, lay the cornerstone of the temple, and ordain Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith apostles.
- 1 May 1839      The Saints purchase their first land in Commerce, a 135-acre farm, from Hugh White for \$5,000, plus forty-seven "unimproved" acres from Isaac Galland. Later, additional hundreds of acres are purchased from Daniel H. Wells, Hiram Kimball, Davidson Hibbard, and the firm of Horace R. Hotchkiss.
- 10 May 1839      Joseph Jr., Emma, and their four children move into the Homestead, a two-story, four-room log cabin purchased from

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- Hugh White about a mile south of Commerce. Joseph Sr. and Lucy live in a lean-to built on this cabin.
- 16 May 1839 By this date, Don Carlos and Samuel (and presumably Jenkins Salisbury) have moved to the George Miller property near Macombe, McDonough County, Illinois.
- June 1839 Don Carlos Smith, using the printing press that W. W. Phelps had employed in Missouri, begins to set up the *Times and Seasons*.
- July 1839 Joseph Smith Sr. is sick all summer. Joseph Jr. also becomes ill but is healed by Emma's herbal remedies.
- mid-July 1839 Great numbers of the Saints become ill, with new cases occurring daily. About this time, William takes Hyrum's daughter Lovina, who is ill, home to Plymouth with him. Lucy and her daughter Lucy go to nurse her in mid-summer. Daughter Lucy becomes ill again.
- 22 July 1839 Joseph Jr., rising from his sickbed, begins administering to the sick; he and other elders heal many.
- 8 Aug. 1839 The Twelve are called to another mission in England and leave as they are able over the next six weeks.
- 13 Sept. 1839 Silas Smith, brother of Joseph Sr., dies.
- 13-14 Sept. 1839 Joseph Jr. visits William Smith at Plymouth. His sister Lucy is healed at the sound of his voice downstairs.
- 29 Oct. 1839 Joseph Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Elias Higbee, and Orrin Porter Rockwell leave for Washington, D.C.
- 15 Nov. 1839 The first issue of the *Times and Seasons* is published at Nauvoo.
- 21 Dec. 1839 Joseph Jr. reaches Philadelphia and preaches there for a week; then he and Orson Pratt go to New Jersey, return to Philadelphia on 9 January 1840, then return to Washington on 5 February for a short time. Joseph Sr. is bedfast and terminally ill. Lucy assures him by the Spirit that he will not die without his children around him.
- Jan. 1840 Martha Jane Knowlton, a Campbellite, becomes the first member of her family to be baptized Mormon, John E. Page officiating.
- 21 Jan. 1840 Martha Jane Knowlton receives her patriarchal blessing at Nauvoo from Joseph Smith Sr., in Lucy's presence.
- 4 Mar. 1840 Joseph Jr. returns to Nauvoo.

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| 15-16 Apr. 1840     | A general conference at Preston, England, for 1,686 members authorizes the publication of a hymnbook and the <i>Latter-day Saints Millennial Star</i> edited by Parley P. Pratt.                                 |
| Apr. 1840           | Howard Coray begins clerking for Joseph Smith Jr.  |
| May 1840            | Don Carlos Smith and Robert Thompson serve a mission to Philadelphia.  |
| June 1840           | Joseph Jr. breaks Howard Coray's leg in a playful scuffle and promises him that he will find a suitable companion.   |
| 4 June 1840         | Lucy Smith (daughter) marries Arthur Millikin.   |
| 13 June 1840        | Emma gives birth to Don Carlos Smith at Nauvoo. He is her seventh biological child and sixth son.  |
| July 1840           | Howard Coray sees Martha Jane Knowlton at a preaching service in Nauvoo and makes her acquaintance.  |
| 25 July 1840        | Dr. John C. Bennett writes to Joseph expressing interest in Mormonism, the first of three letters written by 30 July.  |
| 14 Sept. 1840       | Joseph Sr. dies after ordaining Hyrum patriarch to the church and giving his children blessings.   |
| 15 Sept. 1840       | Robert B. Thompson preaches Joseph Sr.'s funeral sermon.   |
| Oct. 1840           | Orson Pratt in Scotland prints Joseph Smith's first vision.  |
| 3 Oct. 1840         | A conference at Nauvoo decides to build a temple, each Saint tithing his tenth-day's labor to the project.   |
| 15 Dec. 1840        | William Smith publishes a letter in the <i>Times and Seasons</i> defending himself for refusing to serve further missions.   |
| 16 Dec. 1840        | Governor Thomas Carlin signs the Nauvoo Charter, effective 1 February 1841. It was written by Joseph Jr., John C. Bennett, and Robert B. Thompson; Bennett pushes it through the legislature in twenty-one days. |
| "early winter" 1840 | Lucy, visiting the Knowlton family on Bear Creek, Hancock County, sprains her knee, then becomes ill with a respiratory ailment that lasts six weeks.  |
| 21/24 Jan. 1841     | Hyrum is called as assistant president in the First Presidency replacing Oliver Cowdery, while William Law replaces Hyrum as second counselor. Hyrum's ordination as Patriarch to the Church is confirmed.       |
| 25 Jan. 1841        | Lucy Bailey Smith, the fourth child and third daughter of Samuel Harrison Smith and Mary Bailey Smith, is born about this time; Mary dies on this date.  |

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- 30 Jan. 1841 Joseph is elected sole trustee-in-trust for the church, a lifetime appointment.
- 1 Feb. 1841 The Nauvoo Charter takes effect. John C. Bennett is elected mayor with aldermen Samuel H. Smith, Daniel H. Wells, and Newel K. Whitney. The city council consists of Joseph, Hyrum, and Don Carlos Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Charles C. Rich, John T. Barnett, Wilson Law, John P. Greene, and Vinson Knight.
- 6 Feb. 1841 Martha Jane Knowlton and Howard Coray are married by Robert B. Thompson.
- 1 Mar. 1841 Work on Nauvoo temple begins.
- 10 Mar. 1841 Josephine Donna Smith, third daughter of Don Carlos Smith and Agnes Coolbrith Smith, is born at Nauvoo.
- 5 Apr. 1841 Louisa Beaman becomes Joseph Jr.'s first acknowledged plural wife. (Joseph may have married Fanny Alger in 1833 and Lucinda Pendleton Morgan Harris in 1838.)
- 6 Apr. 1841 The cornerstone of the Nauvoo temple is laid with much ceremony.
- 29 Apr. 1841 Samuel Harrison Smith marries Levira Clark. Some sources also give the marriage date as 3/30 May 1841. Lucy mistakenly gives the marriage date as 29 April 1842. That was the date of their first daughter's birth.
- 14 May 1841 Martha Ann Smith, second child and first daughter of Mary Fielding Smith and Hyrum Smith, is born at Nauvoo; she is Hyrum's eighth child.
- 1 June 1841 Hyrum and William Law leave on a mission to the East. From Pittsburgh, they report that John C. Bennett has abandoned his wife and child. Bennett takes poison in an apparent suicide attempt dramatizing his remorse but recovers and is allowed to retain his positions.
- 5 June 1841 Joseph is arrested at Bear Creek for extradition to Missouri, obtains a writ of habeas corpus at Quincy, and has a hearing before Judge Stephen A. Douglas at Monmouth, Warren County (9 June), at which he is released.
- 1 July 1841 Joseph Jr. teaches plural marriage to Brigham Young, Heber Kimball, and John Taylor, who have returned from their mission.
- 25 July 1841 Don Carlos Smith performs the marriage ceremony of George A. Smith and Bathsheba W. Bigler.



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- 7 Aug. 1841 Don Carlos Smith dies at age twenty-six.
- 15 Aug. 1841 Joseph's and Emma's fourteen-month-old son Don Carlos dies at Nauvoo.
- 25 Sept. 1841 Hyrum Jr., son of Hyrum and Jerusha Smith, dies at Nauvoo at age seven.
- 2 Oct. 1841 Construction begins on the Mansion House.
- 15 Oct. 1841 Grandmaster Jonas gives George Miller permission to open a lodge of Freemasons in Nauvoo.
- 22/25 Oct. 1841 Don Carlos Salisbury, the fifth child and third son of Katharine Smith Salisbury and Wilkins J. Salisbury, is born at Plymouth/Fountain Green, Hancock County, Illinois.
- 30 Dec. 1841 Applying for membership at the second meeting of Nauvoo's Masonic lodge are Joseph, Willard Richards, Brigham Young, Sidney Rigdon, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, and others. They are admitted formally on 15 March 1842.
- Feb. 1842 Joseph becomes editor of the *Times and Seasons*, with John Taylor as assistant editor.
- 6 Feb. 1842 Emma gives birth to a stillborn son, her eighth biological child and seventh son. He is not named.
- 1 Mar. 1842 Facsimile No. 1 from the Book of Abraham is published in the *Times and Seasons* along with the Wentworth letter.
- 17 Mar. 1842 The all-female Relief Society is organized with eighteen women. Emma is appointed president with counselors Elizabeth Ann Whitney and Sarah M. Cleveland, and with Eliza R. Snow as secretary. Membership reaches 1,142 by September 1842.
- 24 March 1842 Lucy attends the second meeting of the Relief Society and is received as a member by vote. She participates in the next several meetings.
- 16 Apr. 1842 William Smith begins publishing *The Wasp*, a miscellaneous weekly in Nauvoo.
- 18 Apr. 1842 Joseph and Hyrum file bankruptcy petitions, as do Sidney Rigdon, Elias Higbee, Reynolds Cahoon, John P. Greene, George Morey, Jared Carter, Hiram Kimball, and others. By December petitions have still not been approved.
- 19 Apr. 1842 Lucy attends Relief Society and is among those who give impromptu "exhortation, admonition, encouragement &c. &c." to the sisters.

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- 29 Apr. 1842      Levira Annette Clark, the first child of Samuel and Levira Smith, is born at Nauvoo. She is Samuel's fifth child.
- 4 May 1842      Joseph teaches the endowment ceremony for the first time to James Adams, Hyrum Smith, Newel K. Whitney, William Law, William Marks, George Miller, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards.
- 6 May 1842      Lilburn Boggs is shot in the head but recovers; he suspects Joseph of having ordered Orrin Porter Rockwell to perform the assassination. Rockwell is arrested.
- 16 May 1842      John C. Bennett resigns as mayor, is disfellowshipped on 25 May, and expelled as a Mason by 16 June. An order of excommunication is drawn up on 11 May but not published until 23 June.
- 17 May 1842      Joseph Smith replaces Bennett as mayor. He has been acting mayor since February. Hyrum Smith is elected vice-mayor.
- ca. June 1842      Joseph and Emma set out with their family to visit Emma's sister, Elizabeth Hale Wasson, at Inlet Grove near Amboy, Illinois. They return home before reaching Amboy because Frederick breaks his leg.
- 8 July 1842      John C. Bennett publishes exposés in the *Sangamon Journal* over the next three months, then compiles them in a book.
- 17 July 1842      Orson Pratt becomes disaffected when his wife tells him that Joseph Smith proposed plural marriage to her while Orson was on a mission. Three members of the Twelve "excommunicate" him on 20 August. Orson disappears and is feared suicidal on 29 August. He is reinstated on 20 January 1843, when Joseph declares the apostles' earlier action illegal.
- 29 July 1842      Eliza R. Snow becomes a plural wife of Joseph Smith.
- 8 Aug. 1842      Joseph refuses an extradition order from Missouri and goes into intermittent hiding for the next four months. At this point, he has married thirteen plural wives, eleven of them within the last eight months.
- 14 Aug. 1842      Eliza R. Snow moves into Joseph's and Emma's home and teaches in their family school.
- 2 Oct. 1842      The Nauvoo Freemason lodge is suspended for membership and advancement irregularities.
- 7 Oct. 1842      Joseph promises John Taylor, who is ill with a fever, that he will recover if he accompanies Joseph to another hiding place. This prediction is fulfilled.

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| 10 Oct. 1842     | Frederick G. Williams dies in Quincy, Illinois.   |
| 15 Oct. 1842     | A new hymnbook and new edition of Book of Mormon are published.   |
| 20 Oct. 1842     | Joseph returns to Nauvoo.   |
| 2 Nov. 1842      | The Mansion House is sufficiently finished that Joseph can transfer his office into it from the red brick store.  |
| 8 Dec. 1842      | Thomas Ford is inaugurated as governor of Illinois.   |
| 10 Dec. 1842     | William Smith resigns as editor of <i>The Wasp</i> . He is elected Hancock County representative.   |
| 26 Dec. 1842     | On advice from Governor Ford, Joseph gives himself up on the Missouri charges of attempting to assassinate Boggs and goes to Springfield, Illinois. He is released because he cannot be tried in Missouri for a crime (ordering a murder) committed in Illinois.  |
| 6 Feb. 1843      | Joseph is unanimously elected mayor of Nauvoo.  |
| 11 Feb. 1843     | Eliza moves out of Joseph's and Emma's house and Lucy moves in. The Smiths are still living in the Homestead with their four children. After a six-month hiatus in marrying plural wives, Joseph marries his fifteenth plural wife. By November 1843, he has married sixteen more women, but then marries no more before his death. |
| ca. 25 Feb. 1843 | Lucy becomes ill "with inflammation of the lungs" and Joseph nurses her himself for the next three days.  |
| 2 Mar. 1843      | The Illinois House of Representatives considers and passes a bill to repeal part of the Nauvoo city charter, despite William Smith's opposition. The measure fails in the Senate on 4 March.  |
| 10 Apr. 1843     | One hundred fifteen missionaries are called at a special conference.  |
| 19 Apr. 1843     | Joseph calls most of the Twelve on missions to the East.  |
| 3 May 1843       | John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff issue the first number of the new <i>Nauvoo Neighbor</i> .   |
| 23 May 1843      | Emma gives permission for Joseph to be sealed to Emily and Eliza Partridge, not knowing that they are already his plural wives.   |
| 28 May 1843      | Emma is sealed to Joseph and admitted to the prayer circle. She is endowed sometime before autumn.  |
| 8 June 1843      | Joseph and Emma again set out to visit Emma's sister, Eliza-  |

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beth Hale Wasson, near Dixon, Lee County, over 150 miles northeast of Nauvoo. A sheriff from Missouri, in association with the sheriff of Hancock County, follow him there.

- 16 June 1843 Lucy makes a compassionate call on a sister in need, then reports on it at Relief Society.
- 18 June 1843 Eliza R. Snow writes "a letter for Mother Smith," presumably because of her arthritis.
- 23 June 1843 Joseph Reynolds, sheriff of Jackson County, Missouri, and Harmon T. Wilson, sheriff of Hancock County, Illinois, arrest Joseph Smith while he and his family are at Dixon, Illinois after visiting the Wassons. After considerable legal wrangling, the Nauvoo municipal court determines to hear the case.
- 1 July 1843 Hyrum Smith gives an affidavit of his Missouri experiences before Nauvoo's municipal court to supply reasons why Joseph should not be returned to Missouri. Parley P. Pratt (who was arrested at the same time as Joseph and Hyrum but was imprisoned at Richmond, rather than at Liberty), fellow prisoners Sidney Rigdon and Lyman Wight, and two who were not arrested (Brigham Young and George W. Pitkin) also make affidavits on the Missouri situation. Joseph is discharged.
- 12 July 1843 Hyrum reads the revelation on plural marriage, which Joseph has dictated from memory, to Emma. She reacts angrily.
- 22 July 1843 Hyrum Smith takes Martha Jane and Howard Coray in a buggy out on the prairie, teaches them the principle of celestial marriage, then seals them at their request.
- 11 Aug. 1843 Hyrum Smith is sealed to Mercy Fielding Thompson (his sister-in-law and first plural wife) and Catherine Phillips.
- 12 Aug. 1843 The high council and Nauvoo Stake presidency hear and accept the revelation on plural marriage.
- 28 Aug. 1843 Lovisa Clark Smith, the second daughter of Samuel H. Smith and Levira Clark Smith, is born in Nauvoo. She is Samuel's sixth child.
- 31 Aug. 1843 Joseph and Emma move into the Mansion House from the Homestead, occupying six of its twenty-two rooms.
- 2 Sept. 1843 The residents of Hancock County issue a "Notice of Expulsion."
- early Sept. 1843 Lucy becomes very ill. After five days of nonstop nursing,

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- Emma collapses and remains more or less unwell nearly the entire fall. Joseph takes over nursing Lucy.
- 11 Sept. 1843 Joseph and his associates pray for Emma's health.
- 15 Sept. 1843 Joseph announces that the Mansion House will operate as a hotel. The Relief Society prays that Emma's life will be spared.
- 28 Sept. 1843 Emma receives her second anointing, thus becoming part of the elite "Quorum of the Anointed," consisting of couples in Joseph's inner circle.
- 8 Oct. 1843 Lucy is anointed and endowed.
- ca. 8 Oct. 1843 Sophronia C. Smith, daughter of Don Carlos and Agnes Smith, dies at Nauvoo.
- 2 Nov. 1843 Joseph has Brigham Young seal him to Brigham's fifty-six-year-old twice-widowed sister, Fanny Young Carr Murray. She is the stepmother of Heber C. Kimball's wife Vilate and apparently Joseph's last-married plural wife.
- 4 Nov. 1843 Joseph writes to presidential candidates John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, Richard M. Johnson, and Lewis Cass asking for their view on justice for Mormons in Missouri.
- 5 Nov. 1843 Joseph is attacked by violent nausea at dinner and vomits fresh blood. He accuses Emma of poisoning him. Other attacks—possibly of ulcers or gallstones—occur on 21 January and 2 and 28 April 1844.
- Nov. 1843 Lucy and Joseph Sr. (proxy) are given their second anointings.
- 2 Dec. 1843 The first endowments for women and more for men are conducted. During this month, there are several hostile incidents: Missourians kidnap a Mormon on a four-year-old horse-stealing charge and take him across the state line. A Mormon living on the prairie is stabbed and robbed. A Mormon's house is burned near Ramus.
- 25 Dec. 1843 Orrin Porter Rockwell, released from prison in Missouri but still threatened by mobs, reaches Nauvoo. He interrupts a Christmas party at Joseph's and Emma's, haggard, unshaven, ragged, and dirty.
- 29 Dec. 1843 Joseph says his life is in danger from a Brutus, a "dough-head." William Law takes the comment as a personal threat.

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- 3 Jan. 1844 William Law and Joseph Smith are reconciled after a lengthy meeting.
- 10 Jan. 1844 Joseph ordains Uncle John Smith a patriarch.
- 29 Jan. 1844 At a convention in Nauvoo, Willard Richards moves that Joseph become an independent candidate for president.
- Feb. 1844 Emma becomes pregnant with David Hyrum, her last child.
- 11 Mar. 1844 The Council of Fifty is organized at Nauvoo.
- 16 Mar. 1844 The Relief Society holds its last meeting with a membership of 1,341. At this and the preceding meeting, Emma had strongly preached adherence to Joseph's publicly articulated standards of sexual virtue—a stand that amounted to a repudiation of "private" teachings—and had the sisters vote by uplifted hand to sustain Joseph Smith's "Voice of Innocence."
- 24 Mar. 1844 Joseph accuses Dr. Robert Foster, Joseph H. Jackson, William and Wilson Law, and Chauncey L. Higbee of conspiring against him.
- 25 Mar. 1844 Emma C. Salisbury, sixth child and third daughter of Katharine Smith Salisbury and Wilkins J. Salisbury, is born at Fountain Green, Hancock County, Illinois.
- 18 Apr. 1844 After a series of minor lawsuits against Joseph by the Higbees and Fosters, from 1-13 April, Robert Foster is excommunicated, along with Wilson and William Law, Jane (William's wife), and Howard Smith.
- 21 April 1844 William and Wilson Law and other dissenters organize a new church with William as president but not prophet.
- 26 Apr. 1844 Augustine Spencer assaults his brother, Orson Spencer, and resists arrest. Marshal John P. Greene asks for help from Chauncy L. Higbee and Charles and Robert Foster, who refuse, leading to their own arrests and an attempted assault on Joseph.
- 28 Apr. 1844 The dissidents' church appoints Austin Cowles and Wilson Law as counselors to William Law. They have about 200 followers. Wilson is court-martialed as major general of the Nauvoo Legion.
- 9 May 1844 The Twelve are called on missions in Joseph's presidential campaign.
- 17 May 1844 At a "state convention" in Nauvoo, Joseph's candidacy is again affirmed by men representing the various states.

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- 18 May 1844 James Blakesley, Francis M. Higbee, and Austin Cowles are excommunicated.
- 23 May 1844 William Law accuses Joseph of adultery/polygamy. Joseph H. Jackson and Robert Foster swear a writ against Joseph on 24 May for false swearing. For the next few weeks, Joseph and Hyrum Smith engage in a flurry of accusations and counter-accusations with William and Wilson Law, charging each other with counterfeiting, sexual immorality, and other illegal acts, including alleged attempts by both Joseph and William to hire Joseph H. Jackson to kill the other.
- 26 May 1844 In a public discourse, "Joseph Smith denied specific rumors [about polygamy] but did not deny that he had had a revelation on plural marriage and had begun that practice. Afterward the *Expositor* published details of the revelation, but again the Prophet said nothing publicly to refute it" (R. L. Anderson, "Joseph Smith's Final," 331n12).
- 7 June 1844 Robert Foster calls on Joseph, but Joseph refuses to talk to him privately. The first issue of the *Nauvoo Expositor* appears.
- 8 June 1844 Saturday: Joseph and the city council meet (also Monday, the 10th), pass an ordinance against libel, declare the *Expositor* a nuisance, and order Marshal John P. Greene to destroy the press and scatter the type. He does so by 8:00 P.M. Monday. There is an immediate outcry.
- 16 June 1844 Joseph Smith gives his last public discourse, on "the doctrine of multiple gods and . . . his authority as a latter-day prophet." Richard L. Anderson points out that this was one of the two main points on which the *Expositor* had launched its editorial attack on 7 June, the other one being "the plurality of wives, for 'time and eternity.' For the second doctrine, the Prophet chose calculated silence" ("Final," 322).
- 18 June 1844 Joseph proclaims martial law.
- 20 June 1844 At least by this date, William is in the East with his wife, Caroline, who is slowly dying of kidney failure (dropsy).
- 22 June 1844 Joseph and Hyrum Smith and Willard Richards flee into Iowa.
- 23 June 1844 Hyrum returns to Nauvoo for the marriage of his daughter Lovina to Lorin Walker.
- 24 June 1844 Joseph and Hyrum ride to Carthage, arriving late that evening. They stay at the Hamilton House.
- 25 June 1844 Joseph and Hyrum give themselves up to the civil authorities at 8:00 A.M. and are jailed.



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- 27 June 1844 A mob with painted faces rushes the jail in the late afternoon. Joseph and Hyrum are killed, John Taylor is wounded, and Willard Richards is unscathed. Samuel Smith, eluding armed pursuers, reaches the city just after the mob has dispersed.
- 28 June 1844 Willard Richards, Samuel H. Smith, Artois Hamilton, and his two sons return the bodies to Nauvoo.
- 30 July 1844 Samuel Harrison Smith dies at Nauvoo of complications brought on by exertion on the day of his brothers' deaths.
- 8 Aug. 1844 At a confrontation between Sidney Rigdon and Brigham Young, a majority of the congregation votes to sustain Young and the Twelve.
- 20 Aug. 1844 Lucy J. Clark Smith, the third daughter of Samuel Smith and Levira Clark Smith, is born. She is Samuel's seventh child.
- 24 Aug. 1844 William Smith writes to Brigham Young, saying he wants to be a "spiritual father" to the church, like Hyrum.
- Sept. 1844 Probably because Emma Smith is due to deliver David Hyrum in two months, Lucy moves in with Arthur Millikin and Lucy Smith Millikin.
- 28 Sept. 1844 Brigham Young affirms to William that the patriarchal right "rests upon your head" although he suggests "you can bestow it upon Uncle John or Uncle Asael."
- 6 Oct. 1844 Brigham Young is sustained as president of the Twelve.
- 10 Nov. 1844 William Smith, writing from New Jersey, asks W. W. Phelps to visit Lucy and give her "a word of consolation from me" and also to visit his sisters.
- 17 Nov. 1844 Emma gives birth to David Hyrum Smith at Nauvoo, her ninth biological child and eighth son.
- late 1844-early 1845 Lucy begins dictating her memoirs to Martha Jane Knowlton Coray.
- 25 Dec. 1844 W. W. Phelps reports that Lucy, to whom he read William's letter, "cried for joy" and "blessed" him in the name of the Lord.
- 23 Jan. 1845 Lucy dictates a letter to William explaining that she is writing her memoirs and asking him to raise the funds necessary to publish it. She also tells William that the Twelve and church are "waiting to receive you with open arms."
- 23 Feb. 1845 At a meeting at "Bishop Hale's," Lucy "gave a recital of the persecutions endured by her family."

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| 22 Mar. 1845    | Lucy and Martha Jane reach the point in the manuscript at which E. B. Grandin agrees to publish the Book of Mormon (chap. 31).   |
| 4 May 1845      | William and Caroline Smith return to Nauvoo.   |
| May 1845        | Eliza R. Snow writes a poetic tribute to Lucy.   |
| 22 May 1845     | Caroline Grant Smith dies, leaving two daughters.  |
| 23 May 1845     | William Clayton's journal says that William Smith opposes the Twelve and has been named patriarch in a church organized by George J. Adams in Augusta, Iowa Territory, with Joseph III for president. William allegedly claims to have performed polygamous sealings and that he is not accountable to the Twelve. |
| 24 May 1845     | William Smith is ordained and set apart as Patriarch to the Church, even though a meeting of the Twelve the previous day (to which William was not invited) had discussed his "improper course" and characterized him as "the greatest danger."  |
| 29 May 1845     | Brigham Young, at a meeting of the Twelve, "prayed that the Lord would overrule the movements of William Smith who is endeavoring to ride the Twelve down."  |
| 30 May 1845     | Lucy addresses a meeting of the Twelve, calling them "her children." Brigham Young promises that the Twelve "would do all that we could for them" [the Smiths].  |
| ca. 1 June 1845 | William, in an issue of the <i>Times and Seasons</i> dated 15 May (it appeared late), reviews the sufferings of the Smith family in founding the church and asks for the support of the community; he gives qualified endorsement to the Twelve.   |
| 17 June 1845    | John Taylor visits Lucy and reads part of her finished manuscript.   |
| 22 June 1845    | William Smith marries Mary Jane Rollins. He also marries Mary Ann Sheffield polygamously (for him) and polyandrously (for her). Mary Jane leaves him in August. Mary Ann considers the marriage at an end when he leaves Nauvoo later that year.   |
| 23 June 1845    | John Taylor writes an editorial which is published shortly thereafter in the <i>Times and Seasons</i> bearing the date 1 June designating William as Patriarch to the Church rather than Patriarch over the Church.  |
| 27 June 1845    | In a family meeting, Lucy describes a three-part vision she  |

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- has had the night before, showing William Smith as head of the church but surrounded by men who seek his life.
- 30 June 1845 Most of the Twelve, including Brigham Young and Orson Pratt, meet with Lucy and her family. William, offended by heavy-handed persuasion from John Smith and George A. Smith, refuses to attend but sends a letter affirming that he wants only his inheritance as church patriarch. The matter is smoothed over.
- 8 July 1845 Lucy's birthday; she thinks she is sixty-nine (actually seventy). She dictates Chapter 44 and the preface after that date.
- 9 July 1845 At a banquet for about fifty members of the Smith family, Lucy "addressed her kindred and the audience in a feeling and pathetic manner."
- 18 July 1845 Lucy copyrights her manuscript.
- 2 Aug. 1845 Brigham Young takes Lucy out to choose a lot for herself. She also requests the carriage and a house. He loans her the carriage.
- 17 Aug. 1845 William Smith gives a sermon in which he declares his "belief in the doctrine of a plurality of wives" and soon leaves Nauvoo.
- 1 Oct. 1845 The Twelve negotiate an agreement with Governor Thomas Ford that they will leave Nauvoo in the spring.
- 6 Oct. 1845 William Smith is not sustained, either as an apostle or as church patriarch by the conference, during the first day of a three-day conference.
- 8 Oct. 1845 Lucy speaks at her own request on the third day of the conference, telling stories from her book and expressing a desire to see it printed.
- 12/19 Oct. 1845 William Smith is excommunicated.
- 29 Oct. 1845 William Smith publishes a lengthy "Proclamation" in the *Warsaw Gazette* accusing Brigham Young of usurpation and painting a pitiable picture of Lucy's age and poverty.
- 10 Nov. 1845 Brigham Young and several apostles discuss buying Lucy's copyright; they decide instead to have Howard Coray make a copy.
- 10 Dec. 1845 Lucy is endowed again with Elizabeth Ann Whitney, Agnes Coolbrith Smith, Mary Fielding Smith, and Mercy Fielding Thompson but refuses Brigham Young's January offer to

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- have her sealing to Joseph Sr. and second anointing reconfirmed.
- 14 Jan. 1846      Howard Coray is paid \$200 for "compiling" Lucy's history and \$35 for transcribing it. Martha is not mentioned.
- Jan. 1846      Howard and Martha Jane Coray are endowed, then leave Nauvoo.
- 1 Mar. 1846      William Smith writes James J. Strang a letter of support from the Smith family signed by "Lucy Smith, Mother in Israel," Arthur and Nancy [sic] Milliken, Jenkins and Catherine Salisbury, and Sophronia McLerie. Katharine later denied signing the letter.
- 10 Mar. 1846      Almon Babbitt and Joseph Heywood refuse to give Lucy the deed to her house unless she either promises not to let William enter it or promises to make him support the Twelve. She writes them a scorching letter of rebuke.
- 11 Mar. 1846      William writes again to Strang, describing Lucy as a mother in Israel abandoned by her children and hinting that he would like to attend the Strangite conference if he had funds.
- 8 Apr. 1846      At a public meeting in Nauvoo, Babbitt and Heywood discuss the problem of the deed and imply that Lucy, Emma, and the other Smiths will eventually come west.
- Apr. 1846      The church deeds Lucy the Joseph Noble home. She lives here with eight-year-old granddaughter Mary Bailey Smith, Samuel's daughter.
- 11 May 1846      William and Lucy both write letters to Reuben Hedlock in England assuring him that Strang is Joseph's rightful successor.
- 11 June 1846      William Smith goes to Voree where his apostolic ordination is accepted and where he is ordained Patriarch of the church. He plans to build a house for Lucy on a contributed lot. He writes again, saying God has confirmed Strang's position by revelation.
- Fall 1846      Lucy moves with Arthur and Lucy Millikin to Knoxville, Illinois, to avoid the battle of Nauvoo, taking Mary with her. William joins them there for the winter.
- 19 Oct. 1846      A ways and means committee is appointed to move Lucy to Voree.
- 4 Apr. 1847      On the eve of the pioneer camp's departure for the Rocky

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Mountains, Brigham Young signs a letter "to mother Smith, to let her know that her children in the Gospel have not forgotten her."

- 6 Apr. 1847      Strang's general conference raises funds to bring John E. Page and Lucy to Voree, Wisconsin. William is back in Voree at this point, and Lucy and the Millikins have moved back to Nauvoo.
- 18/19 May 1847      William Smith marries Caroline's younger sister, Roxie Ann Grant. After the births of two children, Thalia and Hyrum Wallace, they separate.
- 7 Oct. 1847      William is excommunicated from Strang's church for adultery and apostasy.
- 23 Dec. 1847      Emma Hale Smith marries Major Lewis C. Bidamon at Nauvoo on Joseph's birthday.
- 21 Aug. 1848      Lyman Wight, who has just received a letter from William Smith about Lucy's poverty, writes indignantly from Zodiac, Texas, offering her "liberal support" in either Zodiac or Nauvoo.
- 4 Jan. 1849      Lucy writes to William from Nauvoo.
- 1849      Some time this year, Loren Salisbury, seventh child and fourth son of Katharine Smith Salisbury and Wilkins J. Salisbury, is born at Fountain Green, Hancock County, Illinois.
- 10 Sept. 1849      John M. Bernhisel visits Lucy in Nauvoo.
- 14 Nov. 1849      After reading the Wight correspondence (published by Isaac Sheen), Orson Hyde, editor of the *Frontier Guardian*, scaldingly accuses William of being a neglectful son.
- Fall 1849      Lucy, Mary, and the Millikins apparently move to Webster, Hancock County, Illinois.
- 27 Jan. 1850      Frederick Salisbury, eighth child and fifth son of Katharine Smith Salisbury and Wilkins J. Salisbury, is born at Fountain Green, Hancock County, Illinois.
- 1851      Lucy, Mary, and the Millikins move to Fountain Green, Illinois.
- Fall 1851      Howard and Martha Jane and their children arrive in Utah.
- Spring 1852      Lucy and Mary Bailey Smith move into the Mansion House with Emma and Lewis Bidamon and the four Smith sons. Emma runs the Mansion House as a boarding house. (This move may have been made as early as January 1851.)

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| 21 Sept. 1852   | Mary Fielding Smith, Hyrum's widow, dies at Salt Lake City.   |
| Nov. 1852       | Orson Pratt is sent on a mission to Washington, D.C. Here he issues the first number of <i>The Seer</i> on 1 January 1853.  |
| 29-30 Nov. 1852 | Lucy, in Nauvoo with Emma, enjoys a visit from Perrigrine Sessions.   |
| 11 Feb. 1853    | Almon W. Babbitt tells Horace S. Eldredge, president of the St. Louis branch, that he had just acquired Lucy's fair copy and is on his way to Washington, D.C.                            |
| 19 Mar. 1853    | Babbitt again passes through St. Louis, en route to Salt Lake City, having sold the manuscript to Orson Pratt.  |
| early May 1853  | Orson Pratt sails for England to do genealogical research, taking Lucy's manuscript with him. He arranges for Samuel W. Richards, who publishes the <i>Millennial Star</i> , to print it. |
| 12 May 1853     | A notice appears in the <i>Star</i> about the forthcoming publication.  |
| 12 May 1853     | British convert Hannah Tapfield King visits Lucy in Nauvoo and finds her bedfast but alert. Lucy pronounces a mother's blessing on Hannah.  |
| Spring 1853     | Frederick Piercy also visits Lucy in Nauvoo. Her portrait appears in his <i>Route from Liverpool</i> . . .  |
| Summer 1853     | Brigham Young informs Pratt that <i>The Seer</i> contains unsound doctrine.   |
| 23 July 1853    | Horace S. Eldredge visits Lucy in Nauvoo. Her memory is still keen about "things that had transpired several years since."  |
| 15 Oct. 1853    | A second notice appears in the <i>Star</i> about the publication of <i>Biographical Sketches</i> .  |
| 28 Oct. 1853    | Orson Pratt writes to Lucy from Washington, D.C., asking permission to publish the work in the United States. (No permission was needed in Great Britain.)                                |
| 16 Jan. 1854    | Orson Pratt sends Lucy some copies of the printed work and the promise of a \$100 "present."  |
| 4 Feb. 1854     | Lucy dictates a letter to her grandson Joseph III, giving Orson Pratt permission to publish her manuscript in the United States.  |
| Summer 1854     | Orson Pratt returns to Utah.  |
| Nov. 1854       | The first shipment of <i>Biographical Sketches</i> reaches Utah from  |

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- Great Britain. The *Deseret News* publishes a short commendatory notice on 16 November.
- 1854-55 William Smith writes Brigham Young letters for two years begging/demanding that his apostleship be restored. His own attempt to organize a church has failed.
- 31 Jan. 1855 Brigham Young writes to the *Millennial Star* requesting that it stop reprinting articles from *The Seer* because of its "erroneous doctrine." He also notes that *Biographical Sketches* contains "many mistakes." This notice is printed in the 12 May 1855 issue.
- 1855 An inventory of materials in the Historian's Office includes "Mother Smith's history in manuscripts."
- 21 Mar. 1855 In the *Deseret News*, Pratt publishes an apology and a retraction of his claim in the preface that Joseph Smith had been personally involved in at least part of *Biographical Sketches*.
- 22 Nov. 1855 Enoch Tripp visits Lucy in Nauvoo. She kisses him and sends her love to Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and other friends.
- 14 May 1856 Lucy dies on the Smith farm just outside Nauvoo.
- 5 July 1856 George A. Smith writes an obituary of Lucy for *The Mormon*, then being published in New York City, in which he praises Lucy and criticizes her book as inaccurate.
- 1856 Orson Pratt serves as president of the British Mission until called back by the outbreak of the Utah War.
- by 1858 William Smith marries Eliza Elise Sanborn. They have three or four children: William Jr., Enoch (according to some sources, both of these names were for one child: William Enoch), Edson Don Carlos, and Louise May.
- 16 Feb. 1858 George A. Smith expresses skepticism to Brigham Young about David Whitmer's ability to do two days' worth of harrowing in one. George A. writes letters to David Whitmer, Solomon Mack, and John Bear by 23 February inquiring about the accuracy of some points. He hears only from Bear, who confirms inaccuracy.
- 13 Feb. 1859 Wilford Woodruff records a conversation with Brigham Young ordering him to revise and correct *Biographical Sketches* with George A. and Elias Smith. Young takes particular exception to Lucy's statement that William had a vision in Missouri.
- 29 Jan. 1860 Orson Pratt is chastised for doctrinal errors at a Quorum of



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the Twelve meeting. He capitulates and apologizes on Sunday, 30 January, then apologizes personally to Brigham Young on Monday, 31 January.

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| early 1860    | William Smith is rebaptized LDS but soon withdraws.  |
| 6 Apr. 1860   | Twenty-seven-year-old Joseph Smith III accepts the presidency of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at Amboy, Illinois. Emma Smith Bidamon accompanies him to the conference and also affiliates with the new church, as do Alexander Hale and David Hyrum. (Frederick dies in 1862 without joining the RLDS Church.) |
| Aug. 1863     | The first RLDS missionaries come to Utah. Alexander, David, and Joseph III make periodic preaching tours between 1866 and 1876. Brigham Young responds with slurs about them and their mother. RLDS proselyting efforts in Utah stop in 1890; at that point, 3,000 have been baptized.   |
| 8 May 1865    | Brigham Young speaks at Wellsville, Cache County, ordering members to send him their copies of <i>Biographical Sketches</i> , which he terms "a tissue of lies," so they can be destroyed.   |
| 13 June 1865  | Martha Jane Coray writes to Brigham Young at his request explaining her role in Lucy's project.  |
| 21 June 1865  | Brigham Young in Salt Lake City gives a slightly modified version of his Wellsville sermon against <i>Biographical Sketches</i> .  |
| 23 July 1865  | The First Presidency and Twelve issue a statement condemning <i>Biographical Sketches</i> "for its inaccuracy."  |
| 23 Aug. 1865  | The First Presidency and Twelve issue Brigham Young's address; as a signed epistle, it is published in the <i>Deseret News</i> . The <i>Millennial Star</i> reprints it on 21 October 1865; and Brigham Young Jr., British Mission president, orders a round-up of the book.   |
| 17 Sept. 1865 | Wilford Woodruff in a sermon announces that all of Joseph Smith's family died as martyrs, then, remembering that William was still alive, pronounced him not "fit to live or die."   |
| 22 Apr. 1866  | Brigham Young again instructs Wilford Woodruff to have George A. and Elias Smith correct Lucy's history.   |
| 30 Apr. 1866  | Elias Smith meets with George A. Smith and Brigham Young in Young's office.  |
| 2 May 1866    | Elias Smith meets with George A. Smith in the Church Historian's office for the first of several sessions on revising Lucy's history. These sessions end on May 29.  |

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- 11 Sept. 1866 Elias and George A. Smith have the first of five more meetings (the last is 21 September) revising Lucy's history. Apparently no more work is done after this point.
- 18 Aug. 1867 Daniel H. Wells in a sermon in the tabernacle calls William "a poor, miserable hypocrite."
- 1 Sept. 1875 George A. Smith dies at Salt Lake City.
- 28 Aug. 1876 Sophronia Smith Stoddard McCleary dies, leaving no descendants, near Colchester, Illinois.
- 26 Dec. 1876 Agnes Coolbrith Smith, wife of Don Carlos Smith, dies at Oakland, California.
- 29 Aug. 1877 Brigham Young dies at Salt Lake City.
- Feb. 1878 The RLDS Publication Board appoints W. W. Blair, Joseph Smith III, and H. A. Stebbins as a committee to prepare an edition of *Biographical Sketches*.
- 1878 William Smith is received in the Reorganized Church as a high priest on the basis of his original baptism and ordination.
- 1880 The first RLDS edition of *Biographical Sketches* is printed at Plano, Illinois.
- 14 Dec. 1881 Martha Jane Coray, mother of twelve and BYU's first woman regent, dies at Provo.
- 21 Dec. 1889 William Smith marries Rosanna/Rosa Jewitt Surprise. (According to some sources, the marriage year is 1891.)
- 1892 William Smith testifies on behalf of the RLDS church in the Temple Lot suit.
- 13 Nov. 1893 William Smith dies at Osterdock, Clayton County, Iowa, age eighty-two.
- 1 Feb. 1900 Katharine Smith Salisbury dies.
- early 1901 The MIA general boards propose Lucy's history as a course of study. Church president Lorenzo Snow approves.
- 1901-03 Lucy's history is published in installments in the *Improvement Era*. It consists of the 1853 edition with most of George A. Smith's corrections and others, plus an introduction by current church president Joseph F. Smith. The *Improvement Era* also publishes the history in one volume in 1902.
- 16 Jan. 1908 Howard Coray dies at the home of a daughter.
- 1912 The RLDS church issues another edition of *Biographical Sketches* with additional notes by Heman C. Smith.

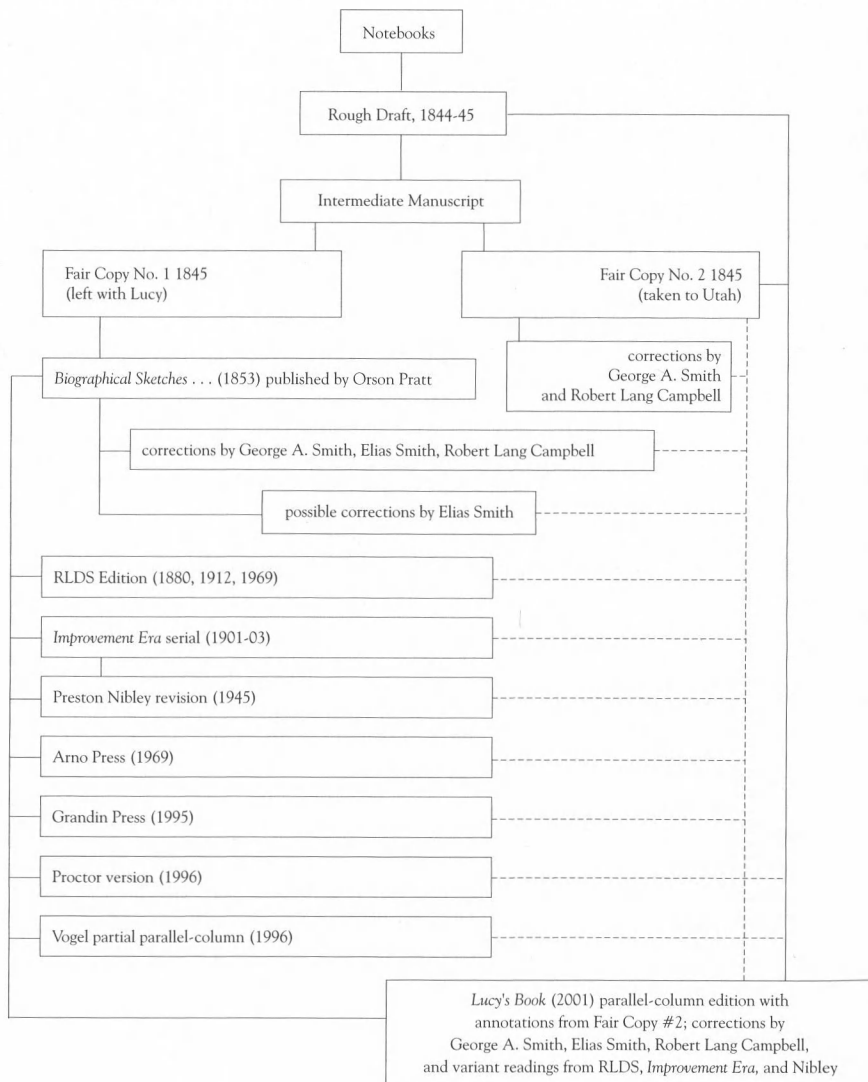
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- 1945                      Assistant Church Historian Preston Nibley republishes the *Improvement Era* history with additional editing; he omits profanity, indelicate, or sensitive matter and adds some footnotes. Reprints follow in 1954, 1957, 1958, 1965, 1975, and 1979.
  
- 1958                      Roy W. Doxey writes a *Study Guide for Special Interests* (Salt Lake City: General Boards of the MIA, 1958).
  
- 1965                      Jerald and Sandra Tanner produce the first photomechanical reproduction of the 1853 text under the title, *Joseph Smith's History: The Book Brigham Young Tried to Destroy, by His Mother*.
  
- 1969                      With the recommendation of Edwin S. Gaustad and Leonard J. Arrington, Arno Press issues *Biographical Sketches* in its *Religion in America* facsimile reprint series.
  
- 1969                      The RLDS church reprints its 1912 edition of *Biographical Sketches*.
  
- 1990                      The RLDS church reissues its 1912/1969 edition of *Biographical Sketches*.
  
- 1995                      Lyndon Cook's Grandin Press in Orem, Utah, issues the third photomechanical reproduction of the 1853 edition with the type enlarged to 140 percent of the original.
  
- 1996                      Scott Facer Proctor and Maurine Jensen Proctor publish *The Revised and Enhanced History of Joseph Smith by His Mother* with Bookcraft, including illustrations, maps, notes, and index. It silently restores 1844-45 rough draft language and omits problematic passages.
  
- 1996                      The first parallel-column edition through the fourth paragraph of Chapter 39 is published in *Early Mormon Documents*, Vol. 1, compiled and edited by Dan Vogel (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996). It maintains scholarly standards in its presentation of the text and includes a bibliography, an index, and extensive source, biographical, and contextual footnotes.
  
- 2001                      *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir*, edited by Lavina Fielding Anderson, with an introduction by Irene M. Bates, is published in Salt Lake City by Signature Books. It features the entire texts of the 1844-45 rough draft and the 1853 English edition arranged in parallel columns, with references to differences in other editions noted in footnotes.

*Part 1.*

*The Mack Family*

# RELATIONSHIP OF LUCY MACK SMITH DOCUMENTS



Coray/Pratt: 1853 Title Page

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF

JOSEPH SMITH

THE

PROPHET,

AND HIS

**Progenitors for many Generations.**

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BY

LUCY SMITH,

MOTHER OF THE PROPHET.

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**Liverpool:**  
PUBLISHED FOR ORSON PRATT BY S. W. RICHARDS,  
15, WILTON STREET.

**London:**  
SOLD AT THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS' BOOK DEPÔT,  
35, JEWIN STREET;  
AND BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

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1853.

Entered at Stationers' Hall.

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*Editor's Note:* Lucy Mack Smith's 1844-45 rough draft (not titled) is reproduced in the left-hand column (identified as *Lucy: 1844-45*); Orson Pratt's 1853 published first edition is in the right-hand column (identified as *Coray/Pratt: 1853*). The parallel columns begin on page 221. Text from either, for which there is no counterpart in the other document, appears in a full-width column. Unless otherwise noted, the Coray 1845 fair copy (titled "The History of Lucy Smith, Mother of the Prophet") corresponds to Coray/Pratt 1853, except for nonsubstantive changes. Substantive changes appear in the notes. Lucy's narrative appears throughout in ragged right while notes and supplementary material are justified right and left. For named individuals, see the biographical summaries at the end of the present volume. Because of the parallel columns, a note may appear on the page after its number. Note numbers at the beginnings of paragraphs provide information about page breaks in the rough draft.

## PREFACE.

The following pages, embracing biographical sketches and the genealogy of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and his Progenitors, were mostly written previous to the death of the Prophet, and under his personal inspection.

Most of the historical items and occurrences related have never before been published. They will therefore be exceedingly interesting to all Saints, and sincere inquirers after the Truth, affording them the privilege of becoming more extensively acquainted with the private life and character of one of the greatest Prophets that ever lived upon the earth. Independent of this, the events which have occurred in connection with the history of this remarkable family, are, in themselves, of the most marvellous kind, and of infinite importance in their bearings upon the present and future generations.

No events that have happened since the first advent of our Saviour, are of more thrilling interest than those connected with the history of the Prophet, Joseph Smith. Every incident relating to his life, or the lives of his progenitors, will be eagerly sought after by all future generations. The geographical, mechanical, and other scientific discoveries of modern ages, sink into insignificance, compared with the importance of those discoveries made by this great man. They are designed by the Almighty to produce the greatest moral and physical revolutions which the inhabitants of this globe ever witnessed—revolutions which, through the judgments of God, will utterly overthrow and destroy all governments and kingdoms that will not become subject to Christ.

Under these infinitely important considerations, the following pages are recommended to the careful and candid perusal of all nations.

ORSON PRATT.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Having attained my 69 year,<sup>1</sup> and being afflicted with a complication of diseases and infirmities many of which have been brought upon me by the cruelty of an ungodly and hard hearted world and do <often> ~~times~~ many ~~times~~ threaten to put a period to my Earthly existence, I feel it <a privilege as well as> my duty <to all [.....] candid inquirers after truth> and ~~my privilege~~ to give (as my last testimony to a world from whence I must soon take my departure) an account, not <Exclusively> ~~particularly~~ of my own manner of life from my youth up, but after saying somewhat concerning my ancestors, as well as myself, to trace carefully up, even from the cradle to the grave The footsteps of some <the circumstances> ~~the manner~~ of whose life and is <death has been such> is such as <are calculated>

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1. Lucy thought she turned sixty-nine on 8 July 1845, but "69 year" suggests that she means she is in her sixty-ninth year. See Biographical Summaries.



to excite an itenseds of it cur <iosity> in the minds of all who ever knew them personally or shall hear of them hereafter. And inasmuch as no one on earth <is so thoroughly acquainted> ~~do know as fully~~ as myself <with> the entire history of those of whom I speak and all these intimately connected with them I have been induced by these and other considerations to assume the task of not only tracing them during their own individual existences throug all <the windings and vicisstudes of> a life checkered with many ills, but likewise to give a sketch of their progenitors and the dealing of God with <them> also.

Lucy: 1844-45

Coray/Pratt: 1853

## CHAP. I

SOLOMON MACK, THE FATHER OF  
LUCY MACK—EXTRACT FROM HIS  
NARRATIVE.

I will firstly take up an old document which I have in my possession written by my father in the 80 year of his age and from which I shall perhaps make a [...] number of extracts before I <conclude my> get through with my detail narrative My Parents<sup>2</sup> (My Father) <Solomon Mack> writes as follows I was born in Connecticut in the town of Lime near the mouth of the Connecticut river Sept 26—1735 ~~Parents were~~ My Father was <a man> people of a large property, lived in good style, <&> comand<ed> ing all that respect which is ever paid to those <who> liveing <in> fine circumstances and strict habits of morality. and for some length of time, they lived in peace and plenty,

My father, Solomon Mack, was born in the town of Lyme, New London county, state of Connecticut, Sept. 26, 1735. His father, Ebenezer Mack, was a man of considerable property, and lived in good style, commanding all the attention and respect which are ever shown to those who live in fine circumstances, and habits of strict morality. For a length of time he fully enjoyed the fruits of his industry. But this state of things did not always continue, for a series of misfortunes visited my grand-parents, by which they were reduced to that extremity, that a once happy and flourishing family were compelled to disperse, and throw themselves upon the charity of a cold, unfeeling world.

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2. While most of the military events that Lucy includes appear in her father's narrative, almost no information about his marriage, wife, and children does, and the military tales themselves differ substantially in detail and wording from the original. Such rewriting is not characteristic of how Martha Jane copied other quoted material (e.g., *Times and Seasons*). Richard L. Anderson, *New England*, 165n29, suggests that Lucy "had a manuscript draft with certain incidents not in Solomon's published pamphlet."

enjoying <all> the good of their labors. But at length a series of misfortunes visited them occasioned, in most instances, by the perfidy of their fellow <man>. which reduced by degrees till <11> at last they came to penury and wants to threatened that A once happy and flourishing family was compelled to disperse and throw themselves upon the charity of <a cold> an unfeeling world.

I was bound to a farmer in the neighborhood As is too commonly the case, I was considered rather as a Slave than as a member of the family, and instead of allowing me the privilege of common hospitality and a claim to, that kind of protection due to helpless and indigent children, I was treated by my Master as his property and not as his fellow mortal.

Soon after I left my Master, (which <was> I did at the age of 21 years) I enlisted in the services of My Country under the command of Capt. Henry; and was annexed to the regiment commanded by Col Whiting.

I marched from Connecticut to fort Edwards and was in a severe battle fought at half way brook <in> 1755.

My father was taken into the family of a neighbouring farmer, where he remained until he was nearly twenty-one years of age, about which time he enlisted in the service of his country.

I have a sketch of my father's life, written by himself, in which is detailed an account of his several campaigns, and many of his adventures, while in the army. From this I extract the following:—

“At the age of twenty-one years, I left my master. Shortly after which, I enlisted in the services of my country, under the command of Captain Henry, and was annexed to the regiment commanded by Col. Whiting.

“From Connecticut, we marched to Fort Edwards, in the state of New York. We were in a severe battle, fought at Half-way Brook, in 1755. During this Expedition, I caught a heavy cold, which rendered me unfit for business until the return of warm weather. I was carried the ensuing spring to Albany.

"In the year 1757, I had two teams in the King's service, which were<sup>3</sup> employed in carrying the General's baggage. While thus engaged I went one morning as usual<sup>4</sup> to yoke my team, but three of my oxen were missing. When this came to the knowledge of the officer,<sup>5</sup> he was very angry, and drawing his sword, threatened to run it through me. He then ordered me to get three other oxen, which I accordingly did, and proceeded with the baggage to Fort Edwards, and the next day I returned in order to find my missing oxen.

In the year 1757, I was in the Kings service and being one morning out on a short excursion with a friend named Webster, I was traveling along about 20 rods in <advance> of my companion When, behold! a small company of Indians ~~sudenly~~, rushed <sudenly> upon my view; armed with Tomma hawks scalping knives and Guns. I had no weapon of defence, but a walking stick. However, I hit upon a stratagem that served my purpose ~~excellently~~ <admirably>. I Called out at the top of my voice; Rush on! Rush on My boys, we'll have the Devils, ~~We~~ we'll have the Devils. My friend, appearing in sight just at that moment, they took fright, and fled for life, and I saw no more of them.

"While I was performing this trip, the following circumstance occurred. About half way from Stillwater to Fort Edwards, I espied four Indians nearly thirty rods distant, coming out of the woods; they were armed with scalping knives, tomahawks, and guns. I was alone, but about twenty rods behind me was a man by the name of Webster. I saw my danger, and that there was no way to escape, unless I could do it by stratagem; so I rushed upon them, calling in the mean time at the top of my voice, Rush on! rush on, my boys! we'll have the devils. The only weapon I had, was a walking staff, yet I ran toward them, and as the other man appeared just at that instant, it gave them a terrible fright,

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3. *Improvement Era* (1901-03), hereafter IE, and Preston Nibley (1945): "which was employed . . ." See Introduction, pp. 164-65.

4. IE and Nibley: "one morning to yoke . . ."

5. IE and Nibley: "When this knowledge came to the officer . . ."

~~Seen~~ In the year 1758, I enlisted under Maj. Spencer, went over the lakes, & was in a severe battle; Where Lord Howe was killed. The next day, we attempted to march to the brast works but were <compelled> to retreat of with loss of 500 men. In the engagement, a ball passed under my chin, within an inch of my neck, but I escaped unhurt.

and I saw no more of them.

"I hastened to Stillwater the next day, as aforementioned, and finding my oxen soon after I arrived there, I returned the same night to Fort-Edwards, a distance of seven miles, the whole of which was a dense forest.

"In 1758, I enlisted under Major Spenser, and went immediately over Lake George, with a company who crossed in boats, to the western side, where we had a bloody and hot engagement with the enemy, in which Lord Howe fell at the onset of the battle. His bowels were taken out and buried, but his body was embalmed and carried to England.

"The next day we marched to the breastworks, but were unsuccessful, being compelled to retreat with a loss of five hundred men killed, and as many more wounded.

"In this contest I narrowly escaped—a musket-ball passed under my chin, within half an inch of my neck. The army then returned to Lake George, and, on its way thither, a large scouting party of the enemy came round by Skeenesborough, and, at the Half-way Brook, destroyed a large number of both men and teams. Upon this, one thousand of our men were detached to repair immediately to Skeenesborough in pursuit of them; but when we arrived at South Bay, the enemy were entirely out of our reach.

The <the> enemy went to ticonderga and recruited came after us The sentiles gave word that we were surrounded Maj Putnam led us out Maj Rogers brought up the rear the Indians lay in a semicircular position round us Maj Putnam led us through their ranks. they fired upon us. Took Maj Putnam who was rescued by a French Lieu.

The enemy rose like a cloud fired a volly upon us my being in front brought me in the rear we were pursued I turned a little to the right I saw a tremendous windfall before me which seemed insurmountable but the Tommahawks encompassed me and bullets flew round my ears like hail. I thoug<ht> I could at least make the <effort> I gave <one> a spring and cleared the whole mass the Indians hesitated I looked one side saw a man badly wounded I siezed him and got him

"The enemy then marched to Ticonderoga, New York, in order to procure supplies, after which they immediately pursued us, but we eluded them by hastening to Wood-Creek, and thence to Fort Ann, where we arrived on the 13th day of the month. We had but just reached this place, when the sentry gave information that the enemy were all around us, in consequence of which we were suddenly called to arms. Major Putnam led the company, and Major Rogers brought up the rear. We marched but three quarters of a mile, when we came suddenly upon a company of Indians that were lying in ambush. Major Putnam marched his men through their ranks, whereupon the Indians fired, which threw our men into some confusion. Major Putnam was captured by them, and would have been killed by an Indian, had he not been rescued by a French lieutenant.

"The enemy rose like a cloud, and fired a whole volley upon us, and, as I was in the foremost rank, the retreat of my company brought me in the rear, and the tomahawks and bullets flew around me like hail stones. As I was running, I saw not far before me a windfall,<sup>6</sup> which was so high that it appeared to me insurmountable; however, by making great exertions, I succeeded in getting over it. Running a little farther, I observed a man who had in this last conflict been badly wounded,

[Note 6 appears on page 226.]

with myself into the main body of our men with out receiving any farther injury

The battle commenced in the morning lasted till three P.M. Half of our men were killed wounded and taken we wer compelled to Send to Fort edwards for assistance to carry our wounded they being 80 in number and the distance 14 miles I was almost worne out but I went to Abany [sic] for stores and returned to the army

and the Indians were close upon him; nevertheless I turned aside for the purpose of assisting him, and succeeded in getting him into the midst of our army, in safety.

"In this encounter, a man named Gersham Bowley, had nine bullets shot through his clothes, but received no personal injury.<sup>7</sup> Ensign Worcester received nine wounds, was scalped and tomahawked, notwithstanding which, he lived and finally recovered.

"The above engagement commenced early in the morning, and continued until about three o'clock p.m., in which half of our men were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. In consequence of this tremendous slaughter we were compelled to send to Fort Edwards for men, in order to assist in carrying our wounded, which were about eighty in number.

"The distance we had to carry them was nearly fourteen miles. To carry so many thus far, was truly very fatiguing, insomuch, that, when we arrived at the place of destination, my strength was about exhausted.

"I proceeded immediately to Albany, for the purpose of getting supplies, and returned again to the army as soon as circumstances would admit.

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6. George A. Smith (hereafter GAS) on Coray: "windfall (fallen timber) . . ." See Introduction, pp. 164-65.

7. Coray: "but received no personal injury . . ." See Introduction, pp. 164-65.

It was now fall I went home and tarried the ensuing winter”

In the spring of 1759 I again enlisted for another campaign I went to crown point. About this time I became acquainted with an amiable and accomplished young woman a school Teacher by the name of Lydia Gates the daughter of Nathan<sup>8</sup> and Lydia Gates a man living in ease and affluance in the town of East Hadam state of Connecticut to whom I was shortly united in the bands of matrimony, and <a> most worthy <and invaluable> companion <did> she prove to for I soon discovered that she was not only pleasant and agreeable by reason of the polish of Eeducation but she also possessed that inestimable jewel which in a wife and Mother of a family is truly a pearl of great price namely <a> ~~truly~~ pious and devotional Charecter

Autumn having now arrived I went home, where I tarried the ensuing winter.

“In the spring of 1759, the army marched to Crownpoint, where I received my discharge. In the same year I became acquainted with an accomplished young woman, a school teacher, by the name of Lydia Gates. She was the daughter of Nathan Gates, who was a man of wealth, living in the town of East Haddam, Connecticut. To this young woman I was married shortly after becoming acquainted with her.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

“Having received a large amount of money for my services in the army, and deeming it prudent to make an investment of the same in real estate, I contracted for the whole town of Granville, in the state of New York. On the execution of the deed, I paid all the money that was required in the stipulation, which stipulation also called for the building of a number of log houses. I accordingly went to work to fulfil this part of the contract, but after laboring a short time, I had the misfortune to cut my leg, which subjected me, during that season, to the care of the physician. I hired a man to do the work, and

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8. This name does not appear in Solomon Mack's *Narrative* [sic], and is, in fact, mistaken. Lydia's father's name was Daniel. See Biographical Summaries. The entire passage which follows, describing Lydia, also does not appear in the *Narrative*.



paid him in advance, in order to fulfill my part of the contract; but he ran away with the money, without performing the labor, and the consequence was, I lost the land altogether.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

In the course of 2 years I was <moved> into the town of Marlow where we remained untill we had a family of 4 children<sup>9</sup> at that time <Marlow was> a desolate wilderness. there was but 4 families in 40 Miles then it was I learned to prize the talents [words struck out] and virtues of my wife As our children were wholly deprived of the priveledge of schools she took the chargs of their education which task she performed as none but mothers can <do,> debared in their earliest years and in thier mothers first experience in some measure from intercourse with the world their mother's percepts and example tooke deeper root in their infant minds and had a more lasting influence upon their future charecter than all the flowery eloquence of the pulpit surrounded with its ordinary disadvantages could ever have done.

Thus my older children became confirmed in habits of gentelness piety and reflection which were under these circumstances more easily

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

"In 1761, we moved to the town of Marlow, where we remained until we had four children. When we moved there, it was no other than a desolate and dreary wilderness. Only four families resided within forty miles. Here I was thrown into a situation to appreciate more fully the talents and virtues of my excellent wife; for, as our children were deprived of schools, she assumed the charge of their education, and performed the duties of an instructress as none, save a mother, is capable of. Precepts accompanied with examples such as hers, were calculated to make impressions on the minds of the young, never to be forgotten.

"She, besides instructing them in the various branches of an ordinary education, was in the habit of calling them together both morning and evening, and teaching them to pray; meanwhile urging upon them the necessity of love towards each other, as well as devotional feelings towards Him who made them.

"In this manner my first children became confirmed in habits of piety, gentleness, and reflection, which afforded great assistance in

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9. Solomon Mack's *Narrative* does not mention a move to Marlow or the births of these four children.

impressed upon the minds of those who came after them and I have often thought it would have been more difficult to have brought them into the channel ~~in~~ they were reared in had they not inherited much of the disposition of thier excelent mother whose prayers and alms ~~our~~ ~~first son jason~~ came up dialy before that all seeing eye that rests upon all his works.

guiding those who came after them, into the same happy channel. The education of my children would have been a more difficult task, if they had not inherited much of their mother's excellent disposition.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

"In 1776, I enlisted in the service of my country, and was for a considerable length of time in the land forces, after which, I went with my two sons, Jason and Stephen, on a privateering expedition, commanded by Captain Havens. Soon after we set sail, we were driven upon Horseneck. We succeeded, however, in getting some of our guns on shore, and bringing them to bear upon the enemy, so as to exchange many shots with them; yet they cut away our rigging, and left our vessel much shattered.

"We then hauled off, and cast anchor; but, in a short time we espied two row-gallies, two sloops, and two schooners. We quickly weighed anchor, and hauled to shore again, and had barely time to post four cannon in a position in which they could be used, before a sanguinary contest commenced. The balls from the enemy's guns, tore up the ground, cutting asunder the saplings in every direction. One of the row-gallies went round a point of land with the view of hemming us in, but we killed forty of their men, with our small arms, which caused the enemy<sup>10</sup> to abandon their purpose.

"My son Stephen, in company with the cabin boys, was sent to a house not far from the shore, with a wounded man. Just as they entered the house, an eighteen-pounder followed them. A woman was engaged in frying cakes, at the time, and being somewhat alarmed, she concluded to retire into the cellar, saying, as she left, that the boys might have the cakes, as she was going below.

"The boys were highly delighted at this,<sup>11</sup> and they went to work cooking, and feasting upon the lady's sweet cakes, while the artillery of the contending

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10. Coray: "caused them to abandon . . ."

11. Coray: "The boys at this were highly delighted . . ."

armies was thundering in their ears, dealing out death and destruction on every hand. At the head of this party of boys, was Stephen Mack, my second son, a bold and fearless stripling of fourteen.<sup>12</sup>

"In this contest, the enemy was far superior to us in point of numbers, yet we maintained our ground, with such valour, that they thought it better to leave us, and accordingly did so. Soon after which, we hoisted sail, and made for New London.

"When hostilities had ceased, and peace and tranquillity were again restored, we freighted a vessel for Liverpool. Selling both ship and cargo in this place, we embarked on board Captain Foster's vessel, which I afterwards purchased; but, in consequence of storms and wrecks, I was compelled to sell her, and was left completely destitute.

"I struggled a little longer to obtain property, in making adventures, then returned to my family, after an absence of four years, about penniless. After this, I determined to follow phantoms no longer, but devote the rest of my life to the service of God, and my family."

I shall now lay aside my father's journal, as I have made such extracts as are adapted to my purpose, and take up the history of his children.<sup>13</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

## CHAP. II

### HISTORY OF JASON MACK.

The oldest <son> jason was as studious ~~lad and~~ manly boy and before he attained his 16th year he became what is termed a seeker a beleiver in the power of God manifest through the medium of prayer and faith he held that there was no church in existence which held to the pure principles of the Gospel but labored incessantly to convince the people that by an exercise of

Jason, my oldest brother, was a studious and manly boy. Before he had attained his sixteenth year he became what was then called a *Seeker*, and believing that by prayer and faith the gifts of the Gospel, which were enjoyed by the ancient disciples of Christ, might be attained, he labored almost incessantly to convert others to the same faith. He was also of the opinion that God

12. The story of this engagement appears in Mack's *Narrative* but not this paragraph.

13. Lucy thus omits her father's quite remarkable conversion to Christianity late in life. (See discussion in "The Domestic Spirituality of Lucy Mack Smith.") She later told an unnamed traveler in Nauvoo that "her father kept for several years the tavern in Montague, known afterwards as the 'Gun tavern,' and afterwards kept a public house in Keen, N.H." ("The City").

prayer the blessings and privileges of the acient deciples of jesus might be obtained and eventually would be.

At the age of 20 he became a minister of the gospel. Shortly after this he became enamored of a beautiful young and wealthy young woman by the name of Esther Bruce of the State of new Hamshire of whom he was passionately fond; she seemed also to have the most fervent attachment for him They were engaged to be married and every preparation was being made for their approaching nuptials when I received word <a letter> from Liverpool stating that a heavy debt that had been due me for a long time was collected and ready for me

would, at some subsequent period, manifest his power as he had anciently done—in signs and wonders.

At the age of twenty he became a preacher of the Gospel. And in a short time after this he formed an acquaintance with a young woman of wealthy parentage\* [\*“The name of this young woman was Esther Bruce; she was from the state of New Hampshire.”] She was the pride of the place in which she resided, not so much on account of her splendid appearance, as the soundness of her mind, and her stately deportment, joined with an unaffected mildness of disposition, and a condescension of manners, which were admirably suited to the taste and principles of my brother. Jason became deeply in love with her, insomuch that his heart was completely hers, and it would have been as easy to have convinced him that he could exist without his head, as that he could live and enjoy life, without being united with her in marriage. These feelings, I believe, were mutual, and Jason and she entered into an engagement to be married, but, as they were making arrangements for the solemnization of their nuptials, my father received a letter from Liverpool, containing information that a large amount of money was collected for him, and that it was ready for his reception.

it was agreed that the marriage of my son should be deferred and he

On account of this intelligence it was agreed that the marriage of my

should accompany me to Liverpool he left his betrothed with a heavy heart but with this arrangement<sup>14</sup> that he was to write to her and his sisters conjointly once in 3 months shortly after his departure or in due time a letter arrived which she received most joyfully but ~~the~~ it was never followed by another from him

A young man who kept the Office where she received her letters formed in his heart a design to thwart My sons in his intentions and obtain the hand of Esther Bruce himself he used every art to dissuade her from marrying Jason ~~at the same~~ <meantime> time detaining his letters in order <that he might the more easily accomplish his fiendish purpose> that she might not hear from him. Unforeseen ~~accidents~~ <circumstances> detained us beyond the time appointed ~~He thus~~ <the post master> continued to importune Miss Bruce upon the subject of my sons neglect

untill at last she received 2 or three several Epistles stating that Jason Mack was dead that she and his relatives might cease to look for his

brother, as my father desired that he should accompany him to Liverpool, should be deferred until their return. Accordingly, my brother left his affianced bride, with a heavy heart, and with this promise, that he would write to her and his sister conjointly, at least once in three months during his absence. In three months after his departure, according to agreement, a letter arrived, which indeed met with a very warm reception, but it was never followed by another from him.

A young man who kept the post-office where she received her letters, formed in his heart a determination to thwart my brother, if possible, in his matrimonial prospects, in order to obtain the prize himself. He commenced by using the most persuasive arguments against her marrying my brother;<sup>15</sup> but not succeeding in this, he next detained his letters, and then reproached him for neglecting her.

Being still unsuccessful, he forged letters purporting to be from a friend of Jason, which stated that he (Jason Mack) was dead, and his friends

14. Coray: "and with this understanding . . ."

15. Coray: "He commenced by using the most dissuasive arguments against her marrying him . . ."

return this was 2 years after we left the shores of America. Esther gave no credence to the first message till the tale was so confirmed that she could no longer doubt

but still She rejected M the young <man's> suit untill within 4 months of our arrival at home 3 year 10 months from the time we embarked from <or> Liverpool

Jason went immediately to her <father's> house She was absent with her husband. He seated himself in the same room where he wooed her and obtained her consent to be his he waited her arrival with a beating heart not knowing the perfidious game his rival had played him, untill she ~~er~~ entered. She was attired in a complete suit of Mourning <as she had> ~~recently~~ lost a brother recently by death and without this there was a bitter disappointment preying like a canke worm upon her very vitals occasioned by the supposed death of him who now stood before her. She bowed Gø in Gloomy silence as she entered the splendid apartment where he sat fitted up in earlier happier days to please the of the man now doomed

might cease to expect him. He then urged his suit again, but she still rejected him, and continued to do so until within four months of Jason's return, when she concluded that she had wronged the young man, and that he was really more worthy than she had expected.

The time also which Jason was to be absent having expired without his return, she believed that the reports concerning his death must be true. So she accepted the hand of this young man, and they were united in the bonds of matrimony.

As soon as Jason arrived he repaired immediately to her father's house. When he got there<sup>16</sup> she was gone to her brother's funeral; he went in, and seated himself in the same room where he had once paid his addresses to her. In a short time she came home; when she first saw him she did not know him, but when she got a full view of his countenance she recognized him, and instantly fainted.

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16. IE and Nibley: "When he arrived there . . ."

to drink the bitter cup of sorrow  
 to the dregs She walked to the  
 other side of the room threw ~~of~~  
 <aside> her boönnnet and shawl  
 but as she turned again to the  
 stranger and beheld his ~~look of~~  
 distracted and enquiring look she  
 was recalled to her recollection  
 his immag and person ~~without a~~  
~~word~~ a she clasped her hands in  
 agony and <with a piercing  
 shriek> fell lifeless to the floor af-  
 ter My son took the <motion-  
 less> ~~lifeless~~ form <of her> that  
 should have been his own and  
 placing her on a sofa resigned her  
 into the hands of her cowering  
 conscience smitten husband; and  
 left her with ~~what~~ those pungeant  
 feelings <which> some few are  
 fated to experienc, but none can  
 tell nor imagine correctly. By  
 the active exertions of those who  
 attended her she at last revived  
 to realize her lamentable <situ-  
 ation> more fully.

My son returned <and> having  
 heard an explanation of (the whole  
 <matter>) (which simply, <was>  
 the man detained his letters gave  
 the intelligence of his Death) he  
 went immediately to sea

From this time forward she never re-  
 covered her health, but, lingering for  
 two years, died the victim of disap-  
 pointment.

Jason remained in the neighbour-  
 hood a short time, and then went to  
 sea, but he did not follow the sea a  
 great while. He soon left the main,  
 and commenced preaching,<sup>17</sup> which  
 he continued until his death.

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17. GAS on Coray: "and again commenced . . ."



But whither he has fled or what his  
 fate has been God knows 'tis long  
 Since he left us and I fear my Grey  
 hairs will go down in sorrow to grave  
 e're I shall see his face, <but> if this  
 happens to meet the eye of the man  
 who has brought this heavy affliction  
 upon my boy and us his parents I  
 hope it may stimulate him to <peni-  
 tence and> better deeds hereafter.  
 (Esther died short time after

I shall here drop for a while at  
 least my Fathers narative and pursue  
 the subject of my brother [X'ed out  
 from here to the end of the para-  
 graph] he <lived single till his age of  
 50th year but> continued preaching  
 the word by land and seas untill the  
 year 1835 when we received from  
 him the following letter which was  
 the last we heard of him before his  
 death<sup>18</sup> We heard no more

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Lovisa my oldest sister was a woman peculiar faith as well as my oldest  
 brother and my her sister next to her Lovina, These two were singular for their de-  
 voted attachment for each other which continued steadfast till Death and even  
 the maner of their death one might well say as did one of old <"let me die the  
 death of the righteous and"> let my last end be like theirs I shall here relate a cir-  
 cumstance that my [sic] tax the credulity of such as do not bear wittness of the  
 fact as I do which who are not a few. [cross referring to an insertion: "I shall not  
 weary my reader with recitals of early life which though they are engraved upon  
 my heart with a pen of Iron <never to be obliterated> might not touch the feel-  
 ings of others with that interest with which I contemplate the same." ] But what I  
 say here I say with reference to Eternity and the judgement seat of the allmighty  
 where I shall again meet my readers as a testater of the same  
 but to my tale

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18. Lucy's rough draft includes Jason's letter at this point; but in the Coray 1845 manuscript, it appears in Chapter 12, as it does in Coray/Pratt 1853. I have shifted it to that location.

## LUCY'S BOOK

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

### CHAP. III

LOVISA AND LOVINA MACK

The history of Lovisa and Lovina, my two oldest sisters, is so connected and interwoven that I shall not attempt to separate it.

They were one in faith, in love, in action, and in hope of eternal life. They were always together, and when they were old enough to understand the duties of a Christian, they united their voices in prayer and songs of praise to God. This sisterly affection increased with their years, and strengthened with the strength of their minds. The pathway of their lives was never clouded with a gloomy shadow until Lovisa's marriage, and removal from home, which left Lovina very lonely.

In about two years after Lovisa's marriage she was taken very sick, and sent for Lovina. Lovina, as might be expected, went immediately, and remained with her sister during her illness, which lasted two years, baffling the skill of the most experienced physicians; but at the expiration of this time she revived a little, and showed some symptoms of recovery.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

an example of he my oldest sisters faith which I shall here give was exhibited <years> subsequent to her Marriage she was taken violently sick with a disease so singular in its nature that her attendant Phisicians not being furnished with any precedent could give no name to Sufice it to say she was nigh unto death and sorely afflicted for the space of 2 years she revived a little about this time and showed some symptoms of recovery [-.] but a malignant reat-tack soon brought her back in intense agony upon a bed of pain and languor she grew worse and worse untill she became utterly speechless and was so for several days those who attended her were not allowed to move her

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

I shall here relate a circumstance connected with her sickness, which may try the credulity of some of my readers, yet hundreds were eye witnesses, and doubtless many of them are now living, who, if they would, could testify to the fact which I am about to mention.

As before stated, after the space of two years she began to manifest signs of convalescence, but soon a violent re-attack brought her down again, and she grew worse and worse, until she became entirely speechless, and so reduced that her attendants were not allowed to even turn her in bed.

she ate not she drank not with the exception of a mere morsel of frice water which they were enabled to pour into her mouth with a teaspoon by prying her teeth apart

Thus she lay untill the night of the 3rd day at about 2 oclock she feebly pronnounced the name of her sister Lovina who had hovered <indefatiguablely> all the while arround her pillow night and day like an attendant angel watching every change with thrilling anxiety she now bent with deep emmotion over the emmaciated form of the invalid and said My Sister! but no more her feeling choked her utterance

Lovisa said emphatically The Lord has healed me soul and body <raise> Take me up and give me my clothes I want to get up

"Her <Husband> told those present to gratify her as this was probably a revival before death and he would not have her crossed in her last moments

they raised her in bed and handed her clothing to her and assisted her to dress but when she was lifted to

She took no nourishment except a very little rice water. She lay in this situation three days and two nights.

On the third night, about two o'clock, she feebly pronounced the name of Lovina, who had all the while watched over her pillow, like an attendant angel, observing every change<sup>19</sup> and symptom with the deepest emotion. Startled at hearing the sound of Lovisa's voice, Lovina now bent over the emaciated form of her sister, with thrilling interest, and said, "my sister! my sister! what will you?"

Lovisa then said emphatically, "the Lord has healed me, both soul and body—raise me up and give me my clothes, I wish to get up.

Her husband told those who were watching with her, to gratify her, as in all probability it was a revival before death, and he would not have her crossed in her last moments.

They did so, though with reluctance, as they supposed she might live a few moments longer, if she did not exhaust her strength too much by exerting herself in this manner.

Having raised her in bed, they assisted her to dress; and although, when they raised her to her feet,

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19. Coray: "all the while hovered over her pillow, like an attendant angel, watching every change . . ."

her feet both of her ancles were instantly dislocated by her weight resting upon them She said put me in a chair and pull my feet gently and I shall soon be sound again. She then ordered her husband to bring her nourishment

when she had taken some stimulanse<sup>20</sup> she desired them to assist her to cross the street to her Father in law's who was then sick ~~He~~ a they did so when she entered

He cried out in ammazement Lovisa is dead<sup>21</sup> and <Loe> her spirit has come to admonish me of my final exit No Father No she said God has raised me up and I come to tell you to prepare for Death she then sat down conversed with him some time and ~~then~~ afterwards returned home by the <help of her husband and> 3 watchers that had been sitting up with her for she had not been without <2 extra> attendants one night for one whole year

<By this> time so great an excite-

her weight dislocated bth of her ancles, she would not corent to return to her bed, but insisted upon being set in a chair, and havig her feet drawn gently in order t have her ancle joints replaced.

She then requested her hsband to bring her some wine, sayig, if he would do so she would do quite well for the present.

Soon after this, by he own request, she was assisted to coss the street to her father-in-law', who was at that time prostrated upon :bed of sickness.

When she entered the houe he cried out in amazement, "Lovisas dead, and her spirit is now come to wan me of my sudden departure from this world." "No, father," she exclaimec, "God has raised me up, and I have cone to tell you to prepare for death." Sle conversed an hour or so with hin, then, with the assistance of her husband and those who attended upon her that night, she crossed the street back again to her own apartment.

When this was noised abroad, a

20. Coray: "Having raised her in bed they assisted her to dress; but, when they raised her to her feet, her weight dislocated both of her ancles; she would not consent to return to her bed, but insisted upon being set in a chair and having her feet drawn gently in order to replace her ancle joints. She then requested her husband to bring her wine sling, saying, if he would do so she would do quite well for the present." As this paragraph with its numerous small changes demonstrates, most of the discrepancies between the Lucy and Pratt documents were created, not by Pratt but by Coray.

21. Here is hand-drawn a small arrangement of parallel lines surmounted by a diagonal with a rough circle. It does not seem to be an illustration and it does not mark a footnote.

ment was raised that the inhabitants began <to> gather from all quarters she told them she would meet them at the village church\*<sup>22</sup> on thursday the next day ~~but one~~ and tell them all they wished to know which she accordingly did by walking 1 mile with the assistance of Her husband and her sister\* when she lay sick her Spirit she was carried away [\*She then sang them a hymn with angelic harmony.] [Interlinear note: "told them there was nothing more than a spider's web between her and ~~heaven~~ Christ that Christ bid her return and warn the people"]

great multitude of people came together, both to hear and see concerning the strange and marvellous circumstance which had taken place. She talked to them a short time, and then sang a hymn, after which she dismissed them, promising to meet them the next day at the village church, where she would tell them all about the strange manner in which she had been healed.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

She testified with boldness to the power of God in her behalf and continued so to do till her death which was 3 years after <when [... ..] she was carried home>.\* [dagger] She occupied the whole day had her two nurses with minister opened the meeting and gave it into her hands she sang a splendid strain of music > see last page

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

The following day, according to promise, she proceeded to the church,<sup>23</sup> and when she arrived there a large congregation had collected. Soon after she entered, the minister arose and remarked, that as many of the congregation had doubtless come to hear a recital of the strange circumstance which had taken place in the neighbourhood, and as he himself felt more interested in it than in hearing a Gospel discourse, he would open the meeting and then give place to Mrs. Tuttle.

The minister then requested her to sing a hymn;<sup>24</sup> she accordingly did so, and

22. At the foot of this sheet are two notes preceded by an asterisk and one preceded by a comma. Only two asterisks appear in the text, so the location of the three notes is conjectural.

23. Coray, IE, and Nibley: "she proceeded to the meeting house . . ."

24. The *Narrative* written by her father, Solomon Mack, says that when she first sat up in bed, pronouncing herself well, she asked for her Bible and read the "second part" of Psalm 30, then "the 116th, first part." He also adds that the hymn she sang in church at the minister's request on the following Thursday was "the 116th Psalm, first part . . . and on the last singing she turned to the 116th Psalm, second part." Richard L. Anderson identifies these hymns as Isaac Watts's

her voice was as high and clear as it had ever been. Having sung, she arose and addressed the audience as follows:—"I seemed to be borne away to the world of spirits, where I saw the Saviour, as through a veil, which appeared to me about as thick as a spider's web, and he told me that I must return again to warn the people to prepare for death; that I must exhort them to be watchful as well as prayerful; that I must declare faithfully unto them their accountability before God, and the certainty of their being called to stand before the judgment seat of Christ; and that if I would do this, my life should be prolonged." After which, she spoke much to the people upon the uncertainty of life.

When she sat down, her husband and sister, also those who were with her during the last night of her sickness, arose and testified to her appearance just before her sudden recovery.

Of these things she continued to speak boldly for the space of three years. At the end of which time she was seized with the consumption which terminated her earthly existence.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Lovina's character was that of a true follower of Christ and she lived as she died contemplating her final change with that peacefull serenity which <characterizes> those who fear God and walk uprightly she was taken with the consumption at 16 and languished 3 years with this fatal disease she spoke calmly of her approaching dissolution and conjured her young friends to remmember that life upon this earth could not be eternal to any one therefore the necessity of looking beyond this vale of tears to a far more glorious inheritance laid up where moth doth not corrupt nor theives break through nor steal<sup>25</sup>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

A short time before Lovisa was healed in the miraculous manner before stated,<sup>26</sup> Lovina was taken with a severe cough which ended in consumption. She lingered three years. During which time she spoke with much calmness of her approaching dissolution, contemplating death with all that serenity which is characteristic of the last moments of those who fear God, and walk uprightly before him. She conjured her young friends to remember that life upon this earth cannot be eternal. Hence the necessity of looking beyond this vale of tears, to a glorious inheritance, "where moths do not corrupt,

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versification: "My God hath sav'd my soul from death / And dry'd my falling tears. / Now to his praise I'll spend my breath, / And my remaining years. // I love the Lord: he heard my cries / And pity'd every groan. / Long as I live, when troubles rise, / I'll hasten to his throne. // The Lord beheld me sore distress't; / He bid my pains remove. / Return, my soul, to God thy rest, / For thou hast known his love" (*New England*, 72, 76, 80-81).

25. See Matthew 6:20: "Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor

[Note 26 appears on page 241.]

nor thieves break through and steal."

The care of Lovina, during her illness, devolved chiefly upon myself. The task, though a melancholy one, I cheerfully performed, and, although she had much other attention, I never allowed myself to go an hour, at a time, beyond the sound of her voice while she was sick.

Finally to be as brief as possible she called to me <one night> (who am the youngest daughter of My Father's family) and said Lucy tell Mother and Father to come to me, when Mother came she said Mother I am going now and I wish you to call my young mates that I may speak to them again before I die while my mother was giving the necessary direction my sister bade me take her up and place her in a chair ~~When~~ When Mother and our associates with the family were seated she commenced speaking and finding that her strength failed her she desired Mother to prepare her some food saying tis the last you will ever get for me she took the food and after eating with seeming appetite a small quantity she <she then gave back the dish to mother and said there mother you will never get me anything to eat again>

A short time before she breathed out her last moments,<sup>27</sup> which was in the night, she awakened me, and requested that I would call father and mother, for she wished to see them, as she would soon be gone. When they came, she said, "Father and mother, now I am dying, and I wish you to call my young associates, that I may speak to them before I die." She then requested me to place her in a chair, and as soon as the young people who were called in, were seated, she commenced speaking. After talking a short time to them, she stopped, and turning to her mother, said, "Mother, will you get me something to eat? it is the last time you will ever bring me nourishment in this world." When my mother had complied with her request, she eat a small quantity of food, with apparent appetite, then gave back the dish, saying, "There, mother, you will never get me anything to eat again."

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rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal." (See also Luke 12:33.)

26. Coray: "manner as above stated"; RLDS: "manner above stated"

27. RLDS: "she breathed her last . . ."



she proceeded I do not know when I received any material change of heart unless when I was ten years old God heard my prayers and forgave my sins since then I have according to my best ability endeavored to serve him continually

I have called you here to give you my last warning and bid you all farewell and beseech you to endeavor to meet me where parting shall be no more Sister Lucy help me into the

Then Holding up her hands and looking upon them as one would <remark> a trifling thing which they had <not> observed before she said smiling see the blood is now settling under my nails and as she contemplated the gradual change in their appearance <she> again remarked how slowly Death creeps on there she said placing the fingers of her left hand across the right tis cold to there soon this mortal flesh will be food food for worms Then turning to me now sister <Lucy> help me back to the bed

I did as she desired but as I moved my hand from beneath her side, <she started and saying

After which, she turned to the company, and proceeded with her remarks, thus:—"I do not know when I received any material change of heart, unless it was when I was ten years old. God, at that time, heard my prayers, and forgave my sins; and ever since then I have endeavored to serve him according to the best of my abilities. And I have called you here to give you my last warning—to bid you all farewell, and beseech you to endeavor to meet me where parting shall be no more."

Shortly after this, holding up her hands, and looking upon them as one would upon a trifling thing unobserved before, she said, with a smile upon her countenance, "See, the blood is settling under my nails." Then, placing the fingers of her left hand across her right, she continued thus, "'Tis cold to there—soon this mortal flesh will be food for worms." Then, turning to me, she said, "Now, sister Lucy, will you help me into bed."

I did as I was directed, carrying her in my arms just as I would a child. Although I was but thirteen

"Sister that hurts me> she moaned plaintively which gave me ~~awful feelings~~ <sensations> feellings that I could utter for too well I knew that it was the last sad office I should ever perform for <my> only surviving sister and it wounded me to think that in laying her upon her death bed I should cause her pain

years old,<sup>28</sup> she was so emaciated that I could carry her with considerable ease.

As I was carrying her to bed, my hand slipped. At this she cried out, "Oh! Sister, that hurt me." This, indeed, gave me bitter feelings. I was well assured, that this was the last sad office I should ever perform for my sister, and the thought that I had caused her pain in laying her on her death bed, wounded me much.

My sister now laid her <self> calmly back upon her pillow and said father Mother brothers<sup>29</sup> sisters and dear companions all farewell I am going to rest prepare to follow me for death "tis<sup>30</sup> a Melancholly thought to those who have no God [Note: "lovina placed her fingers on her nose and said my nose is now quite cold"] after repeating this hymn she <and> placed her hands together across her breast and closed her eyes to open them no more in this world | ~~the hymn was the~~ <very> last of all.

Soon after this, she passed her hand over her face, and again remarked, "my nose is now quite cold." Then, slightly turning and straightening herself in bed, she continued, "Father, mother, brother, sister, and dear companions, all farewell, I am going to rest—prepare to follow me; for

Coray/Pratt: 1853

"Death! 'tis a melancholy day  
To those that have no God,  
When the poor soul is forced away  
To seek her last abode.

"In vain to heaven she lifts her eyes;

28. Richard L. Anderson, *New England*, 19-25, dating Lovisa's death in 1794, gives Lucy's age as sixteen through nineteen during this final illness, not thirteen.

29. Coray, Pratt, IE, and Nibley: "brother"

30. A stylized symbol like a diagonal # appears here designating an addition. The note appears in a section of endnotes four pages away from the paragraph containing Lovisa's dying hymn.

But guilt, a heavy chain,  
Still drags her downwards from the skies,  
To darkness, fire, and pain.

"Awake and mourn, ye heirs of hell,  
Let stubborn sinners fear;  
You must be driven from earth, and dwell  
A long FOR EVER there!

"See how the pit gapes wide for you,  
And flashes in your face;  
And thou, my soul, look downward too,  
And sing recovering grace.

"He is a God of sov'reign love,  
Who promised heaven to me,  
And taught my thoughts to soar above,  
Where happy spirits be.

"Prepare me, Lord, for thy right hand,  
Then come the joyful day;  
Come, death, and some celestial band,  
To bear my soul away."

After repeating this hymn, she folded her hands across her breast, and then closed her eyes for ever.

Having led my readers to the close of Lovina's life, I shall return to Lovisa, of whom there only remains the closing scene of her earthly career.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

[This paragraph begins at the top of a full page but occurs after the lengthy note about Daniel's rescue of three men and is preceded by a dagger:] She prached to a croweded house after this her house was always crowded for 3 years when she took sick sent for father to come and see her she was affraid she should die before he got there —he

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

In the course of a few months subsequent to the death of sister Lovina, my father received a letter from South Hadley, stating that Lovisa was very low of the consumption, and that she earnestly desired him to come and see her as soon as possible, as she expected to live but a short time.

My father set out immediately,

went in a carriage she would go back with him, he prepared a bed laid her thereon She then told him the now father if I die before I get home I wish you to bury me in gilsum <beside my sister lovina>

traveled 4 miles put up at Mr. Taffe's<sup>31</sup> asked her if she would be placed in a chair and rest a little she said she would and after she was taken out into the parlor while father went to the bar for some spirits she expired in her chair—father then did all that was poss could be done by way of decent dress and suitable equipage of every kind it was 50 miles from there to Gilsum kept her 3 days then buried her as her request was

father took the precaution of writing to mother almost overcome went 15 miles for a minister to preach—I was then in tunbridge with brother S Mack

and when he arrived there, he found her in rather better health than he expected. In a few days after he got there, she resolved in her heart to return with him at all hazards. To this her father unwillingly consented, and, after making the requisite preparations, they started for Gilsum.

They travelled about four miles, and came to an inn kept by a man by the name of Taff. Here her father halted, and asked her if she did not wish to tarry a short time to rest herself. She replied in the affirmative. By the assistance of the landlord, she was presently seated in an easy chair. My father then stepped into the next room to procure a little water and wine for her. He was absent but a moment; however, when he returned it was too late, her spirit had fled from its earthly tabernacle to return no more, until recalled by the trump of the Archangel.

My father immediately addressed a letter to mother, informing her of Lovisa's death, lest the shock of seeing the corpse unexpectedly should overcome her. And as soon as he could get a coffin, he proceeded on his journey for Gilsum, a distance of fifty miles.

She was buried by the side of her sister Lovina, according to her own request.

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31. Solomon Mack's *Narrative* gives this name as "landlord S\_\_\_\_\_." Richard L. Anderson, *New England*, 64, 84-85, 182n96, cites a 1794 map of Montague that lists both a "Taft's Tavern" and a "Severance's Tavern" about two miles apart. The 1790 Montague census lists a Moses Severance and Lyman Taft. Taft was also a proprietor with Elisha Mack, Solomon's brother, for the Connecticut River toll bridge.

she made some verses just before  
she started

Oh Lord wilt thou return to me  
In Mercy ~~Lord~~ Lord before I die  
O may I Now return to thee  
And lift my heavy soul on high  
~~Oh for mercy I implore~~ and lift my  
heavy  
~~And never sin no more~~ soul above  
—and fill  
My soul with heavenly love

Farewell my Father and my Mother  
Dear  
Farewell My Husband of my life  
Farewell my brothers and sisters here  
and farewell all the joys of life  
For whilst with you on earth I stay  
I beg your prayers both night and  
day

Farewell O world I bid adieu  
The Lord he calls and I must go  
So I must and soon be gone  
My time on Earth will not be long  
Farewell Farewell in heaven I shall  
I hope in to meet you all

Thus I have disposed of My oldest  
brother and 2 sisters

The following is part of a hymn  
composed by herself, a few days pre-  
vious to her decease:

“Lord, may my thoughts be turned  
to thee;  
Lift thou my heavy soul on high;  
Wilt thou, O, Lord, return to me  
In mercy, Father, ere I die!  
My soaring thoughts now rise  
above—  
Oh fill my soul with heavenly love.

“Father and mother, now farewell;  
And husband, partner of my life,  
Go to my father's children, tell  
That lives no more on earth thy  
wife;  
That while she dwelt in cumbrous  
clay,  
For them she prayed both night  
and day.

“My friends, I bid you all adieu;  
The Lord hath called, and I must  
go—  
And all the joys of this vain earth,  
Are now to me of little worth;  
'Twill be the same with you as me,  
When brought as near eternity.”

Thus closes this mournful re-  
cital, and when I pass with my  
readers into the next chapter,  
with them probably may end the  
sympathy aroused<sup>32</sup> by this rehears-  
al, but with me it must last while  
life endures.

32. Coray: “probably will end the momentary sympathy aroused by this rehearsal . . .”

*Lucy: 1844-45*

next comes Stephen Mack<sup>33</sup> who volunteered to in the last war at 14 and fought by land and sea and travelled through cold the hunger fatigue and endured every species of hardship that human nature could endure for 3 years in which time he received an office of honor in the army [blot] returned to his Father at 17 and At 21 he commenced business for himself in Gilsum where he entered upon merchandise He removed from thence to Tunbridge where he was very successful He built here a store a very large tavern and improved cultivated an extensive farm. soon he was enabled to open 2 wholesale and retail establishments <in the city of Detroit>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

## CHAP. IV

## LIFE OF STEPHEN MACK.

My brother Stephen, who was next in age to Jason, was born in the town of Marlow, June 15, 1766.

I shall pass his childhood in silence, and say nothing about him until he attained the age of fourteen, at which time he enlisted in the army, the circumstances of which were as follows:—

A recruiting officer came into the neighbourhood to draft soldiers for the revolutionary war, and he called out a company of militia to which my brother belonged, in order to take therefrom such as were best qualified to do military duty. My brother, being very anxious to go into the army at this time, was so fearful that he would be passed by on account of his age, that the sweat stood in large drops on his face, and he shook like an aspen leaf. Fortunately,<sup>34</sup> the officer made choice of him among others, and he entered the army, and continued in the service of his country until he was seventeen. During this time he was in many battles, both on land and sea, and several times narrowly escaped death by famine; but, according to his own account, whenever he was brought into a situation to fully realize his entire dependence upon God, the hand of Providence was always manifested in his deliverance.

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33. Lucy's rough draft has an extremely abbreviated summary of the youth and military career of Stephen Mack. The 1853 version is not an expansion but a new draft, containing not only a completely new story about his enlistment but also the Stanley letter, neither of which appears in the 1844-45 version. The Pratt 1853 edition does not differ substantially from the Coray 1845 manuscript, except as noted.

34. Coray: "As luck would have it . . ."

Not long since, I met with an intimate acquaintance of my brother Stephen, and requested him to furnish me such facts as were in his possession in relation to him; and he wrote the following brief, yet comprehensive account, for the gratification of my readers:

"I, Horace Stanly,<sup>35</sup> was born in Tunbridge, Orange county, Vermont, August 21, 1798. I have been personally acquainted with Maj.<sup>36</sup> Mack and his family ever since I can remember, as I lived in the same township, within one mile and a half of the Major's farm, and two miles from his store,<sup>37</sup> and eight miles from Chelsea, the county seat of Orange county; where he conducted the mercantile and tinning business.

"My eldest brother went to learn the tinning business of the Major's workmen. The Major being a man of great enterprize, energetic in business, and possessed of a high degree of patriotism, launched forth on the frontiers at<sup>38</sup> Detroit, in the year 1800 (if I recollect rightly), where he immediately commenced trading with the Indians.

"He left his family in Tunbridge, on his farm, and while he was engaged in business at Detroit he visited them—sometimes once in a year, in eighteen months, or in two years, just as it happened.

"I visited Detroit, November 1, 1820, where I found the Major merchandising upon quite an extensive scale, having six clerks in one store; besides this, he had many other stores in the territory of Michigan, as well as in various parts of Ohio.

"His business at Pontiac was principally farming and building, but in order to facilitate these two branches of business, he set in operation a saw and flour mill, and afterwards added different branches of mechanism. He made the turnpike road from Detroit to Pontiac at his own expense. He also did considerable other public work, for the purpose of giving employment to the poor.

"He never encouraged idleness, or the man above his business. In 1828, having been absent from Detroit a short time, I returned. The Major was then a member of the Council of the territory, and had acted a very conspicuous part in enhancing its prosperity and enlarging its settlement; and it was a common saying, that he had done much more for the Territory than any other individual.

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35. RLDS: "I, Horace Stanley . . ."

36. GAS on Coray: "Col." He makes this change the next three times the title occurs, but not the following (and final) three.

37. Coray: "At a place called [blank] which is eight miles . . ."

38. Coray and Pratt: "at"; IE and Nibley: "of"



"In short, the Major was a man of talents of the first order. He was energetic and untiring. He always encouraged industry, and was very cautious how he applied his acts of charity.

Respectfully, by  
HORACE STANLEY."

*Lucy: 1844-45*

whilst at this place was made a captain of a company by [blank] Hull although he had been for some ["some" has been written over "long"] time <previous> a Colonel at Tunbrige. Hull at this time commanded his men to surrender Col. Mack broke his sword accross his knee and trew it into the lake<sup>39</sup>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

My brother was in the city of Detroit in 1812, the year in which Hull surrendered the territory to the British Crown. My brother, being somewhat celebrated for his prowess, was selected by General Hull to take the command of a company, as Captain. After a short service in this office, he was ordered to surrender. At this his indignation was roused to the highest pitch. He broke his sword across his knee; and, throwing it into the lake, exclaimed that he would never submit to such a disgraceful compromise while the blood of an American continued to run through his veins.

His stores would have been robbed by the French both of money and goods had it not been for an old woman who washed for him she went into the stores and took out the money and hid it ~~and by this~~

This drew the especial vengeance of the army upon his head; and his property, doubtless, would have been sacrificed to their resentment, had they known the situation of his affairs. But this they did not know,

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39. Joseph Smith obviously knew this family story and shared his uncle's sentiment about Hull. In a letter to Emma on 4 November 1838, he said George Hinkle, who he felt had engineered his surrender at Far West, "proved to be a trator, to the Church, he is worse than a hull who betraid the army at detroit" (qtd. in LeSueur, 187). B. H. Roberts quotes another historian on this episode during the War of 1812: "Without firing a gun or waiting for a gun to be fired by the enemy, Hull hoisted the signal of surrender—a white table-cloth—and gave up the fort and town, and with them the control of the territory of Michigan, to the enemy. This act filled the whole country with indignation. Hull was declared to be another Benedict Arnold; he was tried by court-martial, convicted of cowardice, sentenced to be shot. The President, however, pardoned him on account of his services during the Revolution" (CHC 1:21).

means he was seen doing at his  
stores Goods however were all  
taken but the money the old woman  
saved for him enabled him to re-  
commence merchandize again

as his housekeeper deceived them by  
a stratagem, related by Mr. Stanly, as  
follows:

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

"At the surrender of Detroit, not having as yet moved his family hither, Major Mack had an elderly lady, by the name of Trotwine, keeping house for him. The old lady took in some of the most distinguished British officers as boarders. She justified them in their course of conduct towards the Yankees, and, by her shrewdness and tact, she gained the esteem of the officers, and thus secured through them the good will of the soldiery, so far as to prevent their burning (what they supposed to be) her store and dwelling, both of which were splendid buildings.

"The Major never forgot this service done him by the old lady, for he ever afterwards supported her handsomely."

Thus was a great amount of goods and money saved from the hands of his enemies. But this is not all: the news came to her ears that they were about to burn another trading establishment belonging to the Major, and, without waiting to consult him, she went immediately to the store, and took from the counting-room several thousand dollars, which she secreted until the British left the city. The building and goods were burned.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

[...] when he had done so he  
brought his family from tunbridge to  
Detroit but soon removed them a  
[blot] business again He shortly ex-  
tended buisness to Pontiac where  
he <afterward set up business and>  
built a Grist Mill Cotton factory and  
purchased 2 farms <after this he  
went> thence to Rochester and  
built a Grist Mill and saw Mill<sup>40</sup>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

As soon as the English left the  
territory, he recommenced business,  
and removed his family from Tun-  
bridge to Detroit. Here they re-  
mained but a short time, when he  
took them to Pontiac; and, as soon  
as they were well established or set-  
tled in this place, he himself went to  
the city of Rochester, where he built  
a saw-mill.

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40. Coray: "where he built a saw-mill."

Near this time he undertook <[.....  
...]> to settle up his affairs but was  
taken very sick and after 4 days ill-  
ness died lammmented by all who  
knew him particularly the poor  
many of whom looked to for assis-  
tance day by day. ~~so though he had~~  
~~added house to house and field~~<sup>41</sup> yet  
~~in the midst of his Glory~~ he was  
called to leave all that he had and  
try the realities of another state of  
existence without one moments  
warning for\* ~~not one of his family~~  
~~suposed him to be dangerous intill~~  
~~they [....] discovered that dissolution~~  
~~was taking place~~ [An "X" is drawn  
here, but there is no corresponding  
footnote or insertion.]

He left his family with legsy of  
\$50 000 clear of incumbrances. He  
was a Moral man a man of buisness  
and a man of the most intrepid cour-  
age which last was shown in the de-  
fence of his country which was ever  
the interest that lay nearest to his  
heart—  
~~But I will not tresspass unnecessarily~~  
~~upon the readers patience~~

But, in the midst of his prosper-  
ity, he was called away to experience  
another state of existence, with  
barely a moment's warning, for he  
was sick only four days from the time  
he was first taken ill until he died;  
and even on the fourth day, and in  
the last hour of his illness, it was not  
supposed to be at all dangerous, un-  
til his son, who sat by his bed side,  
discovered that<sup>42</sup> he was dying.

He left his family with an estate  
of fifty thousand dollars, clear of en-  
cumbrance.<sup>43</sup>

## CHAP. V

LYDIA MACK, THIRD DAUGHTER  
OF SOLOMON MACK.

Lydia Daniel and Soloman re-  
main of the family besides myself of

Of my sister Lydia I shall say but  
little; not that I loved her less, or

41. See Isaiah 5:8: "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth!"

42. IE and Nibley: "discovered he was dying . . ."

43. Coray adds another sentence: "He was a moral man and a man of business; besides he was a man of great courage and resolution, which he fully manifested in the defence of his Country."

these I shall speak somewhat briefly

Lydia sought riches and obtained them ~~and~~ but in the day of prosperity she remmembered the poor for she dealt out her substance to the needy with a liberal hand through life and died the object of their affection and as she was beloved in life so she was bewailed in death—

Daniel was a man of the world with but one peculiarity he was as many can testify ~~the~~ in many scenes of danger where lives were exposed when he was always the first to the rescue and thus was the means of saving many a helpless victim from the jaws of Death ~~the particulars of~~ ~~<one of those which I have not~~ ~~here <will circumstances> relate~~ ~~least I should exhaust the patience~~ ~~of my readers~~ one circumstance of this kind ~~<took place in>~~<sup>\*44</sup> in Montague ~~<(suposed to be in New Hampshire)>~~ in Miller's River

that she was less deserving of honourable mention; but she seemed to float more with the stream of common events than those who have occupied the foregoing pages: hence fewer incidents of a striking character are furnished for the mind to dwell upon.

She sought riches and obtained them; yet in the day of prosperity she remembered the poor, for she dealt out her substance to the needy, with a liberal hand, to the end of her days, and died the object of their affection. As she was beloved in life, so she was bewailed in death.

#### CHAP. VI.

DANIEL MACK—HE RESCUES THREE MEN FROM A WATERY GRAVE.

Daniel comes next in order. He was rather worldly minded, yet he was not vicious; and if he had any peculiar trait of character, it was this—he possessed a very daring and philanthropic spirit, which led him to reach forth his hand to the assistance of those whose lives were exposed to danger, even to the hazard of his own life. For instance; he, in company with several others, was once standing on the bank of Miller's River, in the town of Montague, when one of the number proposed taking a swim. Daniel ob-

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44. A lengthy footnote begins on this page and carries over to the next, recounting Daniel's rescue of the three men. The rough draft here continues with Solomon Mack's biographical sketch.

Daniel saved the lives of 3 men a great many men spoke of swimming

Daniel advised them not to do so on account of danger, but 3 of them presisted and came near drowning no one would do anything for them Daniel went in they were clinched to some vines that grew in the bottom of the river Daniel tore up the vines and brought the men one by one to the ropes when he brought out the first he ordered the bystanders to prepare some barrels to roll the men on in order to fetch them too he then had a bed prepared for each of them and when they were warmly wrapped in bed he gave up his time to attending upon them untill they were ~~quite re-~~  
~~stored~~ could speak

when ~~they~~ their speech returned they fixed their eyes on my brother and said Mr Mack We look upon you as a savior for you have been the means of rescuing us from a watery tomb ~~and~~ and one said Oh that we could always live near you for we are now assured that you have not only wisdom to counsil but when Men have spurned your best advice you have still a greatness of soul which will stimulate you to risk even your own life to save an erring fellow man and I will never lave you as long as I live for I want to dwell

jected, saying it was a dangerous place to swim in, yet they were determined, and three went in; but, going out into the stream rather too far, they were overpowered by the current, and a kind of eddy which they fell into, and they sunk immediately.

At this, Daniel said, "Now, gentlemen, these men are drowning: who will assist them at the risk of his life?" No one answered. At this, he sprang into the water, and diving to the bottom, found one of them fastened to some small roots. Daniel took hold of him, and tore up the roots to which he was clinging, and brought him out, and then told the bystanders to get a barrel, for the purpose of rolling him on it, in order to make him disgorge the water which he had taken. He then went in again, and found the other two in the same situation as the first, and saved them in like manner.

After rolling them a short time on barrels, he took them to a house, and gave them every possible attention, until they had so far recovered as to be able to speak. As soon as they could talk, one of them, fixing his eyes upon Daniel, said, "Mr. Mack, we have reason to look upon you as our saviour, for you have delivered us from a watery tomb; and I would that I could always live near you. We are now assured that you have not only wisdom to counsel, but, when men have spurned your advice, you have still that greatness

with you and convince you that I  
remember you and will never slight  
your council again—

in this they all concured and they did  
carry out their purpose in very deed  
and truth He was always a liberal in  
life which caused him to be greatly  
mourned in death Died in tunbridge  
here is to be left to be filled when  
referance can be had to Mr covey<sup>45</sup>

of soul which leads you to risk your  
own life to save your fellow man.  
No, I will never leave you as long as I  
live, for I wish to convince you that I  
ever remember you, and that I will  
never slight your counsel again."

In this they were all agreed, and  
they carried out the same in their fu-  
ture lives.

## CHAP. VII.

SOLOMON MACK.

<sup>46</sup>Solomon the youngest son of My  
father was born and ~~reared~~ brought  
up Married and still lives in the  
town of Gilsom and although 64  
<70> years old<sup>47</sup> he has never trav-  
eled farther than Boston Where his  
Buisness leads him twice a year to  
purchase goods. He has gathered to  
himself in that rocky Region Fields  
Flocks and herds that multiply and  
increase upon the Mountains<sup>48</sup> He  
has been known these 20 yeas as  
captain Solomon Mack of Gilsom

My youngest brother, Solomon,  
was born and married in the town of  
Gilsum, state of New Hampshire,  
where he *is still living*; and although  
he is now very aged, he has never  
travelled farther than Boston, to  
which place his business leads him  
twice a year.

He has gathered to himself in  
this<sup>49</sup> rocky region, fields, flocks, and  
herds, which multiply and increase  
upon the mountains. He has been  
known at least twenty years, as

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45. At this point, a line is drawn across the page, and this text is written: "Notes continued after oliver got to printing he went to penn and commenced building and preaching—went home after he settled the affair with eli Cole Sectarrians held another meeting said that the smith family could not pay the printer ~~had~~ who stopped work and we had <to> send to Joseph he came up". (See Chap. 33.)

46. In Lucy's rough draft, this sketch of Solomon appears three pages earlier, before the story about Daniel's rescue.

47. Coray: "My youngest brother, Solomon, was born, bred and married in the town of Gilsum and State of New Hampshire; where he is still living. And, although he is now 71 years old . . ." This passage was written before late January 1845, when Solomon turned seventy-two.

48. Probably an allusion to Psalms 50:10: ". . . and the cattle upon a thousand hills."

49. GAS on Coray: "that"

PART 1. THE MACK FAMILY

and as he lives to speak for ~~hi~~ himself and I have chiefly to do with the dead I will leave him by hoping that as he has lived peaceably with all men so he may die happily.

Captain Solomon Mack, of Gilsum; but, as he lives to speak for himself, and as I have to do chiefly with the dead, and not with the living, I shall leave him, hoping that, as he has lived peaceably with all men, he may die happily.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

I have now given a brief account of all my father's family, save myself; and what I have written has been done with the view of discharging an obligation which I considered resting upon me, inasmuch as they have all passed off this stage of action, except myself and youngest brother. And seldom do I meet with an individual with whom I was even acquainted in my early years, and I am constrained to exclaim—"The friends of my youth! where are they?" The tomb replies, "Here are they!" But, through my instrumentality, "Safely truth to urge her claims, presumes  
On names now found alone on books and tombs."<sup>50</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

CHAP. VIII.

EARLY LIFE OF LUCY MACK—HER  
MARRIAGE WITH JOSEPH SMITH.

<sup>51</sup>Now my dear readers I shall introduce myself to your <attention><sup>52</sup> having given a slight sketch of each individual of my Fathers household preceeding me I take up myself in order I was born in Gilsun <State of New Hampshire> July 8th 1776

I shall now introduce the history of my own life. I was born in the town of Gilsum, Cheshire county, New Hampshire, on the 8th of July, 1776.<sup>53</sup>

50. This couplet appears in Lucy's rough draft on the bottom of the page that begins with the seventh vision of Joseph Sr. and has an intervening paragraph explaining that she is unable to provide biographical information about her husband between his birth and their marriage. In the rough draft, it reads: "But though My instrumentality / safely Truth to urge her claims, presume /." (See page 260.)

51. "B-2" is written at the upper left margin.

52. Coray: "I shall now introduce to the attention of my readers the history of my own life:"

53. Lucy's recollection of her birth year is incorrect; according to the town records, she was born in 1775. On 21 October 1844, Wilford Woodruff visited Gilsum where he preached in the



*Lucy: 1844-45*

Of the friends of my youth with School mates with <me> in childhood (who will probably recognize in the author their old associate) there remains the children of one Mr Harmon John Toriah Martha called patty by her mates also the daughters of Colonel <ebenezer> Bill (whose brother Married my sister Lydia) These were <Rachel> Mahettable Anne From Gilsum Father moved to Montegue here I became acquainted with the Family of Captain Gun, Thankful Unice Abel <&> Martin <also> Mr. Harvey's children I mention these as I shall also others as I pass along In hopes that this may reach them ~~for~~ and by this means I shall be able to make myself known to them 2 <years> before sister Lovina's death I visited sister Tuttle who was then sick at South Hadley <here lived one> where C<olonel> Woodbridge <who> bought a large Church bell about this time which was hung while I was there and I understand remains till this day a company of young folks went to see it when it was first hung I was one of the number and was the first who ever rang the Bell this Colonel W afterwards built a large Establishment for the education of poor children<sup>54</sup>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

When I arrived at the age of eight years, my mother had a severe fit of sickness. She was so low that she, as well as her friends, entirely despaired of her recovery. During this sickness she called her children around her bed, and, after exhorting them always to remember the instructions which she had given them—to fear God and walk uprightly before Him, she gave me to my brother Stephen, requesting him to take care of me and bring me up as his own child, then bade each of us farewell.

This my brother promised to do; but, as my mother shortly recovered, it was not necessary, and I consequently remained at my father's house until my sister Lovisa was married. Some time after this event I went to South Hadley to pay Lovisa, who was living there, a visit.<sup>55</sup>

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evening and spent the night with Lucy's seventy-one-year-old brother Solomon, whom he tried unsuccessfully to convert. The next morning, he "rode to the old homestead of Mother Smith. Saw the place where she was born on the side of a high hill & the brook . . . It is truly a rural place" (2:476).

54. Coray: "In this last named place, lived one Col. Woodbridge, who purchased a large church bell, which was suspended while I was visiting with my sister: immediately after it was hung myself in company with a number of my young associates, went to see the bell, and it so happened that I was the first person who rang it. This Col. Woodbridge afterwards built a large establishment for the education of poor children."

55. An unnamed traveler through Nauvoo reported conversing with Lucy about this portion

Lucy: 1844-45

before I returned home My Father moved back to Gilsom<sup>56</sup> where I continued with my parents untill my youngest sisters death

shortly after this my Brother Colonel <[right?] Stephen> Mack <came from tunbridge on a visit> persuaded my parents to let him take me with him to tunbridge in order to divert my mind from the death of my sister as the Grief it occasioned was preying upon my <health> and was likly to bee a serious injury to me The For months after this <I> did not feel as though life was worth seeking after

and in my reflections I determined to ~~endeavor~~ to obtain that which was spoken of so frequently from the pulpit namely a change of heart

In order to this I perused the Bible and prayed incessantly but one thought interposed itself into all my meditations If I remain out of any church all religious people will say

Coray/Pratt: 1853

I returned home to my parents in about six months, and remained with them in Gilsum until the death of Lovina.

Soon after which my Brother Stephen, who was living at Tunbridge, Vermont, came to my father's on a visit; and he insisted so earnestly on my accompanying him home, that my parents consented. The grief occasioned by the death of Lovina was preying upon my health, and threatened my constitution with serious injury, and they hoped that to accompany my brother home might serve to divert my mind, and thus prove a benefit to me. For I was pensive and melancholy, and often in my reflections I thought that life was not worth possessing.

In the midst of this anxiety of mind, I determined to obtain that which I had heard spoken of so much from<sup>57</sup> the pulpit—a change of heart.

To accomplish this I spent much of my time in reading the Bible, and praying; but, notwithstanding my great anxiety to experience a change of heart, another matter

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of her life. "When she found that I was familiar with the places where she had lived half a century ago, she expressed great satisfaction, and made many inquiries about persons, some of whom are now living. I became so engaged that she was unwilling to suspend her conversation when it became time to retire for the night" ("The City").

56. Coray: "After visiting about six months with Lovisa I returned home to my parents . . ."

57. Coray: "spoken so much of from . . ."

that I am of the world <if> I join any one church the rest will all declare that I am in the wrong no church will say I am right unless I ~~join~~ <unite with> them and this makes them witnesses against each other how shall I decide inasmuch as the Church of Christ was not like any of them

My Brother Ff frequently spoke to me of one Mr. Asael Smith an intimate acquaintance of his Whose family I afterwards became acquainted with their names were Jesse and Joseph Asael <John> Samuel Silas & Stephen Prisca Mary Susan <&> Sarah <a> worthy respectable amiable and intelligent Family ~~Here I became Made the acquaintance of~~ It was the second son of this Family to whom I was afterwards Married

I remained with my brother 1 year after which I made a visit to My Parents in Gilsom and My Uncles and Aunts at in Marlow then my brother came and upon his urgent request I went again to tunbridge and was with him untill the ensuing January when I was married by Colonel Austin esquire—

would always interpose in all my meditations:—If I remain a member of no church, all religious people will say I am of the world; and, if I join some one of the different denominations, all the rest will say I am in error. No church will admit that I am right, except the one with which I am associated. This makes them witnesses against each other; and how can I decide in such a case as this, seeing they are all unlike the Church of Christ, as it existed in former days!

While I remained at Tunbridge, I became acquainted with a young man by the name of Joseph Smith, to whom I was subsequently married.

I continued with my brother one year, then went home. I was at home but a short time, when my brother came after me again, and insisted so hard upon my returning with him, that I concluded to do so. And this time I remained with him until I was married, which took place the next January.<sup>58</sup>

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58. Nibley note: "The marriage of Joseph and Lucy Smith took place at Tunbridge, Vermont, January 24, 1796. Lucy at the time was nineteen [actually twenty] years of age."

CHAP. IX.<sup>61</sup>

SEVEN GENERATIONS OF THE SMITH  
FAMILY—FOUR GENERATIONS OF  
THE MACK FAMILY.

<sup>59</sup>(It would be my wish to give an entire history of my husband from his infancy untill We were married but I have not a ~~correct~~ sufficient knowledge of the same to be able to do so otherwise I sould [sic] be most happy to gratify my readers by ~~this wa~~ by narrating such things as might be interesting concerning himself and his family—But I can supply this deficiency measurably by giving in this place a transcript from the record of the family of Smiths as which I shall throw into the shortest and most comprehensive form possible But though My instrumentality—<sup>60</sup>

Here, I would like to give the early history of my husband, for many facts might be mentioned, that doubtless would be highly interesting; but, as I am not capable of giving them<sup>62</sup> in order, I shall decline making the attempt, and in the place thereof shall insert a transcript from the record of his family, beginning with Samuel Smith, who was the son of Robert and Mary Smith, who came from England.

59. This material is written on the bottom of the page that begins with the seventh vision of Joseph Sr.

60. This couplet ends Lucy's peroration about her childhood friends (chap. 7). It is followed by three lines written on the sheet turned upside down: "[ad]vocate with the father and a mediator between God and man I now was made quite whole and the door was opened and I entered upon entering I awoke—" This passage is the end of Joseph Smith Sr.'s sixth dream; see chap. 17.

61. Chapter 9, from the 1853 published version has no counterpart in the rough draft except for the introductory paragraph above, although it exists in the Coray 1845 fair copy. Two separate editors have made corrections on the Coray fair copy—George A. Smith in his usual blunt pencil and another writer who has added material in brown ink (the original is written in blue ink) in a fine hand. I assume this second individual is Robert Lang Campbell. I have indicated the insertions of both in this version in bold. I do not distinguish between GAS corrections on Coray and GAS corrections on the 1853 Pratt published version at BYU. I have standardized dates, columns, and headings. Although the corrections of dates and spellings are genealogically significant, the most important item is the birth of Joseph Sr. and Lucy's first child, preceding Alvin, gender and name unspecified. This entry is in Campbell's hand. Preston Nibley omits this chapter from his edition but includes a version in a two-part appendix (347-55): "Children of Joseph Smith, Sr., and Lucy Mack Smith, by Preston Nibley" and "Genealogy of the Smith and Mack Families as Given by Lucy Mack Smith." The first appendix consists of short biographical sketches of each of the Smith children with the exception of the unnamed first child who died at birth. Nibley has silently made some of the changes inserted by GAS and Campbell but not all; more (but again, not all) of Nibley's changes come from Bennett's two-part article on Joseph Smith's genealogy. See notes. The chapter numbers in Nibley's edition from this point on are different from the chapters in the Pratt and *Improvement Era* versions. That is, Pratt's Chapter 10 is Nibley's Chapter 9, and so forth.

[Note 62 appears on page 259.]

safely Truth to urge her claims,  
 presume  
 On names now found alone in  
 books and tombs

Coray/Pratt: 1853

The above Samuel Smith, was born Jan. 26, 1666, in Topsfield, Essex county, Massachusetts; and was married to Rebecca Curtis, daughter of John Curtis, Jan. 25, 1707.<sup>63</sup>

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*Children of Samuel and Rebecca Smith.*

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| NAMES                 | BORN                        | MARRIED   | DIED          |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---|---------------|
| Phebe                 | Jan. 8, 1708                | To Steph. Averel<br>March 27th 1733 <sup>64</sup> |               |
| 1st. Mary             | Aug. 14, 1711               | To Amos Towne<br>May 29th 1732 <sup>65</sup>      |               |
| 2nd. Samuel           | Jan. 26, 1714               | To Priscilla Gould <sup>66</sup>                  | Nov. 14, 1785 |
| Rebecca <sup>67</sup> | Oct. 1, 1715                | To John Batch <sup>68</sup><br>June 17th 1740     |               |
| Elizabeth             | July 8, 1718                | To Elizer Gould <sup>69</sup>                     | March, 1753   |
| Hephzibah             | May 12, 1722                | To Wm. Gallop <sup>70</sup><br>July 11, 1745      | Nov. 15, 1774 |
| Robert                | Apr. 25, 1724 <sup>71</sup> |   |               |

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62. IE and Nibley: "not able to give them . . ."

63. This paragraph is written into the Coray 1845 fair copy in a different (not GAS's) hand. In it, "Rebecca" is spelled "Rebeca"; in Nibley "Curtis" appears as "Chrtis."

64. Not in Nibley.

65. Not in Nibley.

66. Bennett (16) adds a marriage date (27 May 1734), plus information on a second marriage ("md. 2nd, 8 Oct. 1845, Priscilla Gould, cousin to his first wife").

67. Included in Nibley with birth date; husband's name given as "John Balch" but without a marriage date.

68. IE and Nibley: "Balch"; Bennett (16): "Balch"

69. IE, Bennett (16), and Nibley give the husband's first name as Eliezer and provide a specific death date of 15 March 1753. Bennett (16) adds a marriage date of 17 April 1740 and a death day of 27 March.

70. Not in Nibley.

71. Bennett (16) adds: "md. 28 Feb. 1744, Susanna Gould."

# PART 1. THE MACK FAMILY

Susanna May 2, 1726<sup>72</sup> May 5, 1741  
 Hannah Apr. 5, 1729 To John Peabody Aug. 17, 1764

1st. Samuel Smith died July 12, 1748. His wife, Rebecca Smith, March 2, 1753.

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*Children of 2d. Samuel, and 1st. Priscilla Smith, which Samuel was the son of 1st. Samuel and Rebecca Smith.*

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| NAMES                         | BORN                        | MARRIED   | DIED   |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Priscilla                     | Sept. 26, 1735              | To Jacob Kimball,<br>Sept. 15, 1755 <sup>73</sup>   |  |
| 3rd. Samuel                   | Oct. 28, <sup>74</sup> 1737 | To Rebec. <sup>75</sup> Towne,<br>Jan. 2, 1760  |  |
| Vasta<br>Vashti <sup>76</sup> | Oct. 5, 1739                | To Solomon Curtis,<br>Sept. 15, 1763<br>Jacob Hobbs, 1767 <sup>77</sup> —<br>her second consort |  |
| Susanna                       | Jan. 24, 1742               | To Isaac Hobbs, in 1767 <sup>78</sup>   |  |
| 1st. Asael                    | Mar. 1, 1744                | To Mary Duty,<br>Feb. 12, 1761<br>Feb. 12, 1767 <sup>79</sup>                                   | Oct. 31, 1830<br>Mary Duty [died]<br><b>May 27, 1836<br/>in Kirtland</b> |

2nd Samuel Smith was married to Priscilla the daughter of Zaccheus Gould May 27, 1734.<sup>80</sup>

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72. Bennett (16) adds: "d. 5 May 1741."

73. Bennett (15): "died 7 Dec. 1792."

74. Bennett gives the birth day as "2."

75. Bennett (16) and Nibley give this name as "Rebecca," Coray as "Rebecia."

76. Coray, IE, and Nibley also give this name as "Vashti"; the next line is Coray's.

77. Bennett (15) adds a marriage day: "13 July." Coray: "Jacob Hobbs in 1767—her second consort."

78. Bennett (15) adds a marriage day: "13 May."

79. GAS gives Asael's birth day as 18 March and the wedding year as 1767. IE and Nibley give Asael's birth date as 8 March and the wedding year as 1767. They add the death information in the next column to the heading just below, after the names of Asael and Mary respectively. This death information is not in Coray. Bennett gives the birth date as 7 March 1744.

80. Not in Coray, IE, or Nibley.

*Children of 1st. Asael and Mary Smith; which Asael was the son of 2nd. Samuel and Priscilla Smith.*

| NAMES       | BORN                                | MARRIED  | DIED                               |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 1st. Jesse  | Apr. 20, 1768                       | To Hanh. Peabody,<br>Jan. 20, 1792   |                                    |
| Priscilla   | Oct. 27, 21st<br>1769 <sup>81</sup> | To John C. Waller,<br>Aug. 24, 1796  |                                    |
| 1st. Joseph | July 12, 1771                       | To Lucy Mack,<br>Jan. 24, 1796   | Sep. 14, 1840                      |
| 2nd. Asael  | May 21, 1773                        | To Betsy Schillinger<br><b>Schellenger</b> <sup>82</sup><br>Mar. 21, 1802  | <b>July 21, 1848</b>               |
| Mary        | June 4, 1775                        | To Israel Pearce,<br>Isaac Pierce<br>Dec 22nd 1796 <sup>83</sup>   |                                    |
| 4th. Samuel | Sept. 15, 1777                      | Frances Wilcox   | <b>April 1, 1830</b> <sup>84</sup> |
| 1st. Silas  | Oct. 1, 1779                        | To Ruth Stevens,<br>Jan. 29, 1805<br>1806 <sup>85</sup> the second time<br>to Mary Atkins,<br>Aikins second<br>wife<br>March 4, 1828 <sup>86</sup> |                                    |
| 1st. John   | July <sup>87</sup> 16, 1781         | To Clarissa Lyman  |                                    |

81. Pratt gives this birthday as 27 October; Coray, IE, and Nibley as 21 October.

82. Nibley gives this surname as Schellenger but adds rather confusingly: "March 21, 1802. 1809, St. Larrence [sic] Co., N.Y." It is not clear what the 1809 date refers to. He does not include death information. Bennett (14): "Elizabeth Schellenger." Elias Smith, who was Asael's and Betsy's son, noted in his journal when a daughter was born on 24 January 1855 to his wife Lucy that he named the child Lucy Elizabeth because Elizabeth was his mother's name, "tho in the family records, she is called Betsey which was in truth but a nick name and ought not to have been used in the record."

83. Coray gives this name as "Israel Pearce"; IE and Nibley follow GAS on this name and date.

84. Coray adds a marriage date: Feb. 1816. Nibley follows GAS's additions and corrections.

85. IE and Nibley follow GAS on this date.

86. IE and Nibley spell Mary's surname as "Aikens." Bennett (14) adds a death date: "13 Sept. 1839."

87. IE and Nibley give this month as June.



# PART 1. THE MACK FAMILY

Sep. 11, 1815<sup>88</sup>

|              |                                   |   |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 3rd. Susanna | May 18, 1783                      |   |
| Stephen      | Apr. 17 23, <sup>89</sup><br>1785 | July 25, 1802   |
| Sarah        | May 17, 16 <sup>90</sup><br>1789  | To Joseph Sanford,<br>Oct. 15, 1809<br>May 27, 1824 <sup>91</sup> |

---

*Children of 1st. Jesse and Hannah Smith; which Jesse was  
the son of 1st. Asael and Mary Smith.*

---

| NAMES                           | BORN                      |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Benjamin G. <sup>92</sup><br>P. | May 2, 1793               |
| Eliza                           | Mar. 9, 1795              |
| Ira                             | Jan. 30, 1797             |
| Harvy <sup>93</sup>             | Apr. 1, 1799              |
| Harriet                         | Apr. 8, 1801              |
| Stephen                         | May 2, 1803               |
| Mary                            | May 4, 1805               |
| Catherine                       | July 13, 1807             |
| Royal                           | July 2, 1809              |
| Sarah                           | Dec. 16, 1810 <b>1812</b> |

---

*Children of John C. and Priscilla Waller; which Priscilla was  
the daughter of 1st. Asael Smith.*

---

| NAMES               | BORN          | DIED                 |
|---------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Calvin C.           | June 6, 1797  |                      |
| Dolly <sup>94</sup> | Oct. 16, 1799 | <b>June 20, 1800</b> |

---

88. Bennett adds a birthplace, the first on the list: "Derryfield (Manchester), Rockingham Co., N.H.," and a death date: "23 May 1854."

89. Coray omits the death date, suggesting that it was copied from Lucy's (Pratt's) fair copy.

90. IE and Nibley give the birth date as "16 May."

91. At this point, IE and Nibley (but not Coray) add a list of the children of fourth Samuel and Frances Wilcox, all born at Potsdam, St. Lawrence County, New York (no birthdates): Charles, Laura, Horace Jay, Elizabeth, and Sarah.

92. IE and Nibley retain the "G."

93. Nibley: "Harvey"

94. Nibley gives this name as "Polly" and includes GAS's death information.

# LUCY'S BOOK

|                          |                |                            |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| Marshall                 | March 18, 1801 |                            |
| Royal H. <sup>95</sup>   | Nov. 29, 1802  |                            |
| Dudley C.                | Sept. 29, 1804 |                            |
| Bushrod W. <sup>96</sup> | Oct. 18, 1806  |                            |
| Silas B. <sup>97</sup>   | Jan. 1, 1809   |                            |
| Sally P. <sup>98</sup>   | Oct. 31, 1810  |                            |
| John H. <sup>99</sup>    | Sept. 9, 1812  | Nov 5, 1812 <sup>100</sup> |

*Children of 1st. Joseph and Lucy Smith; which Joseph was the son of the 1st. Asael and Mary Smith.*

| NAME                                       | BORN                         | MARRIED | DIED                         |
|--|------------------------------|---------|------------------------------|
| <b>First child not named<sup>101</sup></b> |                              |         |                              |
| Alvin                                      | Feb. 11, 1799 <sup>102</sup> |         | Nov. 19, 1824 <sup>103</sup> |

95. IE and Nibley add this initial but include a death date that GAS does not: "29 September 1866."

96. IE and Nibley include this initial.

97. IE and Nibley add a death date: "12 June 1866."

98. IE and Nibley add a death date: "15 August 1874."

99. IE and Nibley add a death date: "5 November 1812."

100. Nibley includes this death date.

101. GAS on Coray: "First child not named." According to the LDS Ancestral File, this child was a daughter, born 1797 in Tunbridge. Johansen (1) and McGavin (84) also refer to this child as a daughter, but without citations. Lucy, speaking at a general conference in October 1845, told the Saints that "she was the mother of eleven children, seven of whom were boys" (Clayton and Bullock, 1013). She had seven named sons—Alvin, Hyrum, Joseph, William, Samuel, Ephraim, and Don Carlos—and three named daughters—Katharine, Sophronia, and Lucy. This leaves one child unaccounted for. Since she says she had seven sons, the other child must have been a daughter. The Smith Family Genealogy Record assembled by Asael Smith and Don Carlos Smith states only: "There first child Died Soon after it was Born and was not named amongst the Living." However, Joseph Sr. recalls this child as a son. At a family blessing meeting on 9 December 1834, he said: "The Lord, in his just providence has taken from me, at an untimely birth, a son: this has been a matter of affliction; . . . My next son, Alvin, as you all are aware, was taken from us. . . . Another has been taken in his infancy" (Vogel 1:469). This sequence makes it clear that the first unnamed son is different from the third son, who was Ephraim (born and died in 1810). Underscoring beyond doubt that there had been a first son, Joseph Sr., in his blessing to Hyrum on this occasion, began with a commemoration of his dead children: "Hyrum, thou art my oldest son whom the Lord has spared unto me: my eldest [the unnamed son] was taken at an untimely age, but thy next brother [Alvin], whom thou didst love, . . . has been taken in the vigor of youth . . ." (Vogel 1:469).

102. Bennett (10) gives the birth year as 1798. Alvin was born 11 February 1798, two years after the marriage, according to the town records (Porter, "A Study," 14).

103. Both Coray and Pratt give this year as 1824; however, Alvin's tombstone clearly reads 19 November 1823. Furthermore, on 29 September 1824, Joseph Sr. published for the first time an advertisement in the *Wayne Sentinel* that ran for six weeks about exhuming Alvin's body to put

# PART 1. THE MACK FAMILY

|                         |  |   |  |
|-------------------------|--|---|--|
| Hyrum                   | Feb. 9, 1800<br>Tunbridge,<br>Vermont                      | To Jerusha Barden,<br>Nov. 2, 1826<br>Manchester, N.Y.<br><br>To Mary Fielding<br>1837  | Murdered by a mob,<br>June 27, 1844, in<br>Carthage Jail, Han-<br>cock Co., Illinois,<br>while under the<br>protection of Gov.<br>Thos. Ford               |
| Sophronia               | May 18, 16 <sup>104</sup><br>1803, Tun-<br>bridge, Vermont | To Calvin Stoddard,<br>Dec. 2, 1827, <sup>105</sup><br>Palmyra, N. Y.   |  |
| 2d Joseph               | Dec. 23, 1805<br>Sharon, Wind-<br>sor Co., Ver-<br>mont    | To Emma Hale,<br>daughter of Isaac<br>Hale, in South<br>Bainbridge, Chen-<br>ango county,<br>N. York, Jan. 18, <sup>106</sup><br>1827   | Murdered by a mob,<br>June 27, 1844, in<br>Carthage Jail, Han-<br>cock co. Illinois,<br>while under the<br>protection of Gov.<br>Thos. Ford <sup>107</sup> |
| 5th. Samuel<br>Harrison | Mar. 13, 1808<br>Tunbridge,<br>Vermont                     | To Mary Bailey,<br>Aug. 13, 1834<br>To Levira Clark,<br>April 29, 1842<br><b>May 30, 1841, born<br/>1815 July 30, da.<br/>of Garoms [Garous?]<br/>&amp; Delecta<sup>108</sup></b> | July 30, 1844, of a<br>fever, occasioned<br>by over exertion<br>in getting away from<br>a mob, when his<br>brothers were killed.                           |
| Ephraim<br>William      | Mar. 13, 1810<br>Mar. 13, 1811                             | To Caroline Grant, <sup>109</sup>   | Mar. 24, 1810  |

to rest rumors that it had been mutilated. The advertisement, published less than a year later, makes it clear that Alvin's death could not have been in November 1824.

104. IE, Bennett (10), and Nibley give this date as 16 May.

105. Coray: "Dec. 30." Bennett (10) and Nibley give this date as 2 December 1827. Nibley adds: "died in Hancock County, Illinois. Date of death not known."

106. Coray: "June"; Pratt and Bennett (11): "Jan."

107. Coray gives this information as: "assassinated by a mob, June 27, 1844, while relying upon the faith of the State pledged by the Gov. for their safety, in Carthage jail, Hancock Co. and the State of Illinois."

108. Coray: "Mary Baily"; IE, Bennett (11), and Nibley add "Harrison" to Samuel's name, give Mary's surname as "Bailey," and do not give any birth or parentage information for Levira. They also omit the marriage date and replace it with "later." Since 29 April 1842 is the birth date of Samuel and Levira's oldest daughter, Lucy's memory of the wedding date seems mistaken.

109. Coray does not include her father's name. Nibley adds a death date: "13 November

# LUCY'S BOOK

|            |   |  |
|------------|---|--|
|            | Royalton, Vermont   | daughter of Joshua Grant<br>Feb. 14, 1833.                           |
| Catherine  | July 8 28, <sup>110</sup><br>1812 <sup>111</sup><br>Lebanon,<br>New Hampshire | To Wilkins J.<br>Salisbury,<br>Jan. June 8, 1831 <sup>112</sup>      |
| Don Carlos | Mar. 25, 1816   | To Agnes Coolbrith, Aug. 7. 1841<br>July 30, 1835,<br>Kirtland, Ohio |
| Lucy       | July 18, 1821   | To Arth. Milikin,<br>June 4, 1840<br>Nauvoo <sup>113</sup>           |

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*Children of 2nd. Asael Asahel<sup>114</sup> and Betsy Smith; which Asael was the son of 1st. Asael and Mary Smith.*

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| NAMES                | BORN             | DIED         |
|----------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Elias <sup>115</sup> | Sept. 6, 1804    |              |
| Emily                | Sept. 1, 1806    |              |
| 2nd. Jesse J.        | Oct. 6, 1808     | July 1, 1834 |
| Esther               | Sept. 20, 1810   | Oct 30 1856  |
| Mary J.              | Apri 28 29, 1813 |              |
| Julia P.             | March 4 6, 1815  |              |

---

1894."

110. Bennett (11) and Nibley give the birth day as "28 July," the marriage month as "Jan.," and a death date: "1 February 1900."

111. Katharine's birth year is recorded both as 1812 (in Pratt's 1853 book, in a genealogical note by Joseph F. Smith made in 1865, in Don Carlos's family record, and on Katharine's tombstone) and 1813 (in the earliest family genealogy of 1834 and on an affidavit Katharine signed in 1881) (Vogel 1:517). Although her name is spelled many different ways, it is given as "Katharine" on her tombstone and affidavit.

112. IE and Nibley add a death date for Katharine: "1 February 1900."

113. RLDS: "Arth. Millikin"; Nibley adds a death date of "9 December 1882."

114. IE and Nibley add a death date of "21 July 1844."

115. In addition to the death date for Jesse J. which GAS adds, IE and Nibley also include the following death dates: Elias (24 June 1888), Emily (11 August 1893), Esther (31 October 1856; "30" in Coray), Mary J. (1 March 1878), and "Second Silas" (6 June 1892). Nibley follows GAS's corrections on the birth days of Mary, Julia, and Silas.

# PART 1. THE MACK FAMILY

Martha                      June 9, 1817  
2nd. Silas                  June 5 6 1822

---

*Children of Israel Isaac and Mary Pearce Pierce;<sup>116</sup> which Mary was the daughter of 1st. Asael and Mary Smith.*

---

| NAMES    | BORN           |
|----------|----------------|
| Eunice   | April 29, 1799 |
| Miranda  | June 17, 1803  |
| Horace   | June 8, 1805   |
| John S.  | March 6, 1807  |
| Susan    | June 20, 1809  |
| Mary     | April 25, 1811 |
| Laura    | Feb. 8, 1814   |
| Eliza A. | Sep. 2, 1817   |

---

**Here insert 4th Samuel's children.**

*Children of 1st. Silas and Ruth Smith;<sup>117</sup> which Silas was the son of 1st. Asael and Mary Smith.*

---

| NAMES                  | BORN                          | DIED          |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| Charles                | Nov. 11, 1806                 | May 7, 1809   |
| Charity <sup>118</sup> | Apri 1, 1808                  |               |
| Curtis S.              | Oct. 29, 1809                 |               |
| 6th. Samuel            | Oct. 3, 1811                  | March 7, 1826 |
| Stephen                | Jan. [Coray:<br>June] 8, 1815 |               |
| Susan                  | Oct. 19, 1817                 |               |
| 3rd. Asael             | Oct. 12, 1819                 |               |
| Asahel                 |                               |               |

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116. Nibley agrees with GAS that the husband's first name is "Isaac" but spells the surname as "Pierce."

117. IE and Nibley add the death dates of Silas and Ruth as "13 September 1839" and "14 March 1826" respectively after their names.

118. IE and Nibley provide the following death dates: Charity (2 June 1888); Curtis (23 September 1861); Sixth Samuel (7 March 1826), Stephen (20 February 1891), Susan ([no day] November 1846), Third Asael (15 May 1834).

---

*Children by his second wife Mary Smith<sup>119</sup>*

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| NAMES                      | BORN             |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| Silas L. S. <sup>120</sup> | Oct. 20, 26 1830 |
| John A.                    | July 6, 1832     |
| Nathaniel J.               | Dec. 2, 1834     |
| [IE: Jesse<br>Nathaniel]   |                  |

---

*Children of 1st. John and Clarissa Smith;<sup>121</sup> which John was the  
son of 1st. Asael and Mary Smith.*

---

| NAMES                 | BORN               |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| George                | June 26, 1817      |
| Albert <sup>122</sup> |                    |
| Caroline              | June 6, 1820       |
| 2nd. John             | Nov. 17, 1823 1828 |
| Lyman                 |                    |

---

*Children of Hyrum and Jerusha Smith; which Hyrum was  
the son of 1st. Joseph and Lucy Smith.*

---

| NAMES     | BORN                          | DIED          |
|-----------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| Lovina    | Sept. 16, 1827 <sup>123</sup> |               |
| Mary      | June 27, 1829                 | May 29, 1832  |
| John      | Sept. 22, 1832                |               |
| 2nd Hyrum | April 27, 1834                | Sep. 21, 1841 |
| Jerusha   | Jan. 13, 1836                 |               |

---

119. IE and Nibley add Mary's birth name, "Aikens," and death date "27 April 1877."

120. IE and Nibley give this initial as "S," supply a death date for John A. (27 November 1834), and give the third child's name as "Jesse Nathaniel."

121. IE and Nibley add death dates: "23 May 1854" and "14 February 1854" for John and Clarissa respectively.

122. IE and Nibley do not include GAS's addition to his name or to John's below but add GAS's death date of "1 September 1875." Coray adds "Smith" to the first two names.

123. IE and Nibley add death dates for Lovina (8 October 1876), for Mary and Hyrum as given by GAS, and for Sarah (6 November 1876).

# PART 1. THE MACK FAMILY

Sarah                      Oct. 2, 1837

---

## *Children of Hyrum Smith and Mary, his second wife.*

---

| NAMES                         | BORN          |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| 4th. Joseph F. <sup>124</sup> | Nov. 13, 1838 |
| Martha Ann                    | May 14, 1841  |

---

## *Children of 2nd. Joseph, the Prophet, and Emma Smith; which Joseph was the son of 1st. Joseph and Lucy Smith.*

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| NAMES                              | BORN                                | DIED <sup>125</sup> |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Julia Murdock Smith <sup>126</sup> | April 30, 1831,<br>adopted daughter |                     |
| 3d. Joseph                         | Nov. 6, 1832                        |                     |
| Frederick G. W.                    | June 20, 1836                       |                     |
| Alexander                          | June 2, 1838                        |                     |
| Don Carlos                         | June 13, 1840                       |                     |
| David Hyrum                        | Nov. 18, 1844                       |                     |

---

## *Children of 5th. Samuel Smith and Mary, his first wife,<sup>127</sup> which Samuel was the son of 1st. Joseph and Lucy Smith<sup>128</sup>*

---

| NAMES                       | BORN           |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| Susanna B.,                 | Oct. 27, 1835  |
| Mary B.                     | March 27, 1837 |
| Samuel H. B. <sup>129</sup> | Aug. 1, 1838   |

---

124. Nibley follows GAS's corrections on these two names.

125. Lucy's listing omits Joseph's and Emma's firstborn child, a stillborn son. According to the Smith family Bible, he was named Alvin, although "Alva" is also given in other sources. Another son, stillborn in 1842, was not named (Quinn, *Early*, 420n103, 104).

126. IE and Nibley follow GAS's language on Julia's name (but include "Smith" on no other names), add a death year only of 1862 for Frederick, add "H." to Alexander's and "H." only (not "Hyrum") to David's names, and give a death date of August 1841 for Don Carlos. Coray adds "Smith" as the surname of all the children.

127. Coray does not include "his first wife."

128. GAS on Pratt has written a marginal note horizontally spanning this section of Samuel and Mary's children, including the heading: "A Mistake." His meaning is unclear.

[Note 129 appears on page 270.]



# LUCY'S BOOK

Lucy B. Jan. 31, 1841  
 Mary Smith died Jan. 25, 1841.

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*Children of Samuel Smith and Levira,  
 his second wife.<sup>130</sup>*

---

| NAMES                       | BORN           |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| Levira A. C. <sup>131</sup> | April 29, 1842 |
| Lovisa C.                   | Aug. 28, 1843  |
| Lucy J. C.                  | Aug. 20, 1844  |

---

*Children of William and Caroline Smith, which William  
 was the son of 1st. Joseph and Lucy Smith.*

---

| NAMES       | BORN      |
|-------------|-----------|
| Mary Jane   | Jan. 1835 |
| Caroline L. | Aug. 1836 |

---

*Children of Don Carlos and Agnes Smith; which Don C.  
 was the son of 1st. Joseph and Lucy Smith.*

---

| NAMES        | BORN                        |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| Agnes C.     | Aug. 1, 1836 <sup>132</sup> |
| Sophronia C. | 1838 <sup>133</sup>         |
| Josephine D. | March 10, 1841              |

---

*Children of Calvin and Sophronia Stodard.<sup>134</sup>*

---

| NAMES  | BORN           |
|--------|----------------|
| Eunice | March 22, 1830 |

---

129. Coray does not include "B."

130. Coray: "Lovina"

131. Coray: "Levira C."; this text gives her birth day as "30 April." It adds a surname for Lucy, but not for the other children. It adds surnames for William's and Sophronia's children (spelled "Stodard") but not for Don Carlos's ("Don C.") and Lucy Millikin's.

132. Coray gives this day as "7."

133. Coray gives a more specific birth date of "25 April 1838."

134. IE and Nibley spell this name "Stoddard."

# PART 1. THE MACK FAMILY

Maria                      Apri 12, 1832

---

*Children of Wilkins J. and Catharine Salisbury;<sup>135</sup>  
which Catharine was the daughter of 1st. Joseph Smith.*

---

| NAMES      | BORN                         |
|------------|------------------------------|
| Elizabeth  | April 9, 1832 <sup>136</sup> |
| Lucy       | Oct. 3, 1834                 |
| Solomon J. | Sept. 18, 1835               |
| Alvin      | June 7, 1838                 |
| Don C.     | Oct. 25, 1841                |
| Emma C.    | March 25, 1844               |

---

*Children of Arthur and Lucy Millikin<sup>137</sup>*

---

| NAMES      | BORN          |
|------------|---------------|
| Don Carlos | Oct 13th 1843 |

---

*Children of George A. and Bathsheba Smith.*

---

<sup>138</sup>Names and birth of their Children

George Albert<sup>139</sup> July 7, 1842

Bathsheba W. Aug. 14, 1844

Having now given all the names belonging to the family of Smith, I shall take up another lineage, namely, that of the Mack family, commencing with my grandfather, Ebenezer Mack.<sup>140</sup> Ebenezer Mack had three sons: Elisha, Samuel, and Solomon; and one daughter, named Hypsebeth.<sup>141</sup> His son Solo-

---

135. Coray gives the husband's name as "Wilkin," IE as "Wilkins;" RLDS gives the wife's name as "Catherine."

136. Nibley gives this birth day as "12 April."

137. Pratt (no heading): "Arthur and Lucy Milikin have one son, named Don Carlos Milikin." Coray adds the birth date of 13 October 1843 and a second child, "Sarah," with no birth date.

138. Coray inserts at this point: "George A. Smith, son of <1st.> John & Clarissa Smith, was married to Bathsheba W. Bigler, July 25, 1841." Pratt has no separate heading.

139. Coray adds "Smith" for both children. IE and Nibley add his death date: "2 November 1860."

140. Coray: "To the foregoing record, I shall subjoin the names of my grandfather,s family, also the children of my brother Solmon Mack:—"

[Note 141 appears on page 272.]

mon was born in the town of Lyme, state of Connecticut, Sept. 26, 173; was married to a young woman by the name of Lydia Gates, in the year 175. This Lydia Gates was born in East Haddam, state of Connecticut, Septembe 3, 1735.

---

*The following are the names of the children of 1st. Solomon and Lydia Mack; which Solomon was the son of Ebenezer and Hannah Mack.*

---

|                   |                          |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Jason Mack        | Lovisa Mack              |
| Stephen Mack      | Lovina Mack              |
| Daniel Mack       | Lydia Mack               |
| 2nd. Solomon Mack | Lucy Mack <sup>142</sup> |

---

*Children of 2nd. Solomon Mack; which Solomon was the son of 1st. Solomon Mack.<sup>143</sup>*

---

| NAMES                  | BORN           |
|------------------------|----------------|
| Calvin                 | Nov. 28, 1797  |
| Orlando                | Sept. 23, 1799 |
| Chilon                 | July 26, 1802  |
| 3rd. Solomon           | May 23, 1805   |
| Amos                   | May 1, 1807    |
| Dennis                 | Oct. 18, 1809  |
| Merrill <sup>144</sup> | Sept. 14, 1812 |
| Esther                 | April 2, 1815  |
| Rizpah                 | June 5, 1818   |

---

141. Coray: Hephsebeth. Coray does not include the next sentence or the list of children.

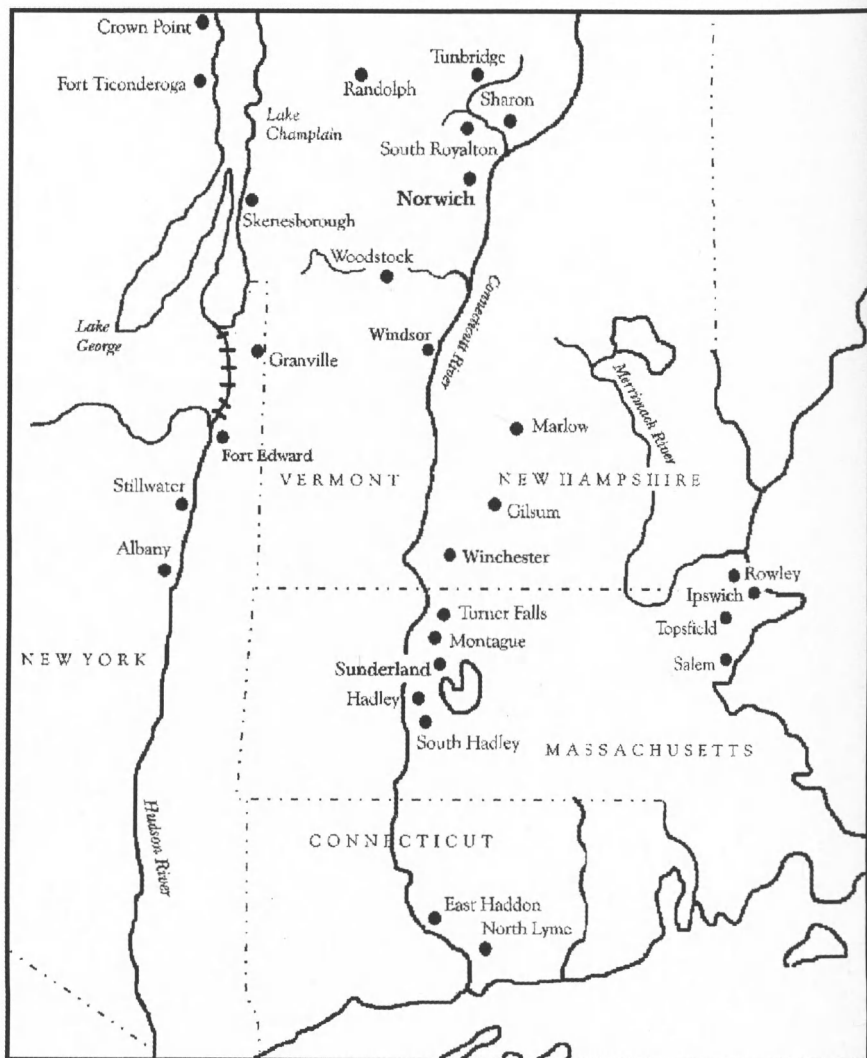
142. It is not clear why Lucy did not include her siblings' birth dates. According to Richard L. Anderson's research, *New England*, all of them were born at Marlow, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, except for Lucy herself. Bennett (51), though differing on the birth dates of the older children, adds some additional dates and marriage information: Jason, 1760; Lovisa, 1761; Lovina, 1762; Lydia, 1764, md. 26 Jan. 1786 to Samuel Bill, d. 8 Jan. 1826; Stephen, 15 June 1766, md. Temperance Bond; Daniel Gates, 1770; Solomon [Jr.] 28 January 1773, md. first in 1797, Esther Hayward, md. 2nd Mrs. Huldah Hayward Whipple, md. 3rd 4 June 1845 to Mrs. Betsey Way Alexander; and Lucy, 8 July 1775, at Gilsum, Cheshire County.

143. This heading in Coray reads: "Children of my brother Solomon Mack." Coray adds surnames for all of the children.

144. RLDS: "Merril"

*Part 2.*

*The Pre-Mormon Years*



Map 1. The Smith Family in Vermont

Pratt: 1853

CHAP. X.

A PRESENT OF ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS, FROM JOHN MUDGET AND  
STEPHEN MACK, TO THE AUTHOR.

Soon after I was married, I went with my husband to see my parents, and as we were about setting out on this visit, my brother Stephen, and his partner in business, John Mudget,<sup>1</sup> were making some remarks in regard to my leaving them, and the conversation presently turned upon the subject of giving me a marriage present. "Well," said Mr. Mudget, "Lucy ought to have something worth naming, and I will give her just as much as you will."

"Done," said my brother, "I will give her five hundred dollars in cash."

"Good," said the other, "and I will give her five hundred dollars more."

So they wrote a cheque on their bankers for one thousand dollars, and presented me with the same. This cheque I laid aside, as I had other means by me sufficient to purchase my housekeeping furniture.

Lucy: 1844-45

we commenced house keeping on a farm which my husband owned in tunbridge <5 or> 6 years from this time we <rented the farm &> moved with our first 2 children Alvin and Hyrum to Randolf and my Husband embarked in merchandise ~~& in~~

Coray/Pratt: 1853

Having visited my father and mother, we returned again to Tunbridge, where my companion owned a handsome farm, upon which we settled ourselves, and began to cultivate the soil. We lived on this place about six years, tilling the earth for a livelihood.

In 1802 we rented our farm in Tunbridge, and moved to the town of Randolph, where we opened a mercantile establishment. When we came to this place we had two children, Alvin and Hyrum.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Coray: John P. Mudget

2. Nibley note: "Alvin was born February 11, 1798, and Hyrum February 9, 1800, both at Tunbridge."

## CHAP. XI.

## SICKNESS IN RANDOLPH.

6 months afterwards I was taken sick, The physician declared my case to be confirmed consumption My mother attended me day and night I grew so weak that I could not bear the noise of a foot fall except in stocking foot nor a word to be spoken in the room except in whispers

One M Mr. Murksly Methodist exhorter heard of my afflictions and came to visit me when he came to the <door> he knocked ~~at the door~~ in his usual manner not knowing that I was so very weak that the ~~the~~ noise would disturb me, This knocking agitated me so much that it was some time before my nerves were settled again The My Mother stepped to the door and motioned him to a chair informing him of my weakness in ~~who~~ <whis>per he seated himself and for a long time seemed pondering in his mind something he wished to say

We had lived in Randolph but six months when I took a heavy cold, which caused a severe cough. To relieve this, every possible exertion was made, but it was all in vain. A hectic fever set in, which threatened to prove fatal, and the physician pronounced my case to be confirmed consumption. During this sickness my mother watched over me with much anxiety, sparing herself no pains in administering to my comfort, yet I continued to grow weaker and weaker, until I could scarcely endure even a footfall upon the floor, except in stocking-foot, and no one was allowed to speak in the room above a whisper.

While I was in this situation a Methodist exhorter came to see me. On coming to the door, he knocked in his usual manner, and his knocking so agitated me that it was a considerable length of time before my nerves became altogether quieted again. My mother motioned him to a chair, and in a whisper informed him of my situation, which prevented his asking me any questions. He tarried some time, and while he sat he seemed deeply to meditate upon the uncertainty of my recovering; in the mean time, he showed a great desire to have conversation with me respecting my dying.



I thought to myself he will ask me if I am prepared to die I dreaded to have <him> speak to me for Said I to myself I am not prepared to die for I do not know the ways of christ and it seemed to me as though there was a dark and lonely chasm between myself and Christ that I dare not attempt to cross ~~then~~ I thought as I strained my eyes towards the light (which I knew lay just beyond the Gloomy vale before me) that I could discover a <faint> glimmer of ~~the light~~

Mr. m then left—and my Husband came to my bed and caught my hand and exclaimed as as well as he could amid sobs and tears <Oh!> Lucy! My wife! ~~My wife!~~ you must die the doctors have all given you up <and> ~~they~~ all say you cannot live a

I looked to the lord and begged and plead with the Lord that he would spare my life that I might bring up my children and comfort the heart of my husband, thus I lay all night my <mind> at one <time> ~~moment~~ slowly raising gradually, borne away to Heaven above all hight then reverting back again to my babes and my Companion at my side

and <I> covenanted with God if he would let me live I would endeavor to get that religion that

As he thus sat pondering, I fancied to myself that he was going to ask me if I was prepared to die, and I dreaded to have him speak to me, for then I did not consider myself ready for such an awful event, inasmuch as I knew not the ways of Christ; besides, there appeared to be a dark and lonesome chasm, between myself and the Saviour, which I dared not attempt to pass.

I thought I strained my eyes, and by doing so I could discern a faint glimmer of the light that was beyond the gloom which lay immediately before me.

When I was meditating upon death, in this manner, my visitor left, soon after which my husband came to my bed, and took me by the hand, and said, "Oh, Lucy! my wife! my wife! you must die! The doctors have given you up; and all say you cannot live."

I then looked to the Lord, and begged and pleaded with him to spare my life, in order that I might bring up my children, and be a comfort to my husband. My mind was much agitated during the whole night. Sometimes I contemplated heaven and heavenly things; then my thoughts would turn upon those of earth—my babes and my companion.

During this night I made a solemn covenant with God, that, if he would let me live, I would endeavour

would enable me to serve him right whether it was in the Bible or where ever it might be found even if it was to be obtained from heaven by prayer and Faith At last a voice spoke to me and said Seek and ye shall find knock and it shall be opened unto you let your heart be comforted ye believe in God beleive also in me<sup>3</sup>

My Mother came in and looked upon me and cried out lucy you are better

My speech came and I answered yes mother the Lord will let me live ~~and I grew so strong in one week that I sat up and in 3 weeks I went to Deacon Davis's~~ And if I am faithful I ~~who~~ to the<sup>4</sup> promise which I have made to God he will suffer me to remain to comfort the hearts of my Mother My Husband and my children

From this time forward I Gained strength continually. I said but little upon the subject of religion ~~but~~ although it occupied my <mind> entirely and I thought that I would make all diligence as soon as I was able to seek some pious person who knew the ways of God to instruct me in things of Heaven

to serve him according to the best of my abilities. Shortly after this, I heard a voice say to me, "Seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. Let your heart be comforted; ye believe in God, believe also in me."

In a few moments my mother came in, and, looking upon me, she said, "Lucy, you are better."

I replied, as my speech returned just at that instant, "Yes, mother, the Lord will let me live, if I am faithful to the promise which I made to him, to be a comfort to my mother, my husband, and my children."

I continued to gain strength, until I became quite well as to my bodily health; but my mind was considerably disquieted. It was wholly occupied upon the subject of religion. As soon as I was able, I made all diligence in endeavouring to find some one who was capable of instructing me more perfectly in the way of life and salvation.<sup>5</sup>

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3. This message is a conflation of parts of two scriptural verses: "And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you" (Luke 11:9) and "Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me" (John 14:1).

4. "e" written over "y"

5. Coray: "life and salvation: Among others, I visited one Deacon Davis . . ."

I was acquainted with one Deacon Davis a man of exceeding piety one who had known my situation and the miraculous maner of my recovery ~~as soon as~~ <when> I had gained strength enough I made him a visit and here I expected the same that I heard from my mother The Lord has done a marvelous work let his name have the praise thereof But no from the time I came in sight I heard <untill I left the house I ~~was there~~> nothing ~~for a long while~~ but Oh Mrs Smith is coming run build a fire make the room warm help her in fill the tea kettle Get the Great arm chair &c &c their excessive anxiety for my physical convenience not being tempered with one word of pertaining to Christ or Godliness sickened and disgusted me and I went home disappointed and sorrowful<sup>6</sup>

In the anxiety of my soul to abide by the covenant I which I had entered into with the almighty I went from place to place to seek information or find if possible some congenial spirit ~~th~~ who might enter into my feelings and sympathize with me

As soon as I had strength sufficient, I visited one Deacon Davies, a man whom I regarded as exceedingly pious; and, as he was apprised of my sudden and miraculous recovery, I expected to hear about the same which I had heard from my mother—"The Lord has done a marvellous work; let His name have the praise thereof." But, no: from the time I arrived at his house until I left, I heard nothing, except, "Oh, Mrs. Smith has come—help her in—run, build a fire, make the room warm—fill the tea-kettle—get the great arm-chair," &c., &c. Their excessive anxiety concerning my physical convenience and comfort, without being seasoned with one word in relation to Christ or godliness, sickened and disgusted me, and I returned home very sorrowful and much disappointed.

From my anxiety of mind to abide the covenant which I had made with the Lord, I went from place to place,<sup>7</sup> for the purpose of getting information, and finding, if it were possible, some congenial spirit who could enter into my feelings, and thus be able to strengthen and assist me in carrying out my resolutions.

6. Coray: "Their excessive anxiety for my bodily comfort and convenience, without being seasoned with one word about Christ, or Godliness, sickened and disgusted me; and I returned home sorrowful and disappointed." RLDS: "sickened me."

7. Coray: "In order to abide the covenant which I had made with the Lord: (that I would serve him according to the best of my abilities,) I went from place to place . . ."

at last I heard that one noted for his piety ~~would~~ would preach the ensuing Sabbath in the presbyterian ~~choir~~ church thither also I went in expectation of obtaining that which alone could satisfy my soul the bread of eternal life when the minister I commined I fixed my mind with breathless attention upon the spirit and matter of the discourse

but all was emptiness vanity vexation of spirit<sup>9</sup> [at this point a box is drawn around the next several lines:] and palled upon my heart like the chill night air ~~upon~~ upon the feverish brow <untimely blast upon the starting blade ear that else had ripened in a summer sun> of the youthful warrior ~~but~~ it did not fill the aching void within nor satisfy the craving hunger of the soul I was almost in total despair and with a ~~load of grief~~ greaved and troubled spirit [end of the boxed passage] I returned saying in my heart there is not on Earth the religion which I seek I must again turn to my bible ~~and~~ taking the Jesus and his disciples for an ensample I will try to obtain from God that which man cannot give nor take away And thus I said in my heart I will settle myself down to this I will hear all that can be said read all that is written but particularly the word of God shall

I heard that a very devout man was to preach the next Sabbath in the Presbyterian Church;<sup>8</sup> I therefore went to meeting, in the full expectation of hearing that which my soul desired—the Word of Life. When the minister commenced speaking, I fixed my mind with deep attention upon the spirit and matter of his discourse;

but, after hearing him through, I returned home,<sup>10</sup> convinced that he neither understood nor appreciated the subject upon which he spoke, and I said in my heart that there was not then upon earth the religion which I sought. I therefore determined to examine my Bible, and, taking Jesus and his disciples for my guide, to endeavour to obtain from God that which man could neither give nor take away. Notwithstanding this, I would hear all that could be said, as well as read much that was written, on the subject of religion, but the Bible I intended should be my guide to life and salvation.

8. GAS on Coray: "meeting house"

9. This phrase, "vanity and vexation of spirit," appears frequently in Ecclesiastes (1:14; 2:11, 17, 26; 4:4, 16; 6:9).

[Note 10 appears on page 281.]

be my guide to life and salvation  
 which I will endeavor to obtain if it  
 is to be had by diligence in pre  
 prayer

This course I pursued for many years  
 till at last I concluded that my mind  
 would be easier if I were baptized and I  
 found a minister who was willing to  
 baptize me and leave me free from  
 any membership in any church af-  
 ter which I pursued the same  
 course untill the a my oldest son at-  
 tained his 22nd year

Now I must return to the earlier  
 part of my life and change the subject  
 from spiritual to temporal things as

As I said before; my Husband followed  
 merchandize for a season in Randolph  
 here he he ascertained shortly after he  
 commenced buisness that chrystal-  
 ized Gin sang<sup>13</sup> bore an immense value  
 in china as it was then the time of  
 <the> plague.

This course I pursued a number of  
 years. At length I considered it my  
 duty to be baptized, and, finding a  
 minister who was willing to baptize  
 me, and leave me free in regard to  
 joining any religious denomination, I  
 stepped forward and yielded obedi-  
 ence to this ordinance;<sup>11</sup> after which I  
 continued to read the Bible as for-  
 merly, until my eldest son had at-  
 tained his twenty-second year.<sup>12</sup>

## CHAP. XII.

JOSEPH SMITH, SENIOR, LOSES  
 HIS PROPERTY AND BECOMES  
 POOR—RECEIVES A VISIT FROM JA-  
 SON MACK—THE HISTORY OF THE  
 LATTER CONCLUDED.

My husband, as before stated,  
 followed merchandising for a short  
 period in the town of Randolph.  
 Soon after he commenced business  
 in this place, he ascertained that  
 crystalized ginsang root sold very  
 high in China, being used as remedy  
 for the plague, which was then rag-  
 ing there.

10. Coray: "returned home, well convinced . . ."

11. Coray: ". . . number of years; but finally, regarding it as my duty to be baptized, and finding a minister who was willing to bapt<i>ze me, without compelling me to join any religious denomination, I stepped forward and receivd the ordinance of baptism."

12. Since Lucy gives Alvin's birth year as 1799 (instead of the correct year of 1798), by her reckoning, Alvin would have turned twenty-one (his twenty-second year) on 11 February 1820.

13. GAS on Coray and Pratt corrects the spelling to "Ginseng" throughout this chapter. Ginseng has a bifurcated root, giving it the rough appearance of a human being and hence suggesting medical properties. The plant in Vermont is *panax quinquefolia* to treat a variety of ailments. (See also Vogel 1:243.) IE and Nibley use "ginseng" for all references.

there he went into a traffick of this article ~~when~~ <when> he He got a quantity of the same on hand a merchant <of royalton> by the name of Stevens came to him and made him an offer of \$3000 for <the> whole lot but <that> it was not more than  $\frac{2}{3}$  its worth and Mr Smith refused saying he would rather ship it himself than accept the offer

Mr Smith then went immediately to the City of New York and made arrangements to send his Gin sang to China on board a vessel that <was> ~~had~~ about to set sail

Mr Stevens being rather vexed at his failure sent his son to China on the same ship who when he arrived in china sold the Gin sang which my husband sent and took possession of the \* [no corresponding note or insertion] avails and returned to R Tunbridge

He therefore concluded to embark in a traffic of this article, and consequently made an investment of all the means which he commanded, in that way and manner which was necessary to carry on a business of this kind, viz., crystalizing and exporting the root. When he had obtained a quantity of the same, a merchant by the name of Stevens, of Royalton, offered him three thousand dollars for what he had; but my husband refused his offer, as it was only about two-thirds of its real value, and told the gentleman that he would rather venture shipping it himself.

My husband, in a short time, went to the city of New York, with the view of shipping his gensang, and finding a vessel in port which was soon to set sail, he made arrangements with the captain to this effect—that he was to sell the gensang in China, and return the avails thereof to my husband; and this the captain bound himself to do, in a written obligation.

Mr Stevens, hearing that Mr. Smith was making arrangements to ship his gensang, repaired immediately to New York, and, by taking some pains, he ascertained the vessel on board of which Mr. Smith had shipped his gensang; and having some of the same article on hand himself, he made arrangements with the captain to take his also, and he was to send his son on board the ves-

sel to take charge of it.

It appears, from circumstances that afterwards transpired, that the gensang was taken to China, and sold there to good advantage, or at a high price, but not to much advantage to us, for we never received any thing, except a small chest of tea, of the avails arising from this adventure.

When the vessel returned, Stevens the younger also returned with it, and when my husband became apprized of his arrival, he went immediately to him and made inquiry respecting the success of the captain in selling his gensang. Mr. Stevens told him quite a plausible tale, the particulars of which I have forgotten; but the amount of it was, that the sale had been a perfect failure, and the only thing which had been brought for Mr. Smith from China was a small chest of tea, which chest had been delivered into his care, for my husband.<sup>14</sup>

here he hired a house of Maj. Mack my brother as employed 8 or 10 hands s for the purpose of setting up the business of Chrystalizing Ginsang

When he had fairly set up buisness my Brother went to see him he found him intoxicated well said my brother <Mack> you are doing a

In a short time after this, young Stevens hired a house of Major Mack, and employed eight or ten hands, and commenced the business of crystalizing gensang.

Soon after engaging in this business, when he had got fairly at work, my brother, Major Mack, went to see him, and, as it happened, he found

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14. This paragraph (beginning "When the vessel . . .") does not appear in Coray, but its presence in Pratt seems to confirm that it was in Lucy's 1845 fair copy in Pratt's possession, omitted through scribal error by the Corays while making the second copy.



fine buisness You will soon be ready for another trip to China. Then turning in a gay sociable maner said Oh Mr Stevens how much did Bro. Smiths venture bring the man being under the influence of liquor <was off his guard so he> took my brother by the hand and led him to a trunk <of silver and Gold> and archly observed there sir is the avails of Mr Smith's gin sang

Maj M was astounded but smothered his feellings talked awhile indiferently and returned home ordered his horse and started at 10 oclock that night for Randolph where we were still living

Mr Stevens found upon inquiring of the hostler where my brother had gone When he ascertained that the Maj ~~went~~ started for Randolph he went to his ~~esta-~~buisness establishment dismissed his hands called his carriage and fled cash and all for Canada and has not been heard of in the United States since

him considerably intoxicated. When my brother came into his presence, he spoke to him thus, "Well, Mr. Stevens, you are doing a fine business; you will soon be ready for another trip to China." Then observed again, in a quite indifferent manner, "Oh, Mr. Stevens, how much did brother Smith's adventure bring?" Being under the influence of liquor, he was not on his guard, and took my brother by the hand and led him to a trunk; then opening it, he observed, "There, sir, are the proceeds of Mr. Smith's gensang!" exhibiting a large amount of silver and gold.

My brother was much astounded at this; however, he disguised his feelings, and conversed with him a short time upon different subjects, then returned home, and about ten o'clock the same night he started for Randolph, to see my husband.

When Mr. Stevens had overcome his intoxication, he began to reflect upon what he had done, and making some inquiry concerning my brother, he ascertained that he had gone to Randolph. Mr. Stevens, conjecturing his business—that he had gone to see my husband respecting the gensang adventure, went immediately to his establishment, dismissed his hands, called his carriage, and fled with his cash for Canada, and I have never heard any thing concerning him since.

My husband pursued him awhile but finding that pursuit was vain returned home quite dispirited at <sup>15</sup>State of his affairs. He then overhauled his ~~aeoun~~ books and found that in addition to the loss he met withe in the Gin sang traffick he had lost more than \$2000 ~~more~~ in bad debts and was himself owing \$1800 for goods purchased in <the city of> Boston

My husband pursued him a while, but finding pursuit vain, returned home much dispirited at the state of his affairs. He then went to work to overhaul his accounts, in order to see how he stood with the world; upon which he discovered that, in addition to the loss sustained by the China adventure, he had lost about two thousand dollars in bad debts. At the time he sent his venture to China he was owing eighteen hundred dollars in the city of Boston, for store goods, and he expected to discharge the debt at the return of the China expedition; but, having invested almost all his means in gensang, the loss which he suffered in this article rendered it impossible for him to pay his debt with the property which remained in his hands. The principal dependence left him, in the shape of property, was the farm at Tunbridge, upon which we were then living, having moved back to this place immediately after his venture was sent to China.

He rturned [sic] to Tunbridge sold his farm there for \$800 in order to make a speedy payment on his debts in Boston<sup>16</sup> here let me observe that my brother Stepen mack made me a present of \$1000 previous to my marriage which I had as yet made no use of I

This farm, which was worth about fifteen hundred dollars, my husband sold for eight hundred, in order to make a speedy payment on the Boston debt; and, as I had not used the check of one thousand dollars, which my brother and Mr. Mudget gave me, I added it to the eight

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15. Page 45 of the Coray manuscript begins at this point. In the top margin, GAS has written "Mss preferable."

16. A small "X" appears over this word.

~~told~~ <desired> Mr Smith ~~that~~ to add this to the sum which he received for his farm<sup>17</sup> and by this means we would be enabled to liquidate all debts that stood against us and although we might be poor we would have the satisfaction of knowing that we had given no man any cause of ~~offense~~ complaint and having a conscience void of offence the society of our children and the blessing of health we still might be indeed happy—

He acceded to my proposition and deposited the whole in the hands of Colonel Mack who took the same to Boston and paid off the demands against us and returned with the receipts which set us free from embarrassment of debt but not from the embarrassment of poverty

[This page is headed "Corrections," much damaged along the right margin.] Page 7 Jason Mack came to ~~make me a~~ visit in Tunbridge <for> Introduce Esthers death his despondency &c &c [damaged] comes the following as they come in order He came to see me in Tunbridge when I had 3 or 4 children brought his adopted son with him left ~~ti~~ the young man <a child he took in Nova Scotia by the name of

hundred dollars obtained for the farm, and by this means the whole debt was liquidated.

While we were living on the Tunbridge farm, my brother Jason made us a visit. He brought with him a young man by the name of William Smith, a friendless orphan, whom he had adopted as his own son, and, previous to this time, had kept constantly with him; but he now thought best to leave him with us, for the purpose of having him go to school. He remained with us, however, only six months before my

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17. The page ends here. As arranged on the microfilm, the narrative picks up seven pages later after (1) a page headed "Corrections," (2) a page with a damaged top left margin; the third visible line is the heading "N. B. reviser," (3) a full page headed "2st vision of Joseph Smith Sen," (4) a full page headed "3th vision of Joseph Smith Senior," (5) a continuation of the previous page, ending the third vision and commencing "6th vision of Joseph Smith Sen.," and (6) a full page with damage to the upper right margin. The first line begins "The last and 7th vision."

William Smith > and left at school.  
the Boy's [damaged] tions Jasons ob-  
ject in taking him &c.&c. religious  
[sic]

brother came again and took him to  
New Brunswick, which they after-  
wards made their home, and where  
my brother had gathered together  
some thirty families on a tract of  
land which he had purchased for the  
purpose of assisting poor persons to  
the means of sustaining themselves.  
He planned their work for them, and  
when they raised anything which  
they wished to sell, he took it to mar-  
ket for them. Owning a schooner  
himself, he took their produce to Liv-  
erpool, as it was then the best mar-  
ket.

came to see me again & at Tun-  
bridge—when h [damaged] set out  
he bought many things for his sisters  
[damaged] a woman crying her hus-  
band drowned Jason ritu [damaged]  
her 15 dollars and a suit apiece for  
her and six c [damaged] dren rode 2  
days put up at a tavern asked if th  
[damaged] wanted preaching and  
man there from vermont with [dam-  
aged] <cattle> preached man staid  
with cattle to hear him 3 day farther  
apointed meeting found a poor  
wom[damaged] gave her a new  
dress and shoes—

When Jason set out on the  
above-mentioned visit to Tunbridge,  
he purchased a quantity of goods,  
which he intended as presents for his  
friends, especially his mother and sis-  
ters; but, on his way thither, he  
found so many objects of charity,  
that he gave away not only the  
goods, but most of his money. On  
one occasion, he saw a woman who  
had just lost her husband, and who  
was very destitute; he gave her fif-  
teen dollars in money, and a full suit  
of clothes for herself and each of her  
children, which were six in number.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

arrived at [damaged] house preached— — —returned—[damaged] coasting  
owned a schooner. His he had a [damaged] on new bru<n>swick supported  
30 families [damaged] he made it his home in new Brunswick a [damaged]  
from there to Liverpool he preached ever [damaged] as landed. he arranged  
buisness at in his e [damaged] them at their springs work planting and mak-  
ing [damaged] paris and lime, he then coasted 2 years and [damaged] to see  
us he stopped at Boston a heavy [damaged] his head that he would beat the

Ear [damaged] figures men at operations—he came home [damaged] told his adventures—One pitch dark night [damaged] thrown overboard by the main [damaged] seas a light appeared by [damaged] cle rope that was hung out fo [damaged] saved by the power of God—[damaged] and sister Lucy you don't kno [damaged] at our meetings and how we d [damaged] would send the gifts and as e [damaged] when we lived in Norige

*Lucy: 1844-45*

and pursue the subject of my brother [X'ed out from here to the end of the paragraph] he single till his age of 50th year but continued preaching the word by land and seas untill the year 1835 when we received from him the following letter which was the last we heard of him before his death

South Branch of Or<o>mucto  
Province of New Brunswick  
June 30 1835<sup>18</sup>

My Dear Brother Solomon

You will no doubt be surprized to hear that I Sam verily still alive although in an abcence of 20 year I have never writen to <you> before but I trust your ~~gladne~~ will forgive me when I tell you that for most part of the 20 years I have been so situated that I had little or no communication with the lines and have been holding meetings day and night ~~or~~ from place to place <and> ~~and~~ My <mind> has been so taken up with the deplorable situation of

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

This was the last interview I ever had with my brother Jason, but, twenty years later, he wrote the following letter to my brother Solomon, and that is about all the intelligence I have ever received from him since I saw him:—

“South Branch of Ormucto,  
Province of New Brunswick,  
June 30, 1835<sup>19</sup>

“My Dear Brother Solomon:—

You will, no doubt, be surprised to hear that I am still alive, although in an absence of twenty years I have never written to you before. But I trust you will forgive me when I tell you that for most of the twenty years, I have been so situated that I have had little or no communication with the lines, and have been holding meetings, day and night, from place to place; besides, my mind has been so taken up with the deplorable situation of the earth, the darkness

18. In Lucy's rough draft, this letter is inscribed in the portion parallel to chap. 2, the biographical sketch of Jason Mack.

19. The Coray fair copy locates this letter here.

the Earth in the darkness in which it lies that when My labors did call me near the lines I did not realize the opportunity that presented itself of letting you know where I was

And again I have designed visiting you long since And annually have promised Myself that the succeeding year I would certinly [sic] seek out my relatives, and to enjoy the priviledge of one pleasing interview with them before I passed into "The vally and shadow of death". But last though not least let me no startle you when I say that according to my early adopted principles of the power of faith the Lord has in his exceeding kindness bestowed upon me the Gift of healing by the prayer of faith and the use of <such> simple means as seems congenial to the human system but my chief reliance is upon him who hath organized us at the first and can at pleasure restore that which is disorganized

The first of my peculiar success<sup>20</sup> in this way was 12 years since and from near that date I have had little rest for in addition to the hourly <incessantly> calls which I in a short time had There was the most overwhelming torrent of opposition immediately poured down upon me that I ever witnessed.

But it pleased God to take the weak to confound the wisdom of the

in which it lies, that, when my labours did call me near the lines, I did not realize the opportunity which presented itself of letting you know where I was.

And, again, I have designed visiting you long since, and annually have promised myself that the succeeding year I would certainly seek out my relatives, and enjoy the privilege of one pleasing interview with them before I passed into the valley and shadow of death. But last, though not least, let me not startle you when I say, that, according to my early adopted principles of the power of faith, the Lord has, in his exceeding kindness, bestowed upon me the gift of healing by the prayer of faith, and the use of such simple means as seem congenial to the human system; but my chief reliance is upon him who organized us at the first, and can restore at pleasure that which is disorganized.

"The first of my peculiar success in this way was twelve years since, and from nearly that date I have had little rest. In addition to the incessant calls which I, in a short time had, there was the most overwhelming torrent of opposition poured down upon me that I ever witnessed. But it pleased God to take the weak to confound the wisdom of the wise. I have in the last twelve years seen

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20. IE and Nibley: "successes"

wise. I have in the last 12 years seen  
the greatest manifestation of the  
power of God in healing the sick  
than with all my sanguineity I ever  
hoped or imagined

And when the learned infidel has  
declared with sober face the time  
and again that disease had ob-  
tained such and ascendancy that  
Death could be resisted no longer  
that the victim must wither be-  
neath his potent arm I have seen  
the almost lifeless clay slowly but  
surely resuscitate and revive till  
the pallid monster fled so far that  
the patient was left in the full  
bloom of vigorous health But it is  
God that hath done it and to him  
let all the Praise be given

I am <now> compelled to close  
this Epistle for I must start immedi-  
ately ~~fe~~ on a journey of more than  
100 miles to attend a heavy case  
of sickness. So God be with you all  
farewell

Jason Mack

This was the last intelligence we  
received from My oldest Brother  
previous to his death which took  
place 6 years anterior to the date  
of the above letter.

<sup>21</sup>No more of my brother untill  
the letter came 20 yea[rs] after—  
thence to Nauvoo—2 years Dead  
wife dead one daughter alive

the greatest manifestations of the  
power of God in healing the sick,  
that, with all my sanguinity, I ever  
hoped or imagined.

And when the learned infidel has de-  
clared with sober face, time and  
again, that disease had obtained  
such an ascendancy that death  
could be resisted no longer, that the  
victim must wither beneath his po-  
tent arm, I have seen the almost life-  
less clay slowly but surely resusci-  
tated, and revive, till the pallid mon-  
ster fled so far that the patient was  
left in the full bloom of vigorous  
health. But it is God that hath done  
it, and to him let all the praise be  
given.

"I am now compelled to close  
this epistle, for I must start immedi-  
ately on a journey of more than one  
hundred miles, to attend a heavy  
case of sickness; so God be with you  
all. Farewell!

"JASON MACK."

The next intelligence we received  
concerning Jason, after his letter to  
Brother Solomon, was, that he, his  
wife, and oldest son, were dead, and  
this concludes my account of my  
Brother Jason.

21. These phrases are on part of a separate page.



<sup>22</sup>[damaged] ory which is ~~that~~ my hu [damaged] dge untill the farm was [damaged] dtch N. B revisers During the time in which Mr Smith was reflecting seriously upon the subject of religion he used while we were yet living in the Town of Tunbridge I was very seriously impressed the subject of religion occasioned probably by my singular experience while sick at Randolph and I endeavored to persuade my husband to attend the methodist meeting with me he went a few times to gratify me for he had so little faith in the doctrines taught by them that my feelings were the only inducement for him to go—But as soon as his Father and brother<sup>23</sup> Jesse heard that we were attending Methodist meeting they were much displeased and his father came to the door one day and threw Tom Pains age of reason into the house and angrily bade him read that untill he believed it<sup>24</sup>

## CHAP. XIII.

## THE AUTHOR'S DREAM.

While we were living in the town of Tunbridge, my mind became deeply impressed with the subject of religion; which, probably, was occasioned by my singular experience during my sickness at Randolph. I began to attend Methodist meetings, and, to oblige me, my husband accompanied me; but when this came to the ears of his father and oldest brother, they were so displeased, and said so much in regard to the matter, that my husband thought it best to desist.<sup>25</sup> He said that he considered it as hardly worth our while to attend the meetings any longer, as it would prove of but little advantage to us; besides this, it gave our friends such disagreeable feelings. I was considerably hurt by this, yet I made no reply. I retired to a grove not far distant, where I prayed to the Lord in

22. This is the second loose sheet interposed after Lucy and Joseph pay their debt in Boston.

23. Coray: "but when this came to the ears of his father and oldest brother . . ." GAS on Pratt: "as soon as his Father and brother . . ."

24. Asael Sr.'s religious feelings seem to have been deep and sincere, although his feelings about organized religion may have fully shared Jesse's skepticism. In a letter written to his family on 10 April 1799, which he intended to be read after his death as a "spiritual will," in Richard L. Anderson's phrase, he urged: "You have to deal with an infinite majesty; you go upon life and death. Therefore, in this point be serious. . . . When you think of him, speak of him, pray to him, or in any way make your addresses to his great majesty, be in good earnest." He affirmed the necessity of a savior but not of any particular religion or religious practice: "Satisfy your own consciences in what you do. . . . Go all to God as to your father, for his love is ten thousand times greater towards you than ever any earthly father's could [be] to his offspring. . . . As for the Church of Christ [Congregationalism]: neither set her above her husband nor below her children; give her that honor, obedience and respect that is her due." As a consequence, Anderson, *New England*, 207n183, doubts that Asael agreed with the passages in which Paine "ridicules the divinity of Christ, the atonement, the resurrection, and the authenticity of the New Testament, all of which Asael deeply accepted. . . . His act may have been scornful, an association of the then unpopular Methodism with the deviations of Paine—or an agreement with Paine's attack on religious superstition, though

[Note 25 appears on page 292.]

they also told him thou [sic] he ought not to let his wife go to the meetings and it would be far better for him to stop going ~~this gave me~~ ~~very~~ accordingly my husband requested me not to go as it gave our friends such disagreeable feelings he thought it was hardly worth our while ~~to go~~—I was very much hurt by this but did not reply to him then but retired to a grove of handsome wild cherry trees and prayed to the Lord that he <would> so influence the heart of my husband that he would <one day> be induced to receive the Gospel whenever it was preached I spent some time in prayer and returned to the house much depressed in spirits. That night I had the following dream—

Lucy Smith's Dream

~~That~~ Thought that I was standing in a beautiful <pleasant> meadow which I was well acquainted with and I was looking and and admiring the leveliness or beauty of the scenery when [the page ends here]

behalf of my husband—that the true Gospel might be presented to him, and that his heart might be softened so as to receive it, or, that he might become more religiously inclined.

After praying some time in this manner, I returned to the house, much depressed in spirit, which state of feeling continued until I retired to my bed. I soon fell asleep, and had the following dream:—

Coray/Pratt: 1853

I thought that I stood in a large and beautiful meadow, which lay a short distance from the house in which we lived, and that everything

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Asael Smith stopped far short of the extremism of the *Age of Reason*." Anderson adds that, although moderator of the local Universalist Society, Asael was a (Congregational) pew holder in both Tunbridge and earlier in Topsfield (Ibid., 207nn183, 185).

25. IE and Nibley: "I commenced attending Methodist meetings, and in order to oblige me, my husband accompanied me; but when this came to the ears of his oldest brother, he was so displeased, and said so much in regard to the matter, that my husband thought it best to desist." Nibley note: "Jesse Smith, the eldest brother of Joseph Smith, Sr., was always bitterly opposed to every form of religion."

around me wore an aspect of peculiar pleasantness. The first thing that attracted my special attention in this magnificent meadow, was a very pure and clear stream of water, which ran through the midst of it; and as I traced this stream, I discovered two trees standing upon its margin, both of which were on the same side of the stream. These trees were very beautiful, they were well proportioned, and towered with majestic beauty to a great height. Their branches, which added to their symmetry and glory, commenced near the top, and spread themselves in luxurious grandeur around. I gazed upon them with wonder and admiration; and after beholding them a short time, I saw one of them was surrounded with a bright belt, that shone like burnished gold, but far more brilliantly. Presently, a gentle breeze passed by, and the tree encircled with this golden zone, bent gracefully before the wind, and waved its beautiful branches in the light air.<sup>26</sup> As the wind increased, this tree assumed the most lively and animated appearance, and seemed to express in its motions, the utmost joy and happiness. If it had been an intelligent creature, it could not have conveyed, by the power of language, the idea of joy and gratitude so perfectly as it did; and even the stream that rolled beneath it, shared, apparently, every sensation felt by the tree, for, as the branches danced over the stream, it would swell gently, then recede again with a motion as soft as the breathing of an infant, but as lively as the dancing of a sunbeam. The belt also partook of the same influence, and as it moved in unison with the motion of the stream and of the tree, it increased continually in refulgence and magnitude, until it became exceedingly glorious.

I turned my eyes upon its fellow, which stood opposite;<sup>27</sup> but it was not surrounded with the belt of light as the former, and it stood erect and fixed as a pillar of marble. No matter how strong the wind blew over it, not a leaf was stirred, not a bough was bent; but obstinately stiff it stood, scorning alike the zephyr's breath, or the power of the mighty storm.

I wondered at what I saw, and said in my heart, What can be the meaning of all this? And the interpretation given me was, that these personated my husband and his oldest brother, Jesse Smith; that the stubborn and unyielding tree was like Jesse; that the other, more pliant and flexible, was like Joseph, my husband; that the breath of heaven, which

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26. Coray: "and after beholding them a short time, a bright light surrounded one of them, which appeared like a belt of burnished gold, but far more brilliant."

27. GAS on Coray: "near"

passed over them, was the pure and undefiled Gospel of the Son of God, which Gospel Jesse would always resist, but which Joseph, when he was more advanced in life, would hear<sup>28</sup> and receive with his whole heart, and rejoice therein; and unto him would be added intelligence, happiness, glory, and everlasting life.

## CHAP. XIV.

FIRST VISION OF JOSEPH SMITH, SENIOR—THE BOX—SECOND VISION—THE TREE AND THE SPACIOUS BUILDING.

After selling the farm at Tunbridge, we moved only a short distance, to the town of Royalton. Here we resided a few months, then moved again to Sharon, Windsor county, Vermont. In the latter place, my husband rented a farm of my father, which he cultivated in the summer, teaching school in the winter. In this way my husband continued labouring for a few years, during which time our circumstances gradually improved, until we found ourselves quite comfortable again.

In the meantime we had a son, whom we called Joseph, after the name of his father; he was born December 23, 1805. I shall speak of him more particularly by and by.

We moved thence to Tunbridge. Here we had another son, whom we named Samuel Harrison, born March 13, 1808. We lived in this place a short time, then moved to Royalton, where Ephraim was born, March 13, 1810. We continued here until we had another son, born March 13, 1811, whom we called William.

About this time my husband's mind became much excited upon the subject of religion; yet he would not subscribe to any particular system of faith, but contended for the ancient order, as established by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and his Apostles.

One night my husband retired to his bed, in a very thoughtful state of mind, contemplating the situation of the Christian religion, or the confusion and discord that were extant.<sup>29</sup> He soon fell into a sleep, and before waking had the following vision, which I shall relate in his own words, just as he told it to me the next morning:—<sup>30</sup>

28. Coray: "but, when Joseph should be more advanced in life, that would hear the pure gospel . . ."

29. Coray: "contemplating the confusion and discord that reigned in the religious world."

30. Richard L. Bushman characterizes the religious differences between Lucy and Joseph as "turbulence. Although . . . both stood along the edges of church life, . . . Lucy always hoped she could find a church or minister to suit her; Joseph Sr. thought the churches were corrupt." Joseph Sr.'s vivid dreams, according to Bushman, show both "a profound skepticism about the authenticity

Lucy: 1844-45

1st vision of Joseph Smith Sr received the next month after William was born.<sup>31</sup>

I seemed to be traveling in an open barren field I looked to the east to the west to the north and to the south I could see nothing but dead fallen timber not one or leaf not a tree not a spear of grass could be seen in any direction no sound of any animate thing was to be heard in all the field

no living thing neither animal or vegetable was there save myself and an attendant spirit that stood at my side of this personage I enquired the meaning of what I saw and why I was traveling in this gloomy place ["He go are" (?) erased] He <said> this field field is the world which his [sic] inanimate & dumb as to the things pertaining to the true religion or the order of Heavenly things all is darkness But travel on and on a certain log by the wayside you will find a box whose contents will make you wise and if you eat the same you shall have wisdom and understanding

Coray/Pratt: 1853

"I seemed to be travelling in an open, barren field, and as I was travelling, I turned my eyes towards the east, the west, the north, and the south, but could see nothing save dead fallen timber. Not a vestige of life, either animal or vegetable, could be seen; besides, to render the scene still more dreary, the most death-like silence prevailed; no sound of anything animate could be heard in all the field.

I was alone in this gloomy desert, with the exception of an attendant spirit, who kept constantly by my side. Of him I inquired the meaning of what I saw, and why I was thus travelling in such a dismal place. He answered thus: 'This field is the world, which now lieth inanimate and dumb, in regard to the true religion, or plan of salvation; but travel on, and by the wayside you will find on a certain log a box, the contents of which, if you eat thereof, will make you wise, and give unto you wisdom and understanding.'

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of the churches" and "a visionary yearning to find God and salvation." This position left him "open to forms of religion that the educated Protestant clergy considered outlandish or heretical" (Bushman, "Joseph Smith's Family Background," 11).

31. The next two and a half pages of Lucy's rough draft are Joseph Smith Sr.'s visions. I have followed the order of Coray 1845 and Coray/Pratt 1853 in placing them.

I did as I was directed and presently came to box I took it up and placed it under my left arm forced up the lid and began to taste of its contents when all manner of beasts ~~and~~ horned cattle and roaring animals rose up on every side and rushed upon me tearing the Earth tossing their horns in air belowing round ~~him~~ <me> threatning every moment to devour ~~me~~ <me>

they came so close upon me that I was forced to drop the box—and fly for my life although <it> ~~the~~ ~~possession of~~ made me the happiest of anything <of which> I ever had possession I awoke trembling with terror<sup>32</sup>

I carefully observed what was told me by my guide, and proceeding a short distance, I came to the box. I immediately took it up, and placed it under my left arm; then with eagerness I raised the lid, and began to taste of its contents; upon which all manner of beasts, horned cattle, and roaring animals, rose up on every side in the most threatening manner possible, tearing the earth, tossing their horns, and bellowing most terrifically all around me,

and they finally came so close upon me, that I was compelled to drop the box, and fly for my life. Yet, in the midst of all this I was perfectly happy, though I awoke trembling."

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

From this forward my husband seemed more confirmed than ever in the opinion that there was no order or class of religionists that knew any more concerning the Kingdom of God, than those of the world, or such as made no profession of religion whatever.

In 1811, we moved from Royalton, Vermont, to the town of Lebanon, New Hampshire.<sup>33</sup> Soon after arriving here, my husband received another very singular vision, which I will relate:—

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32. Coray: "—yet, in the midst of all this terror, I was perfectly happy; though I awoke, trembling for fear." At this point, another note appears on the bottom of the sheet: "—and inquire for a man by the name of Blake who <was formerly> had ~~been~~ Capt. of a boat which belonged to <my brother> gen Mack and upon my brothers decease he purchased the same <and was> still plying the lakes under his command [three words marked out]." See chap. 39.

33. According to Larry Porter ("A Study," 25), the family settled in what is now West Lebanon, Grafton County, where Hyrum may have attended Moor's Charity School at Hanover. Dan Vogel (1:63-65) has established that the family was present to be assessed taxes in both May 1813 and May 1814, but not earlier or later. Because they were renting, the owner probably paid taxes on the

"I thought," said he, "I was travelling in an open, desolate field, which appeared to be very barren. As I was thus travelling, the thought suddenly came into my mind that I had better stop and reflect upon what I was doing, before I went any further. So I asked myself, 'What motive can I have in travelling here, and what place can this be?' My guide, who was by my side, as before, said, 'This is the desolate world; but travel on.' The road was so broad and barren that I wondered why I should travel in it; for, said I to myself, 'Broad is the road, and wide is the gate that leads to death, and many there be that walk therein; but narrow is the way, and straight is the gate that leads to everlasting life, and few there be that go in thereat.'<sup>34</sup> Travelling a short distance further, I came to a narrow path. This path I entered, and, when I had travelled a little way in it, I beheld a beautiful stream of water, which ran from the east to the west. Of this stream I could see neither the source nor yet the termination;<sup>35</sup> but as far as my eyes could extend I could see a rope, running along the bank of it, about as high as a man could reach, and beyond me was a low, but very pleasant valley, in which stood a tree such as I, had never seen before. It was exceedingly handsome, insomuch that I looked upon it with wonder and admiration. Its beautiful branches spread themselves somewhat like an umbrella, and it bore a kind of fruit, in shape much like a chestnut bur, and as white as snow, or, if possible, whiter. I gazed upon the same with considerable interest, and as I was doing so, the burs or shells commenced opening and shedding their particles, or the fruit which they contained, which was of dazzling whiteness. I drew near, and began to eat of it, and I found it delicious beyond description. As I was eating, I said in my heart, 'I cannot eat this alone, I must bring my wife and children, that they may partake with me.' Accordingly, I went and brought my family, which consisted of a wife and seven children, and we all commenced eating, and praising God for this blessing. We were exceedingly happy, inso-

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land and buildings. In 1813, the Smiths owned four "cattle" (which were distinguished from oxen, cows, and horses), and paid \$5.06 in taxes. They paid no "minister's tax," probably because Joseph Sr. was a universalist. Further evidence that the typhoid fever attacked during the winter of 1813-14, reducing the already straitened family finances to penury, is the fact that they had only two "cattle" in May 1814 and paid only 83 cents in taxes. Joseph Sr. had voted in 1813 but was so poor in 1814 that he did not qualify. The typhoid epidemic began in 1812 and continued into 1815.

34. See Matthew 7:13-14: "Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it."

35. Coray: "the source nor the outlet . . ."; GAS, IE, and Nibley: "the source nor yet the mouth . . ."



much that our joy could not easily be expressed. While thus engaged, I beheld a spacious building standing opposite the valley which we were in, and it appeared to reach to the very heavens. It was full of doors and windows, and they were all filled with people, who were very finely dressed. When these people observed us in the low valley, under the tree, they pointed the finger of scorn at us, and treated us with all manner of disrespect and contempt. But their contumely we utterly disregarded. I presently turned to my guide, and inquired of him the meaning of the fruit that was so delicious. He told me it was the pure love of God, shed abroad in the hearts of all those who love him, and keep his commandments. He then commanded me to go and bring the rest of my children. I told him that we were all there. 'No,' he replied, 'look yonder, you have two more, and you must bring them also.'<sup>36</sup> Upon raising my eyes, I saw two small children, standing some distance off. I immediately went to them, and brought them to the tree; upon which they commenced eating with the rest, and we all rejoiced together. The more we eat, the more we seemed to desire, until we even got down upon our knees, and scooped it up, eating it by double handfulls. After feasting in this manner a short time, I asked my guide what was the meaning of the spacious building which I saw. He replied, 'It is Babylon, it is Babylon, and it must fall. The people in the doors and windows are the inhabitants thereof, who scorn and despise the Saints of God, because of their humility.' I soon awoke, clapping my hands together for joy."<sup>37</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

New Chap<sup>38</sup>

This was considerable of a trial to us for it deprived us at once of <not> only of the comforts and conveniences of life but also of a home of any description [a straight line is perpendicular to the line of writing] ~~and~~ we took our [a second straight line appears here] 3 oldest children ~~and~~ went to

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36. If Joseph Sr. were counting the unnamed first child and Ephraim as among the seven children in this dream, then Lucy's dating of it as "soon" after the move in 1811 could have been any time before Katharine's birth on 28 July 1813. If, however, he was counting Katharine and Ephraim, while the two children were those yet to be born (Don Carlos and Lucy), then this dream occurred after 1813.

37. The next three loose pages in Lucy's rough draft, as noted above, are Joseph Sr.'s third, sixth, and seventh visions. I have moved them to chaps. 17 and 18 to correspond to the Coray 1845 and Coray/Pratt 1853 versions.

38. This heading appears partway down the page, immediately following Joseph's and Lucy's payment of the debt to the Boston merchants.

Sharon and hired a farm of my father which My husband cultivated in the summer season and in the winter he taught school This course we pursued for a few years gaining gradually untill we found ourselves in quite comfortable circumstances Here

Here it was that my son Joseph was born one who will act a more conspicuous part in this work than any other individual From this place we went a short distance to Royalton where Wiliam <am> was born <in 1811> as also one who died in infancy which we named Ephraim

Lucy: 1844-45

Coray/Pratt: 1853

# CHAP. XV.

SICKNESS AT LEBANON—  
SOPHRONIA'S MIRACULOUS  
RECOVERY.

(Thence To <to> Lebanon  
<1811> here we settled ourselves  
down and began to congratulate  
ourselves upon our prosperity and  
also to renew our exertions to att ob-  
tain a greater abundance of this  
worlds goods we looked around us  
and said said to our what do we now  
lack there is nothing which we have  
not a sufficiency of to make us per  
and our children perfectly comfort-  
able both for food and raiment as  
well as that which is necessary to a  
respectable appearance in society  
<both> at home and abroad taking  
this view of the subject we thought  
it time to begin to provide for the fu-  
ture wants of our family and our-  
selves when the decline of life  
should come upon us.<sup>39</sup> This raised

We moved, as before-men-  
tioned, to the town of Lebanon,  
New Hampshire.<sup>40</sup> Here we settled  
ourselves down, and began to con-  
template, with joy and satisfaction,  
the prosperity which had attended  
our recent exertions; and we dou-  
bled our diligence, in order to obtain  
more of this world's goods, with the  
view of assisting our children, when  
they should need it; and, as is quite  
natural, we looked forward to the de-  
cline of life, and were providing for  
its wants, as well as striving to pro-  
cure those things which contribute  
much to the comfort of old age.

39. Coray: "we doubled our diligence, to obtain more of this world,s goods in order to assist our children; besides, as is quite natural, we looked forward to the decline of life, and were making provisions for its wants, as well as its comforts."

40. Nibley note: "It was while residing in Lebanon, New Hampshire, that Catherine, the second daughter, was born. Mrs. Smith gives the date of her birth as July 8, 1812." Katharine's

our ambition much ~~and~~ I commenced by laying in for the ensuing winter 100 lbs of candles that we might the better pursue our labors ~~on~~ 200 yds of cloth for a stock of Clothing <for> my family

and as my children had been deprived of school we made every arrangement to supply that deficiency our second son <Hyrum> we ~~sent~~ ~~to~~ <established in> the academy in Hanover the remmainder who were old enough attended a school near by whilst I their Father and myself were industriously laboring late and early to do all in our power for their future welfare We met with success on every hand

But the scene Soon changed ~~When we had been in this place for the space of 2 years~~ <in 1813> the typhus fever came into Lebanon and raged there horribly among the rest who were seized with this ~~complaint~~ complaint were my ~~my~~ oldest daughter Sophronia who was sick 4 weeks next Hyrum came from Hanover <sick> with the same disease then Alvin my oldest and so on till there was not one of my Family left well save Mr S Smith and myself

As our children had, in a great measure, been debarred from the privilege of schools, we began to make every arrangement to attend to this important duty. We established our second son Hyrum in an academy at Hanover; and the rest, that were of sufficient age, we were sending to a common school that was quite convenient. Meanwhile, myself and companion were doing all that our abilities would admit of for the future welfare and advantage of the family, and were greatly blessed in our labours.

But this state of things did not long continue. The typhus fever came into Lebanon, and raged tremendously.<sup>41</sup> Among the number seized with this complaint were, first, Sophronia; next Hyrum, who was taken while at school, and came home sick; then Alvin; in short, one after another was taken down, till all of the family, with the exception of myself and husband, were prostrated upon a bed of sickness.

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more likely birth year was 1813.

41. The Smith family was most likely afflicted from the late summer or fall of 1812 (Hyrum's school was in session) to the late spring of 1813, as dated by the availability of Dr. Nathan Smith at Dartmouth. (He went to Yale after the spring of 1813.) Although Katharine's birth year is given

here I must request my readers to bear with me for I shall probably detain them some time

My Sophronia was very low ~~She~~ ~~was~~ and remained so 89 days on the 90th day the attendant physician declared that she was so far gone that it was imposs [sic] for her ever to receive any benefit from the effects of medicine and discontinued ~~their~~ his attendance upon her <on> the night of the 90th day she lay utterly motionless with her eyes ~~had~~ wide open with that peculiar set which most strikingly exhibits the hue of Death I gazed upon my child as a mother looks on the last ~~moments~~ shade of life in a <darling> child ~~of her~~ be in the distraction of the moment (<for> her Father was with me) we clasped our hands together and fell upon our knees by the bedside and poured our grief and suplications into His ears who hath numbered the hair upon our heads<sup>42</sup> then think it not strange if he heard us—

he did hear us and I felt assured that he would answer our prayers but

Sophronia had a heavy siege. The physician attended upon her eighty-nine days, giving her medicine all the while; but on the ninetieth day, he said she was so far gone, it was not for her to receive any benefit from medicine, and for this cause he discontinued his attendance upon her.<sup>43</sup> The ensuing night, she lay altogether motionless, with her eyes wide open, and with that peculiar aspect which bespeaks the near approach of death. As she thus lay, I gazed upon her as a mother looks upon the last shade of life in a darling child. In this moment of distraction, my husband and myself clasped our hands, fell upon our knees by the bedside, and poured out our grief to God, in prayer and supplication, beseeching him to spare our child yet a little longer.

Did the Lord hear our petition?  
Yes, he most assuredly did, and

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variously as 1812 or 1813, spanning the epidemic, there is no question that either year would have made this siege of illness a difficult one for Lucy. If Katharine were born in July 1812, she would have been a nursing infant during the typhoid epidemic and the subsequent illness of the entire family of six other living children (Ephraim had died in 1810). If Katharine were born in July 1813, Lucy would have been pregnant during the winter when she was trying to care for six sick children, one of whom, nine-year-old Sophronia, was bedfast for three months and nearly died.

42. "But the very hairs of your head are all numbered" (Matt. 10:30).

43. Coray: "The physician attended upon her 89 days; but, on the 90th day, he said, she was so far gone, that medicine [sic] could be of no benefit to her . . ." IE and Nibley: "discontinued his attendance . . ."

when we rose to our feet the appearance was far otherwise my child had apparently ceased to breathe I seized a blanket threw it round her and caught her in my arms and commenced pacing the floor those present remonstrated with me saying Mrs Smith it all [sic] of no use you are certainly crazy ~~the~~ Your child is dead but I would not for one instant relinquish the hope of seeing her breathe again and live

Now my reader are you a parent, place yourself in the same situation are you a Mother that has ever been in like circumstances feel for your heart strings can you tell me how I felt with my expiring child strained to my ~~heart~~ <bosom> ~~with all~~ which thrilled with all a mothers love a mothers tender yearnings. for her own offspring. ~~At last she sobbed~~ would you then feel to deny that God had power to save to the uttermost<sup>45</sup>—all who call on him I did not then and I do not now at last she sobbed I still pressed her to my breast and walked the floor she sobbed again and then looked up into my face with an appearance of natural life breathing freely. My soul was satisfied but my strength

before we rose to our feet, he gave us a testimony that she should<sup>44</sup> recover. When we first arose from prayer, our child had, to all appearance, ceased breathing. I caught a blanket, threw it around her, then, taking her in my arms, commenced pacing the floor. Those present remonstrated against my doing as I did, saying, "Mrs. Smith, it is all of no use; you are certainly crazy, your child is dead." Notwithstanding, I would not, for a moment, relinquish the hope of again seeing her breathe and live.

This recital, doubtless, will be uninteresting to some; but those who have experienced in life something of this kind are susceptible of feeling, and can sympathize with me. Are you a mother who has been bereft of a child? Feel for your heart-strings, and then tell me how I felt with my expiring child pressed to my bosom! Would you at this trying moment feel to deny that God had "power to save to the uttermost all who call on Him"! I did not then, neither do I now.

At length she sobbed. I still pressed her to my breast, and continued to walk the floor. She sobbed again, then looked up into my face, and commenced breathing quite freely. My soul was satisfied, but

44. IE and Nibley: "would"

45. See Hebrews 7:25: "Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him."

was gone I laid her on the bed and sank <down> beside her overpowered by excess of feeling you will anticipate me in the fact of her <final> recovery

my strength was gone. I laid my daughter on the bed, and sunk by her side, completely overpowered by the intensity of my feelings.

From this time forward Sophronia continued mending, until she entirely recovered.

## CHAP. XVI.

THE SUFFERINGS OF JOSEPH SMITH, JUNIOR, WITH A FEVER SORE—EXTRACTION OF LARGE FRAGMENTS<sup>46</sup> OF BONE FROM ONE OF HIS LEGS.

so and I shall here be under the necessity of turning the subject to my 3 son Joseph who had so far recovered that he sat up when he <one day> suddenly screamed out with a severe pain in his shoulder and seemed in such extreme distress that we were fearful that something dreadful was about to ensue and sent immediately for the Doctor who said he was of the opinion it was a sprain but the child said this could not be the case as he had not been hurt but that a sharp pain took him very suddenly ~~that he had not been hurt~~ and <he> knew cause for it.

Joseph, our third son, having recovered from the typhus fever, after something like two weeks' sickness, one day screamed out while sitting in a chair, with a pain in his shoulder, and, in a very short time, he appeared to be in such agony that we feared the consequence would prove to be something very serious. We immediately sent for a doctor.<sup>47</sup> When he arrived, and had examined the patient, he said that it was his opinion that this pain was occasioned by a sprain. But the child declared this could not be the case, as he had received no injury in any way whatever, but that a severe

46. Coray: "Fragtures"; GAS on Coray: "Fragments"

47. Joseph Smith, in a memoir dictated in December 1842 (Jessee, *Papers* 1:268), remembers that he was about five (more probably seven), and that the doctors who attended him were, first, Dr. Parker, who called it a sprain, followed by a team consisting of "Drs. Smith, Stone and Perkins, of Hanover." He remembers one occasion when "eleven Doctors came from Dartmouth Medical College"—no doubt medical students (Durham, 481). LeRoy S. Wirthlin, M.D., in his classic article on Nathan Smith identifies him as the originator of an innovative treatment for bone infection (osteomyelitis) which involved drilling into the long bone and removing infected pieces, then allowing the bone to renew itself from the living ends while the wound healed from the inside out. This treatment was not discussed in the literature until the 1870s and did not become standard until after World War I. Dr. Parker, Wirthlin hypothesizes, was one of Nathan Smith's students,

The physician insisted upon < the truth of > his first opinion and anointed ~~this~~ the shou [sic] with bone linament but the pain remained as severe as ever for 2 weeks when the Doctor made a close examination and found that a very large fever sore had gathered between his breast and shoulder which when it was lanced discharged a full quart ~~of~~ of Matter As soon as this sore had discharged itself the pain left it ~~and shot~~ shooting like lightning [sic] as he said down his side into the marrow of his leg on the same side, The boy was almost in total despair Oh Father said he the pain is so severe how can I bear it.

pain had seized him all at once, of the cause of which he was entirely ignorant.

Notwithstanding the child's protestations, still the physician insisted, that it must be a sprain, and consequently, he anointed his shoulder with some bone linament; but this was of no advantage to him, for the pain continued the same after the anointing as before.

When two weeks of extreme suffering had elapsed, the attendant physician concluded to make closer examination; whereupon he found that a large fever sore had gathered between his breast and shoulder. He immediately lanced it, upon which it discharged fully a quart of matter.<sup>48</sup>

As soon as the sore had discharged itself, the pain left it, and shot like lightning (using his own terms) down his side into the marrow of the bone of his leg, and soon became very severe. My poor boy, at this, was almost in despair, and he, cried out "Oh, father! the pain is so severe, how can I bear it!"

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since Smith recommended the incision treatment in the disease's early stages. Nathan Smith was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, in 1762; his family then moved to Chester, Vermont. He was an apprentice to a surgeon, Harvard Medical School's fifth graduate, a member of the London Medical Society, founder of Dartmouth Medical School (1798), cofounder of Yale and Bowdoin Medical Schools (1821), and president of the New Hampshire Medical Society. The typhoid fever outbreak in the Connecticut River Valley had begun by January 1813, delaying his departure for Yale when four of his own children became ill; it was still in progress by March 1813. Joseph Smith had turned seven in December 1812. Nathan Smith had taught all of the courses singlehanded at Dartmouth until another professor, Cyrus Perkins, joined him on the faculty and in his practice. They were unique in insisting that medical students accompany them on operating tours. The Smith/Perkins daybooks and ledgers (1811-14) list no fee for treating Joseph Smith, and no other case records were kept. Nathan Smith died in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1828.

48. RLDS: "purulent matter"



His leg immediately began to swell and he continued in the most excruciating [sic] pain for 2 weeks longer during this time I carried him in my arms continually soothing him and doing all that my utmost ingenuity could suggest ~~untill~~ to ease his sufferings until <sup>49</sup>nature was exhausted and I was taken severely ill myself

Then Hyrum who has always been remarkable for ~~the~~ tenderness and sympathy desired that he might take my place ~~Jo~~ accordingly Joseph was laid upon a low bed and Hyrum sat beside him almost incessantly day and night grasping the most painful part of the affected leg between his hands and by pressing it closely in this manner the little sufferer was enabled the better to bear the pain which otherwise seemed almost ready to take his life

At the end of 3 weeks he became so bad that we sent again for the surgeon who, when he came <made> cut ~~his leg open~~ <an incision of 8 inches> on the front side of the leg between the <knee> and ankle the distance of 8 inches and by continual dressing his leg was somewhat relieved untill the wound commenced healing when the pain be-

His leg soon began to swell, and he continued to suffer the greatest agony for the space of two weeks longer. During this period I carried him much of the time in my arms, in order to mitigate his suffering as much as possible; in consequence of which, I was taken very ill myself. The anxiety of mind that I experienced, together with physical over-exertion, was too much for my constitution, and my nature sunk under it.

Hyrum, who was rather remarkable for his tenderness and sympathy, now desired that he might take my place. As he was a good, trusty boy, we let him do so; and, in order to make the task as easy for him as possible, we laid Joseph upon a low bed, and Hyrum sat beside him, almost day and night, for some considerable length of time, holding the affected part of his leg in his hands, and pressing it between them, so that his afflicted brother might be enabled to endure the pain, which was so excruciating, that he was scarcely able to bear it.

At the end of three weeks we thought it advisable to send again for the surgeon. When he came, he made an incision of eight inches, on the front side of the leg, between the knee and ankle. This relieved the pain in a great measure, and the patient was quite comfortable until the wound began to heal, when the pain became as violent as ever.

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49. New page: "3" is written at the top left margin, "2" at the top right margin.

came as violent as ever the surgeon again renewed the wound by cutting to the bone the second time shortly it commenced healing the second time and as the healing ~~prg~~ progressed the swelling rose at last a councill of surgeons was called it was decided that there was no remedy but amputation

When they rode up I went to the door & invited them into another room apart from the one where Joseph lay Now said I gentlemen (for there were 7 of them)<sup>50</sup> what can you do to save my boys leg They answered we can do nothing we have cut it open to the bone 2 and find the bone so affected that it is incurable

but this was like a thunderbolt to me. I appealed to the principle Surgeon <present> said I Doctor Stone can you not try once more by cutting round the bone and taking out the affected part there may be a part of the bone that is sound which will heal over and thus you may save the leg you will you must take off the leg till you try once more ~~to~~ ~~save it~~ I will not consent to your entering his room till you promise <this><sup>51</sup>

The surgeon was called again, and he this time enlarged the wound, cutting the leg even to the bone. It commenced healing the second time, and as soon as it began to heal, it also began to swell again, which swelling continued to rise till we deemed it wisdom to call a council of surgeons; and when they met in consultation, they decided that amputation was the only remedy.

Soon after coming to this conclusion, they rode up to the door, and were invited into a room, apart from the one in which Joseph lay. They being seated, I addressed them thus: "Gentlemen, what can you do to save my boy's leg?" They answered, "We can do nothing; we have cut it open to the bone, and find it so affected that we consider his leg incurable, and that amputation is absolutely necessary in order to save his life."

This was like a thunderbolt to me. I appealed to the principal surgeon, saying, "Dr. Stone, can you not make another trial? Can you not, by cutting around the bone, take out the diseased part, and perhaps that which is sound will heal over, and by this means you will save his leg? You will not, you must not, take off his leg, until you try once more. I will not consent to let you enter his room until you make me this promise."

50. Joseph, in his 1839 history, gives the number as eleven (Vogel 1:141).

51. New page: "II 3" is written at the top left margin.

This they agreed to <this> after a short consulting; then we went to the invalid:—the Doctor said, my poor boy, we have come again. “Yes,” said Joseph, “I see you have; but you have not come to take off my leg, have <you sir?>” No, said the surgeon, “it is your Mothers request, that we should make one ~~more~~ <more> effort; and that is what we <have now> come for ~~now~~.<sup>52</sup>

My Husband, ~~look~~ <who was constantly with the child,> seemed <for a moment> to contemplate my countenance;—~~a moment~~ and then turning his eyes upon his boy, <at once> all his sufferings, <together with> ~~and my~~ <intense> anxiety ~~seemed to~~ rush <ed> upon his mind; & & he burst into <a flood of> tears, and sobbed like a child.

The surgeons <immediately> ~~now~~ ordered cords to be brought, and to bind <him> ~~the patient~~ fast to the bedstead; But <he> Joseph ~~subject~~ ~~child~~ objected. and When the doctor insisted that he must be ~~bound~~ ~~tha~~ <confined> he said decidedly; “No, Doctor I will not be bound. I can ~~have~~ ~~endure~~ <bear> the process better ~~to be~~ unconfined.” “Then,” said Dr Stone, “will you drink some brandy.” No,” said the child, not one drop.” Then said the Dr, “will you take some wine?” ~~for~~

After consulting a short time with each other, they agreed to do as I had requested, then went to see my suffering son. One of the doctors, on approaching his bed, said, “My poor boy, we have come again.” “Yes,” said Joseph, “I see you have; but you have not come to take off my leg, have you, sir?” “No,” replied the surgeon, “it is your mother’s request that we make one more effort, and that is what we have now come for.”

The principal surgeon, after a moment’s conversation, ordered cords to be brought to bind Joseph fast to a bedstead; but to this Joseph objected. The doctor, however, insisted that he must be confined, upon which Joseph said very decidedly, “No, doctor, I will not be bound, for I can bear the operation much better if I have my liberty.” “Then,” said Dr. Stone, “will you drink some brandy?” “No,” said Joseph, “not one drop.”

52. For more historical and medical details of this illness and the success of the operation, see Wirthlin, “Nathan Smith” and “Joseph Smith,” and Durham, 480-82.

You must take something, or you ~~never~~ can <never> endure <the severe> operation to which you must be subjected.

~~Answered~~ <"No, answered> the ~~the~~ boy, I will not touch one particle of liquor; neither will I be tied down: but I will tell you what I will do, I will have my Father sit on the bed close by me; and then I will ~~bear~~ do ~~anything that~~ <whatever> is necessary to be done, <in order> to have the bone taken out. But ~~me~~ Mother, I want you to leave the room, I know that you cannot ~~stand~~ it endure to see me suffer so. Father can bear it. But you have carred me so much, and watched over me so long you are almost worn out. Then looking up into ~~laid he her~~ <with his eyes swimming with tears> my face his <eyes> swiming with tears, he said beseechingly; Now Mother, promise me you will not stay, will you? The Lord will will help me to so & <that> I shall get through with it; so do ~~you~~ leave me, and go away off till they get through with it.

~~I consented to do so; and~~ <To this I consented: so,> after bringing a number of <folded> sheets to ~~fold~~ <lay> under his leg, I left him, ~~went~~ <going> some 100 <hundred> yards from the house.

"Will you take some wine?" rejoined the doctor.<sup>53</sup> "You must take something, or you can never endure the severe operation to which you must be subjected."

"No," exclaimed Joseph, "I will not touch one particle of liquor, neither will I be tied down; but I will tell you what I will do—I will have my father sit on the bed and hold me in his arms, and then I will do whatever is necessary in order to have the bone taken out." Looking at me, he said, "Mother, I want you to leave the room, for I know you cannot bear to see me suffer so; father can stand it, but you have carried me so much, and watched over me so long, you are almost worn out." Then looking up into my face, his eyes swimming in tears, he continued, "Now, mother, promise me that you will not stay, will you? The Lord will help me, and I shall get through with it."

To this request I consented, and getting a number of folded sheets, and laying them under his leg, I retired, going several hundred yards from the house in order to be out of hearing.

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53. RLDS: "continued the doctor."

The surgeons began by boring into the bone, first on one side of the affected part, then on the other after which, they broke it loose with a pair of forceps or pincers; thus, they took away <sup>254</sup> large pieces of the bone. When they broke off the first piece, he screamed so loud with the pain <of his leg,> that I could not repress my desire of going to him but as soon as I entered the room <he cried out> Oh! Mother! go back! go back! I do not want you to come in I will tough it if you will go

when the 3 [8?] fracture was taken away I burst into the room again and Oh! my God what a spectacle for a Mothers eye the <wound> torn open to view My boy and the bed on which he covered with the blood ~~which~~ that was still gushing from the wound he was pale as a corpse and the big drops of sweat were rolling down his face every feature of which depicted agony that cannot be described

I was forced from the room and detained till they finished the operation and <after> placing him upon a clean bed with fresh clothing he clearing the room from every appearance of blood and any apparatus used in the extraction I was permitted to enter<sup>55</sup>

The surgeons commenced operating by boring into the bone of his leg, first on one side of the bone where it was affected, then on the other side, after which they broke it off with a pair of forceps or pinchers. They thus took away large pieces of the bone. When they broke off the first piece, Joseph screamed out so loudly, that I could not forbear running to him. On my entering his room, he cried out, "Oh, mother, go back, go back; I do not want you to come in—I will try to tough it out, if you will go away."

When the third piece was taken away, I burst into the room again—and oh, my God! what a spectacle for a mother's eye! The wound torn open, the blood still gushing from it, and the bed literally covered with blood. Joseph was as pale as a corpse, and large drops of sweat were rolling down his face, whilst upon every feature was depicted the utmost agony!

I was immediately forced from the room, and detained until the operation was completed; but when the act was accomplished, Joseph put upon a clean bed, the room cleared of every appearance of blood, and the instruments which were used in the operation removed, I was permitted again to enter.

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54. This figure more closely resembles a "9" since the bottom bar of the "2" is missing. However, "2" seems more probable than "9," "2" is the figure in the Coray fair copy, and it is also the number used in the 1853 edition. However, see note 56.

55. Coray: "I was allowed again to enter. I now beheld him quiet, and, in a measure, free from pain; although pale as a corpse from exhaustion, and loss of blood."

he now began to recover and when ~~go~~ he was able to travel ~~his-un~~ he went with his uncle Jesse Smith to Salem for the benefit of his health hoping that the sea breezes might help him in this we were not disappointed for he soon became strong and healthy<sup>56</sup>

After one whole year of affliction ~~dis~~ we were able once more to look upon our children and each other in health, and I assure you my gentle reader we realized the blessing for I believe <we> felt more to acknowledge the hand of God in preserving our lives through such a desperate siege of disease pain and trouble than if we had enjoyed health and prosperity during the interim

When health returned to us it found us as may well be supposed in very low circumstances ~~as we had hired nurses all the time and been upon continual expense~~ Sickness with all its attendant expenses of

Joseph immediately commenced getting better, and from this<sup>57</sup> onward, continued to mend until he became strong and healthy. When he had so far recovered as to be able to travel, he went with his uncle, Jesse Smith, to Salem,<sup>58</sup> for the benefit of his health, hoping the sea-breezes would be of service to him, and in this he was not disappointed.

Having passed through about a year of sickness and distress, health again returned to our family, and we most assuredly realized<sup>59</sup> the blessing; and indeed, we felt to acknowledge the hand of God, more in preserving our lives through such a tremendous scene of affliction, than if we had, during this time, seen nothing but health and prosperity.

#### CHAP. XVII.

JOSEPH SMITH, SENIOR, REMOVES TO NORWICH, THENCE TO PALMYRA—HIS DREAM OF THE IMAGES—OF THE JUDGMENT.

When health returned to us, as one would naturally suppose, it found us in quite low circumstances. We were compelled to strain every energy to provide for our present necessities, instead of making arrange-

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56. Joseph himself remembers that he was still using crutches and limping heavily until January 1817 when the family moved to Palmyra and that fourteen separate fragments of diseased bone worked their way through his skin (Vogel 1:142).

57. RLDS: "this time . . ."

58. RLDS: "Salem, Massachusetts"

59. RLDS: "appreciated"

nurses medical attendance and other necessary articles & Reduced us so that we were now compelled to make arrangements for going into some kind of buisness to provide for present wants rather than future prospects as we had previously contemplated.

My Husband now determined to change his residence accordingly we moved to Norridge in ~~New Hampshire~~ Vermont and established ourselves on <a> farm belonging to Squire Moredock, The first year our crops failed and we bought our bread with the proceeds of the orchard and our own industry the 2nd year they failed again In the ensuing spring Mr. Smith said if that he would plant once more on this farm and if he did not succeed better he would go to New York where they farmers raised wheat in abundance

This year was like the preceeding seasons blig vegetation was blighted by untimely frost and which well nigh produced a famine. My Husband now decided upon going to New York and one day he came to <the> house and sat down and after meditating sometime he said if

ments for the future, as we had previously contemplated.

Shortly after sickness left our family, we moved to Norwich, in the state of Vermont.<sup>60</sup> In this place we established ourselves on a farm belonging to one Esquire Moredock. The first year our crops failed; yet, by selling fruit which grew on the place, we succeeded in obtaining bread for the family, and by making considerable exertion, we were enabled to sustain ourselves.

The crops the second year were as the year before—a perfect failure. Mr. Smith now determined to plant once more, and if he should meet with no better success than he had the two preceding years, he would then go to the state of New York, where wheat was raised in abundance.

The next year an untimely frost destroyed the crops,<sup>61</sup> and being the third year in succession in which the crops had failed, it almost caused a famine. This was enough; my husband was now altogether decided upon going to New York. He came in, one day, in quite a thoughtful

60. Nibley note: "The ninth child in the Smith family, Don Carlos, was born March 15, 1816, at Norwich, Vermont."

61. The 1815 volcanic explosion of Tambora on Sumbawa in Indonesia "blew fifteen cubic



he could so arrange his buisness he would be glad to set out shortly for New York <with> one Mr.

Howard who was going to Palmira and but said he I cannot leave for you could not get along without me besides I am owing some debts that I must pay

I told <him> I thought that he might call upon both his debtors and creditors by so doing make an arrangement between them that would be satisfactory to all parties and As for the rest I thought I could prepare myself and my Family to follow him by the time he might be ready for us He called upon <all> those with whom he had any dealings and settled up his accounts but there were some who neglected to bring their books but however witnesses [sic] were called in order that there might be evidence of the settlement—

mood, and sat down; after meditating some time, he observed that, could he so arrange his affairs, he would be glad to start soon for New York with a Mr. Howard, who was going to Palmyra. He further remarked, that he could not leave consistently, as the situation of the family would not admit of his absence; besides, he was owing some money that must first be paid.

I told him it was my opinion that he might get both his creditors and debtors together, and arrange matters between them in such a way as to give satisfaction to all parties concerned; and, in relation to the family, I thought I could make every necessary preparation to follow as soon as he would be ready for us. He accordingly called upon all with whom he had any dealings, and settled up his accounts with them. There were, however, some who, in the time of settlement, neglected to bring forward their books, consequently they were not balanced, or there were no entries made in them to show the settlement; but in cases of this kind, he called witnesses, that there might be evidence of the fact.

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kilometers of volcanic ash and pulverized rock into the atmosphere," creating "the year without the summer" in 1816. "Several inches of snow" fell in Vermont on 8 June and water froze. The Smiths joined an out-migration "from which [Vermont] did not recover for a century. The population in Orange County, which contained Tunbridge, had more than doubled between 1790 and 1800 and grown by another 50 percent in 1810. After the cold summer the 1820 census showed 600 fewer people than in 1810. . . . In 1880 Orange County had shrunk by more than 3,000 people from its size in 1810" (Bushman, 40, 200).

having done this Mr. Smith left Norridge for Palmira New York with Mr. Howard My sons Alvin & Hyrum followed their Father with a heavy heart some distance after the departure of my Husband we toiled faithfully untill we considered that we were fully prepared to leave at a moments warning we soon received a letter from Mr. Smith requesting <us> to make <ourselves> ready to take up a journey for Palmira immediately And a Messenger soon arrived with a ~~team~~ conveyance for myself and family ~~to take us to him~~ As we were near setting out <several of> those gentlemen who had demands against ~~Mr~~ us and who settled with my husband ~~pre~~ before he left now visited me bringing the accounts that had been withheld heretofore. Thus I was compelled to pay ~~out~~ \$150 out of the means reserved for bearing our expenses in traveling this I made shift to do and saved 60 or \$80 for the Journey<sup>62</sup>

Having thus arranged his business, Mr. Smith set out for Palmyra, in company with Mr. Howard.<sup>63</sup> After his departure, I and those of the family who were of much size, toiled faithfully, until we considered ourselves fully prepared to leave at a moment's warning. We shortly received a communication from Mr. Smith, requesting us to make ourselves ready to take up a journey for Palmyra. In a short time after this, a team came for us. As we were about starting on this journey, several of those gentlemen who had withheld their books in the time of settlement now brought them forth, and claimed the accounts which had been settled, and which they had, in the presence of witnesses, agreed to erase. We were all ready for the journey, and the teams were waiting on expense. Under these circumstances I concluded it would be more to our advantage to pay their unjust claims than to hazard a lawsuit. Therefore, by making considerable exertion, I raised the required sum, which was one hundred and fifty dollars, and liquidated the demand.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

A gentleman by the name of Flog,<sup>64</sup> a wealthy settler, living in the town of Hanover, also a Mr. Howard, who resided in Norwich, were both acquainted with the circumstance mentioned above. They were very indignant

62. Here appears a drawing of a hand with pointing forefinger. What it refers to is not clear.

63. Nibley note: "The date of Mr. Smith's departure for Palmyra may be given as the summer of 1816."

64. Coray: Flag; GAS, IE, and Nibley: Flagg

at it, and requested me to give them a sufficient time to get the witnesses together, and they would endeavour to recover that which had been taken from me by fraud.<sup>65</sup> I told them I could not do so, for my husband had sent teams for me, which were on expense; moreover, there was an uncertainty in getting the money back again, and in case of failure, I should not be able to raise the means necessary to take the family where we contemplated moving.

They then proposed raising some money by subscription, saying, "We know the people feel as we do concerning this matter, and if you will receive it we will make you a handsome present." This I utterly refused. The idea of receiving assistance in such a way as this was indeed very repulsive to my feelings, and I rejected their offer.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

M We set out with Mr. Howard a cousin of the Gentleman who <traveled to New York> ~~went with Mr. Smith on his journey~~ I had prepared a great quantity of woollen Clothing for my children besides I had on hand a great deal of diaper and pulled cloth in the web.

My Mother was with me as ~~she~~ she had been assisting in my preparations for traveling she was now returning to her home when we arrived there I had a task to perform which was a severe trial to my feelings one to which I shall ever look back with peculiar sensations that can never be obliterated I was here to take leave of that pious and affectionate parent to whom I ~~was a~~ indebted for all the religious instructions as well as most of the educational privileges which I had ever

My aged mother, who had lived with us some time, assisted in preparing for the journey. She came with us to Royalton, where she resided until she died, which was two years afterwards, in consequence of an injury which she received by getting upset in a waggon while travelling with us.<sup>66</sup>

On arriving at Royalton I had a scene to pass through, and it was truly a severe one—one to which I shall ever look back with peculiar feelings. Here I was to take leave of

65. Coray: "by fraudulent means"; GAS: "by fraud"

66. Coray: "where she stopped and remained until she died; which was two years afterwards: Her death was occasioned by an injury, which she received while travelling with us in getting upset in a wagon."

received The parting hour came my Mother wept over me long and heartily <bitterly> She told me that it was not probable she should ever behold my face again but my Dear Child said she I have lived long my days are nearly numbered I must soon exchange the things of Earth for another state of existence where I hope to enjoy the society of the Blessed and now as my last admonition I beseech <you> to continue faithful in the exercise of every religious duty to the end of your days that I may have the pleasure of embracing you in another fairer World above—

my affectionate mother. The parting hour came; my mother wept over me, long and bitterly. She told me that it was not probable she should ever behold my face again; "But, my dear child," said she, "I have lived long—my days are nearly numbered—I must soon exchange the things of this world for those which pertain to another state of existence, where I hope to enjoy the society of the blessed; and now, as my last admonition, I beseech you to continue faithful in the service of God to the end of your days, that I may have the pleasure of embracing you in another and fairer world above."

This parting scene was at one Willard Pierce's, a tavern-keeper. From his house my mother went to Daniel Mack's with whom she afterwards lived until her decease.

After this I purued [sic] my journey but a short time untill I discovered that the man who drove the team in which we rode was an unprincipled unfeeling wretch by the manner in which he handled my Goods <\$> & money as well as his treatment to my children especially Joseph who was still somewhat lame <this child was compelled by M [Mr.] H to

Having travelled a short distance, I discovered that Mr. Howard, our teamster, was an unprincipled and unfeeling wretch, by the way in which he handled both our goods and money, as well as by his treatment of my children, especially Joseph. He would compel him to travel miles at a time on foot, notwithstanding he was still lame.<sup>67</sup>

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67. According to a memoir that Joseph Jr. dictated in December 1842, he had only just stopped using crutches, it was winter, and the family was utilizing sleighs rather than wagons. The teamster sent by their father, Caleb Howard, "spent the money he had recived of my fater in drinking and gambling, &c.—We fell in with a family by the name of Gates who were travelling west, & Howard drove me from the waggon & made me travel in my weak state through the snow 40 miles per day for several days, during which time I suffered the most excrutiating weariness & pain, & all this that Mr. Howard might enjoy the society of two of Mr. Gates' daughters which he took on the wagon where I should have Rode, & thus he continued to (do) day day after day through the Journey

to travel for miles to time on foot> but we bore patiently with repeated aggravations untill we came 20 miles west of Utica when ~~the was~~ one morning we were preparing as usual for starting on the days journey my oldest son came to me mother said he Mr. Howard has thrown the goods out of the waggon and is about Setting off with the team I told him to call the man in I met him in the bar room where there was a large company of travellers male and female I demanded of the man his reason for such proceedure he answered that the money which I gave him was all exhausted and he could go no farther

I turned to those present said I Gentlemen and ladies Please give me your attention for a moment. As Now as there is a God in Heaven that Waggon and those horses as well as the goods accompanying them are mine ~~And here I declare that they shall go~~ This man is determined to take away from me every means of proceeding on my journey leaving me with 8 little children utterly destitute but I forbid you Mr. Howard from Stiring one step with my Wagon or horses ~~but~~ I here I

We bore patiently with his abuse, until we got about twenty miles west of Utica,<sup>68</sup> when one morning, as we were getting ready to continue our journey, my oldest son came to me and said, "Mother, Mr. Howard has thrown the goods out of the waggon, and is about starting off with the team." Upon hearing this, I told him to call the man in. I met him in the bar-room, in the presence of a large company of travellers, both male and female, and I demanded his reason for the course which he was taking. He told me the money which I had given him was all expended, and he could go no further.

I then turned to those present and said, "Gentlemen and ladies, please give your attention for a moment. Now, as sure as there is a God in heaven, that team, as well as the goods, belong to my husband, and this man intends to take them from me, or at least the team, leaving me with eight children, without the means of proceeding on my journey." Then turning to Mr. Howard, I said, "Sir, I now forbid you touching the team, or driving it one step further. You can go about your own

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& when my brothers remonstrated with Mr Howard for his treatment to me, he would knock them down with the butt of his whip." On the leg of the journey from Utica to Palmyra, New York, Joseph was supposed to have a place in the last conveyance, but its driver, the Gates son, knocked him down and "left [me] to wallow in my blood until a stranger came along, picked me up, and carried me to the Town of Palmyra" (Jessee, *Papers* 1:268-69).

68. Vernon, Oneida County, New York, is about twenty miles west of Utica on the Seneca turnpike, according to Dan Vogel (1:274). Here were situated three taverns; the proprietors were surnamed Williams, Graves, and Persons.

declare that the team goods and children with myself shall go together to my Husband and the Father of my children as for you sir I have no use for you and <you> can ride or walk the rest of the way as you please but I shall take charge of my own affairs. I then proceeded on my way and in a short time I arrived in Palmira with a small portion of My effects my babes & 8<sup>69</sup> cents in money but perfectly happy in the society of my family.

The joy I felt in ~~seeing~~ throwing myself and My children upon the care and affection of a tender Husband and Father doubly paid me for all I had suffered ~~for when I~~ ~~saw~~ The children surrounded their Father clinging to his neck ~~an~~ covering his face with tears and kisses that were heartily reciprocated by him—

business; I have no use for you. I shall take charge of the team myself, and hereafter attend to my own affairs.”<sup>70</sup> I accordingly did so, and, proceeding on our journey, we in a short time arrived at Palmyra, with a small portion of our effects, and barely two cents in cash.

When I again met my husband at Palmyra, we were much reduced—not from indolence, but on account of many reverses of fortune, with which our lives had been rather singularly marked. Notwithstanding our misfortunes, and the embarrassments with which we were surrounded, I was quite happy in once more having the society of my husband, and in throwing myself and children upon the care and affection of a tender companion and father.

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69. Coray: “two.” This figure more closely resembles an ampersand than an “8,” since the pen stroke begins at the lower right and goes diagonally up, then curves to the right and descends to the left, to make the loops. Martha Jane typically made “8” in the conventional way, by starting at the top right and circling to the left to make the loop. However, this figure is not typical of her ampersands either, which more resemble the plus-sign-and-loop still in use today as an abbreviation for “and.” Various transcribers have rendered this figure as “2,” “9,” and “3.” The essential point, however, is the same: Lucy was broke. In fact, according to Joseph Jr.’s December 1842 memoir, even twelve-year-old Sophronia’s earrings had gone to pay their traveling expenses.

70. Joseph Jr.’s memory of the confrontation, dictated in 1842, is more dramatic: “My mother seized the horses by the reign, & calling witnesses forbid his taking them away as they were her property” (Jesse, *Papers* 1:268).

We <all> now Sat down and maturely councilled together as to what course it was best to take how we shold proceed to buisness in our then destitute circumstances It was agreed by each one of us that it was <most> advisable to aply all our energies together and endeavor to obtain a Piece of land as this was then a new country and land was low being in its rude state but it was almost a time of famine wheat was \$2.50 per bushel and other things in proportion how shall we said My Husband be able to sustain ourselves and have anything left to buy land. [An "X" here refers to the next paragraph.] As I had done considerable at painting oil cloth coverings for tables stands &c I concluded to set up the buisness and if prospered I would try to supply the wants of the family. In this I succeeded so well that it was not long till we not only had an abundance of good and wholesome provision but I soon began to replenish my household furniture a fine stock of which I had sacraficed entirely in moving<sup>71</sup>

[The other "X" appears here.] My Husband and 2 oldest sons set themselves about raising the means of paying for 100 Acres of land for

We all now sat down, and counselled together relative to the course which was best for us to adopt in our destitute circumstances, and we came to the conclusion to unite our strength in endeavouring to obtain a piece of land. Having done considerable at painting oil-cloth coverings for tables, stands, &c., I set up the business, and did extremely well. I furnished all the provisions for the family, and, besides this, began to replenish our household furniture, in a very short time, by my own exertions.

My husband and his sons, Alvin and Hyrum, set themselves to work to pay for one hundred acres of land, which Mr. Smith contracted for with

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71. Coray: "I furnished all the provisions for the family, and besides doing considerable towards replenishing our household and kitchen furniture."



which Mr Smith contracted and which was then in the hands of a land agent.<sup>72</sup> Mr [blank] In one years time we made nearly all of the first payment The Agent Agent advised [sic] us to build a log house on the land and commence clearing it we did so. It was not long till we had 30 acers ready for cultivation<sup>73</sup>

3th vision of Joseph Smith Senior he dreamed same month that carlos was born [damaged] dreamed that he was very sick and so lame he [damaged] could scarcely walk he then asked his guide what he should do that he was sick and so lame <in my knee> that he knew not what to do his guid [sic] said get up and walk to a such a garden that I shall shew you he then got and walked set out for this garden meditating, while on his journey he asking his guide how he should know this garden the guid said walk till you come to a larger gate then open the gate and your Eyes shall see behold the most beautiful folowers [sic] you ever Saw then I took a staff with the firmest resolution to get to the garden in order to be healed limping along with great difficulty with much

a land agent.<sup>74</sup> In a year, we made nearly all of the first payment, erected a log house, and commenced clearing. I believe something like thirty acres of land were got ready<sup>75</sup> for cultivation the first year.

I shall now deviate a little from my subject, in order to relate another very singular dream which my husband had about this time, being as follows:—

“I dreamed,” said he, “that I was travelling on foot, and I was very sick, and so lame I could hardly walk. My guide, as usual, attended me. Travelling some time together, I became so lame that I thought I could go no further. I informed my guide of this, and asked him what I should do. He told me to travel on till I came to a certain garden. So I arose and started for this garden. While on my way thither, I asked my guide how I should know the place. He said, ‘Proceed until you come to a very large gate; open this, and you will see a garden, blooming with the most beautiful flowers that your eyes

72. See Evertson, “Biographical Summaries.”

73. Coray: “In a year, besides erecting a log house and clearing about 30 acres of land, they made nearly all of the first payment.” In Lucy’s 1844-45 rough draft, the next paragraph describes Alvin’s labor to raise money for the annual payment. The Coray 1845 fair copy, which Pratt follows, rather awkwardly interpolates Joseph Smith Sr.’s third vision at this point, probably to maintain events in as chronological an order as possible.

74. IE and Nibley: “contracted with a land agent.”

75. IE and Nibley: “were made ready . . .”

Exertion I was enabled to reach the gate on going in I found ~~flower~~ the garden beautified with flowers of every hue and discription—<and> walks between ~~seen~~ bed [?] about 3 ½ feet wide the most beautiful I ever saw set with marble stones—I then looked on <the right> ~~my right hand and garden~~ <side of the alley> and Saw which ran through the garden from the gate to the extremity thereof ~~trode the~~ and on each side of the alley was a bench which ran the whole length of the alley—and on each hand I turned to the right and I saw a wooden image seated on the bench—on that side of the alley the image rose and bowing low before me made his obeisance I then turned to the left and Saw an image who sat qu<i>te opposite the first who also rose and made his obeisance I then perceived that there were ~~twelve~~ <24> images ~~on either side~~ 12 on this ride [sic] and 12 on that side and I continued turning first to the right and then to the left and as I turned each individual image arose and made his obeisance unto me untill the last and I then ~~woke~~ then asked my guide what was the meaning of all this he began to explain the vision when I suddenly awoke

But the second payment was now coming due and no means as yet of meeting it Alvin accordingly proposed to his Father that he should take the buisness at home in his

ever beheld, and there you shall be healed.' By limping along with great difficulty, I finally reached the gate; and, on entering it, I saw the before-mentioned garden, which was beautiful beyond description, being filled with the most delicate flowers of every kind and colour. In the garden were walks about three and a half feet wide, which were set on both sides with marble stones. One of the walks ran from the gate through the centre of the garden; and on each side of this was a very richly-carved seat, and on each seat were placed six wooden images, each of which was the size of a very large man. When I came to the first image on the right side, it arose and bowed to me with much deference. I then turned to the one which sat opposite me, on the left side, and it arose and bowed to me in the same manner as the first. I continued turning, first to the right and then to the left, until the whole twelve had made their obeisance, after which I was entirely healed. I then asked my guide the meaning of all this, but I awoke before I received an answer."

I will now return to the subject of the farm. When the time for making the second payment drew nigh, Alvin went from home to get work, in order to raise the money, and

entire charge whilst I said <he> will go abroad and <to> see if I cannot make the second payment and the remmainder of the first By the dilligence industry of my son By my son's persevering industry he was able to return to us after much labor Suffering and fatigue with the necessary amount of œ money for all except the last payment

So that in 2 years from the time we entered Palmyra strangers destitute of friends œ home or employment. We were able to settle ourselves upon our own land a a snug comfortable though humble habitation built and neatly furnished by our own industry

after much hardship and fatigue, returned with the required amount. This payment being made, we felt relieved, as this was the only thing that troubled us; for we had a snug log-house,<sup>76</sup> neatly furnished, and the means of living comfortably.

It was now only two years since we entered Palmyra, almost destitute of money, property, or acquaintance. The hand of friendship was extended on every side, and we blessed God, with our whole heart, for his "mercy, which endureth for ever."<sup>77</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

And if we might judge [sic] by any external manifestation we had every reason to believe that we had many Good and affectionate friends for never have I seen more kindness or attention shown to any person or family than we received from those around us Again we began to rejoice in our prosperity and our hearts glowed with gratitude to God for the manifestations of his favor that surrounded œ us Permit me here to relate a little circumstance by way of illustration A friend of mine having invited several of her associates to take tea with her one afternoon sent an urgeant request for me also to call on her with the rest <the lady's invited were some wealthy merchants wives and the

76. The Smith family first lived in a house on the west end of Main Street in Palmyra. Between April 1819 and April 1820, they moved to a small cabin on Samuel Jennings's property just north of the Palmyra/Manchester township line. This log house was their third residence in Palmyra and the first they had constructed (Vogel 1:278). Vogel argues that the family did not move to their new cabin until 1822 because they were still in Palmyra when daughter Lucy was born on 18 July 1821 and during the list for road repair drawn up in April 1822. Lucy dates the spring 1823 events as "the spring after we moved onto the farm." Furthermore, the Smith property was assessed at \$1,000 on 24 July 1823, a significant increase from the previous year, suggesting that the cabin had been completed (Vogel 1:280).

77. See Psalms 136:1: "O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever."

minister's lady> we spent the time quite pleasantly each seeming to enjoy those reciprocal feelings which renders the society of our friends delightful to us—when tea was served up we were passing some good-natured remarks upon each other when one lady observed Well I declare Mrs ought not to live in that log house of her's any longer she deserves a better fate and I say she must have a new house. so she should says another for she is so kind to every one She ought to have the best of every thing Now Ladies said I thank you for your compliments but you are quite mistaken I will show you that I am the wealthiest woman ~~who~~ that sits at this table Well said they now make that appear—"Now mark I answered I to them M I have never prayed for riches <of the world> as perhaps you have but I have always desired that God would enable me to use enough wisdom and forbearance in my family to set good precepts & examples before my children <whose lives I always besaught> <the lord to spare> as also to secure the confidence and affection of my husband that we acting together in the education and instruction of our children that we might in our old age reap the reward of circumspection joined with parental tenderness viz the Pleasure of seeing our children dignfy ~~the~~ their Fathers name by an upright and honorable course of conduct in after life I have been gratified so far in all this and more I have tis true ~~been~~ suffered many disagreeable disappointments in life with regard to property but I now find myself very comfortably situated to what any of you are what we have has not been obtained at the expense of the comfort of any human being we owe no man ~~any thing~~ we ~~he~~ never distressed any man ~~this~~ <which> circumstance almost invariably attends the Mercantile life of so I have no reason to envy those who are engaged beside there is none present who have this kind of wealth that have not lately met with a loss of chidren or othe [sic] friends (which really was the case) and now as for ~~Mr~~ Mrs. the Minister's lady I aske you how many nights of the week you are kept awake with anxiety about your sons who are in habitual attendance on the Grog Shop & gambling house—they all said with a ~~melancholly~~ look that showed conviction Mrs. S. you have established the fact I <reader> merely relate this that you may draw a moral therefrom that may be useful to you

We still continued felling timber and clearing land and about this time we began to make preparations for building a house—

In the spring after we moved onto the farm we commenced making Mapel sugar of which we averaged ~~each season~~ 1000 lbs per year<sup>78</sup> we then began to make preparations for building a house as the Land Agent of whom we

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78. The Smiths in Palmyra had 1,500 sugar maples (Richard L. Anderson, *Investigating*, 143).

purchased our farm was dead and we could not make the last payment we also planted a large orchard and made every possible preparation for ease as when advanced age should deprive us of the ability to make those physical exertions which we were then capable of

Now I shall change my theme for the present but let not my reader suppose that because I shall pursue another topic for a season that we stopt our labor and went <at> trying to win the faculty of Abrac drawing Magic circles or sooth saying to the neglect of all kinds of buisness we never during our lives suffered one important interest to swallow up every other obligation but whilst we worked with our hands we endeavored to remmember the service of & the welfare of our souls.<sup>79</sup>

Coray/Pratt: 1853

And not only temporal blessings were bestowed upon us, but also spiritual were administered. The Scripture, which saith, "Your old men shall dream dreams," was fulfilled in the case of my husband, for, about this time, he had another vision, which I shall here relate; this, with one more, is all of his that I shall obtrude upon the attention of my readers. He received two more visions, which would probably be somewhat interesting, but I cannot remember them distinctly enough to rehearse them in full.<sup>80</sup>

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79. Vogel 1:456 reports an account by Fayette Lapham (b. 1794), a farmer in nearby Monroe County, New York, since 1820, of a discussion he had with Joseph Sr. He and a companion "soon learned, from his own lips," that Joseph Sr. "was a firm believer in witchcraft and other supernatural things; and had brought up his family in the same belief. He also believed that there was a vast amount of money buried somewhere in the country. . . . That he himself had spent both time and money searching for it, with divining rods." The most thorough compendium of information about the magical/occult beliefs and activities of the Smith family and their associates is D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 2d ed. rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998). In it he documents, among other things, Lucy's use of a seer stone (42), the report by Brigham Young that Lucy possessed a piece broken from the lid of a treasure chest almost secured by Joshua Stafford, Joseph Smith Jr., Martin Harris, and Orrin Porter Rockwell (61-62), and divinatory dreams by which she "helped direct her son to treasure-digging locations" (68). Quinn points out that Lucy "did not attempt to disassociate Joseph Sr. and Jr. from those occult practices [making magic circles and soothsaying]. She simply acknowledged them as part of her family's spectrum of activities which included Bible-reading, hard work on the farm, and religious dreams and visions" (66). For his discussion of the origin, meaning, and contemporary uses of the term "abrac," see pp. 68-70. A diagram of the Abracadabra inverted triangle of magic from the 1929 edition of *Encyclopedia Americana* is reproduced in Fig. 42 after p. 320; "Abrac" is "the holy seventh line" from the triangle's top.

80. Coray: "attention of my readers: ~~although~~ he had two others, but I cannot rember [sic] them distinctly enough to rehearse them."

*Lucy: 1844-45*

[Fragment] 6th vision of Joseph Smith Sen.<sup>81</sup>

I thought May the same year that Carlos was 2 years old

I thought I was walking ~~very~~ ~~fast~~ alone and although I was very much ~~I still~~ fatigued I went on as fast as I ~~conveineently~~ could and I seemed to be on my way to meeting <and it was the day of judgement and I was going to be judged but ~~I thou~~> when I came in sight of the meeting house I saw crowds of people coming from every direction and presing with great anxiety towards the door of the great house but I thought <that I should get there time nough [sic]> that there was no need of bein ~~att~~ in such a hurry and a bustle there was no danger but that I should enter and I felt very careless ~~but~~ and easy but when I came to the door I ~~knoe~~ found it shut. I knocked but a personage who [damaged] the door informed me that I could not come in as I had come to late and the door was shut. I soon felt that I was perishing and began to pray but I my flesh continued to wither on my bones and I grew still more anxious and prayed still more

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

The following, which was the sixth, ran thus:—

"I thought I was walking alone; I was much fatigued, nevertheless I continued travelling. It seemed to me that I was going to meeting, that it was the day of judgment, and that I was going to be judged.

"When I came in sight of the meeting-house, I saw multitudes of people coming from every direction, and pressing with great anxiety towards the door of this great building; but I thought I should get there in time, hence there was no need of being in a hurry. But, on arriving at the door, I found it shut; I knocked for admission, and was informed by the porter that I had come too late. I felt exceedingly troubled, and prayed earnestly for admittance. Presently I found that my flesh was perishing. I continued to pray, still my flesh withered upon my bones. I was almost in a state of total despair, when the porter asked me if I had done all that was necessary in order to receive admission. I replied, that I had done all that was in my power to do. 'Then,' observed the porter, 'justice must be satisfied; after

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81. In Lucy's rough draft, this account is written on the same page as the conclusion of Joseph Sr.'s third vision (the images).

fervently and I was about to despair thinking that I had must be out ~~an~~ when the angel that attended ~~th~~ me asked ~~hime~~ if I had not [le]ft some thing undone if I had done all that was necessary in order to get admission ~~at~~ ~~le~~ I said I have done all I knew well said My guide Justice must have its demands and then mercy <has its> claims ~~the~~ it then came into my mind to ask God in the name of Jesus and I cried out in the agony of my soul Oh lord I beseech thee in the name of Jesus christ to forgive my sins ~~then~~ I then felt strengthened and my flesh began to be restored ~~I~~ and the angel then said you must plead the merits of Jesus for he is a<sup>82</sup> [ad]vocate with the father and a mediator between God and man I now was made quite whole and the door was opened and I ~~entered~~ upon entering I awoke—

this, mercy hath her claims.”<sup>83</sup>

“It then occurred to me to call upon God, in the name of his son Jesus; and I cried out, in the agony of my soul, ‘Oh, Lord God, I beseech thee, in the name of Jesus Christ, to forgive my sins.’ After which I felt considerably strengthened, and I began to amend. The porter or angel then remarked, that it was necessary to plead the merits of Jesus, for he was the advocate with the Father, and a mediator between God and man.

“I was now made quite whole, and the door was opened, but, on entering, I awoke.”

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82. The page ends at this point, but the end of the dream is written upside down on the bottom of the page containing Joseph Sr.,’s seventh (the peddler) vision.

83. Interestingly enough, the New Testament contains no passage that juxtaposes justice and mercy in quite this way, but it appears several times in the Book of Mormon. See, for example, “mercy could have claim on them no more forever” (Mosiah 3:26); “he did not exercise his justice upon us, but in his great mercy hath brought us over that everlasting gulf of death and misery . . .” (Alma 26:20); “. . . this last sacrifice, to bring about the bowels of mercy, which overpowereth justice . . . And thus mercy can satisfy the demands of justice, and encircles them in the arms of safety, while he that exercises no faith unto repentance is exposed to the whole law of the demands of justice” (Alma 34:15-16); “mercy could not take effect except it should destroy the work of justice. Now the work of justice could not be destroyed; if so, God would cease to be God. . . . therefore God himself atoneth for the sins of the world, to bring about the plan of mercy, to appease the demands of justice, that God might be a perfect, just God, and a merciful God also” (Alma 42:13-15); “For behold, justice exerciseth all his demands, and also mercy claimeth all which is her own; and thus, none but the truly penitent are saved. What, do ye suppose that mercy can rob justice? I say unto you, Nay; not one whit. If so, God would cease to be God” (Alma 42:24-25).



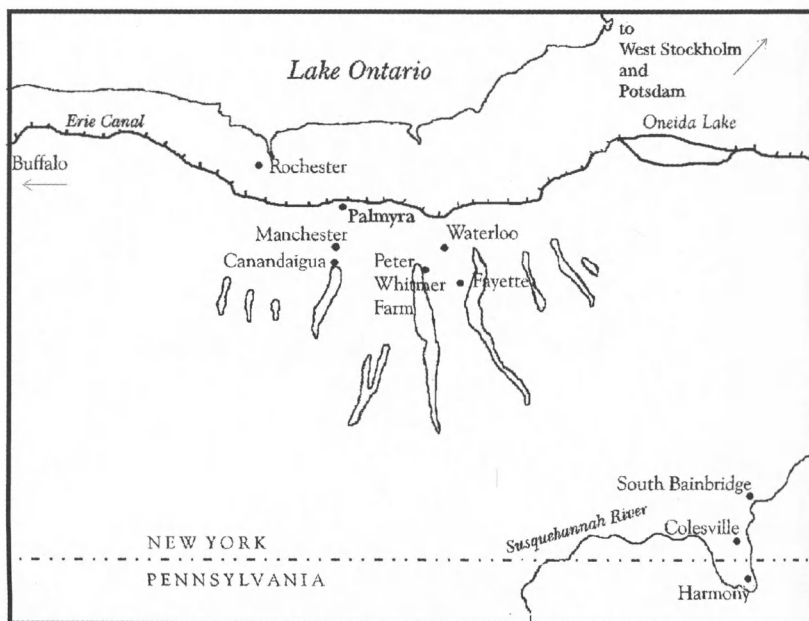
LUCY'S BOOK

*Pratt: 1853*

The following spring we commenced making preparations for building another house, one that would be more comfortable for persons in advanced life.

*Part 3.*

*The New York Years*



Map 2. The Smith Family in New York

CHAP. XVIII.

HISTORY OF JOSEPH THE PROPHET COMMENCES—SEVENTH VISION OF JOSEPH SMITH, SENIOR.

I now come to the history of Joseph. By reference to the table (chap. ix.), you will find the date and place of his birth; besides which, except what has already been said, I shall say nothing respecting him until he arrived at the age of fourteen. However, in this I am aware that some of my readers will be disappointed, for I suppose, from questions which are frequently asked me, that<sup>1</sup> it is thought by some that I shall be likely to tell many very remarkable incidents which attended his childhood; but, as nothing occurred during his early life, except those trivial circumstances which are common to that state of human existence, I pass them in silence.

At the age of fourteen, an incident occurred which alarmed us much, as we knew not the cause of it. Joseph being a remarkably quiet, well disposed child, we did not suspect that any one had aught against him. He was out one evening on an errand, and, on returning home, as he was passing through the door yard a gun was fired across his pathway, with the evident intention of shooting him. He sprang to the door much frightened. We immediately went in search of the assassin, but could find no trace of him that evening.<sup>2</sup> The next morning we found his tracks under a waggon, where he lay when he fired; and the following day we found the balls which were discharged from the gun, lodged in the head and neck of a cow that was standing opposite the waggon, in a dark corner. We have not as yet discovered the man who made this attempt at murder, neither can we discover the cause thereof.

I shall here insert the seventh and last vision<sup>3</sup> that my husband had, which vision was received in the year 1819. It was as follows:—

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1. RLDS: "disappointed, for I suppose, from questions which are frequently asked me, that ..."

2. Coray: "He was out one evening on an errand; and, as he was crossing the door-yard on his return, a gun was fired across his <path> with the evident intention of shooting him. Joseph sprang to the door, much frightened. Upon ascertaining that he had received no injury, we went immediately in search of the assassin . . ." A crossed-out text of this story appears in Lucy's rough draft with material that appears in Coray and Pratt's chap. 22.

3. IE and Nibley: "insert the seventh vision . . ."

*Lucy: 1844-45*

The last and 7th [damage] Joseph was 14 vision 7th [damage] night a man come in with a peddler's budget on his back he as ~~liked~~ <spoke to> saying Sir will you trade with me to day I ~~told~~ that I rather [...guessed?] ~~not~~ I have always traded with you and I have always called on you and I have found you strictly honest in all your deal your measures are always heaped and ~~in measure~~ your measure you always overrun—and now I have come to tell you that this is the last time that I ~~shall~~ <never> never <shall> call again and you may want [...t?] thing and there is but one thing lacking for pertaining to your souls salvation & I then requested him to write upon paper what it was that I lacked he said he would do so and I sprang forward very eagerly in order to get some paper and other materials for writing—and in my excitement I awoke

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

"I dreamed," said he, "that a man with a pedlar's budget<sup>4</sup> on his back, came in, and thus addressed me: 'Sir, will you trade with me to-day? I have now called upon you seven times, I have traded with you each time, and have always found you strictly honest in all your dealings. Your measures are always heaped, and your weights overbalance; and I have now come to tell you that this is the last time I shall ever call on you, and that there is but one thing which you lack, in order to secure your salvation.' As I earnestly desired to know what it was that I still lacked, I requested him to write the same upon paper. He said he would do so. I then sprang to get some paper, but, in my excitement, I awoke."

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Shortly after my husband received the foregoing vision there was a great revival in religion,<sup>5</sup> which extended to all the denominations of Christians in the surrounding country in which we resided.<sup>6</sup> Many of the world's people becoming concerned about the salvation of their souls, came forward and presented them-

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4. A pouch, wallet, or pack, usually leather.

5. Nibley note: "This revival occurred in the early winter and spring of 1820."

6. RLDS: "where we resided . . ." This revival, the traditional prelude to Joseph Smith's first vision, has generated much scholarly research and controversy, since contemporary records fail to show the kind of activity Smith describes as occurring in his "fifteenth year" (1820) while a protracted series of revivals beginning with the Methodists and continuing "among all the sects" did occur through the fall and winter of 1824-25. Lucy places this activity after Alvin's death, which occurred on 19 November 1823, in a passage which has been marked out. (See chap. 21.) For a more extensive discussion, see Walters, "New Light"; Walters, "A Reply"; Bushman, "The First"; and Hill, "The First."

selves as seekers after religion. Most of them were desirous of uniting with some church, but were not decided as to the particular faith which they would adopt. When the numerous meetings were about breaking up, and the candidates and the various leading church members began to consult upon the subject of adopting the candidates into some church or churches, as the case might be, a dispute arose,<sup>7</sup> and there was a great contention among them.

While these things were going forward Joseph's mind became considerably troubled with regard to religion; and the following extract from his history will show, more clearly than I can express, the state of his feelings, and the result of his reflections on this occasion:—<sup>8</sup>

"I was at this time in my fifteenth year. My father's family was proselyted to the Presbyterian faith, and four of them joined that church, namely, my mother Lucy, my brothers Hyrum and Samuel Harrison, and my sister Sophronia.

"During this time of great excitement my mind was called up to serious reflection and great uneasiness; but though my feelings were deep, and often pungent,<sup>9</sup> still I kept myself aloof from all those parties, though I attended their several meetings as often as occasion would permit. But in process of time my mind became somewhat partial to the Methodist sect, and I felt some desire to be united with them, but so great was<sup>10</sup> the confusion and strife among the different denominations, that it was impossible for a person, young as I was, and so unacquainted with men and things, to come to any certain conclusion who was right and who was wrong. My mind at different times was greatly excited, the cry and tumult were<sup>11</sup> so great and incessant. The Presbyterians were most decided against the Baptists and Methodists, and used all their powers of either reason or sophistry to prove their errors, or at least to make the people think they were in error. On the other hand, the Baptists and Methodists, in their turn, were equally zealous to establish<sup>12</sup> their own tenets and disprove all others.

7. Coray: "began to consult upon the subject of receiving the former into some church or churches, as the case might be, a terrible dispute arose . . ."

8. The quoted passages in this chapter are from "History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 10 (15 March 1842): 726-28 and no. 11 (1 April 1842): 748-49. In contrast to the quotations from Solomon Mack's *Narrative*, [sic] which are very heavily rewritten, if, indeed, they are from the published version at all, the Coray 1845 fair copy and Pratt 1853 publication follow the original extremely closely, differing only in punctuation, capitalization, British/American spellings, and a few differences in verb usage, which are noted.

9. IE and Nibley: "poignant"

10. IE and Nibley: "were"

11. *Times and Seasons*: "was"

12. *Times and Seasons* 3:727: "zealous to establish . . ."; IE and Nibley: "zealous in endeavoring to establish . . ." This addition appears in the current version in the Pearl of Great Price, or canonized version of Joseph Smith's history.

"In the midst of this war of words, and tumult of opinions, I often said to myself, What is to be done? Who, of all these parties, are right? or, are they all wrong together? If any one of them be right, which is it? and how shall I know it?

"While I was labouring under the extreme difficulties caused by the contests of these parties of religionists, I was one day reading the epistle of James,<sup>13</sup> first chapter and fifth verse, which reads, 'If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth unto all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him.' Never did any passage of Scripture come with more power to the heart of man than this did at this time to mine. It seemed to enter with great force into every feeling of my heart. I reflected on it again and again, knowing that if any person needed wisdom<sup>14</sup> from God, I did, for how to act I did not know, and, unless I could get more wisdom than I then had, would never know;<sup>15</sup> for the teachers of religion of the different sects understood the same passage so differently, as to destroy all confidence in settling the question by an appeal to the Bible. At length I came to the conclusion, that I must either remain in darkness and confusion, or else I must do as James directs, that is, ask of God. I at length came to the determination to ask of God, concluding that if he gave wisdom to them that lacked wisdom, and would give liberally, and not upbraid, I might venture. So, in accordance with this my determination to ask of God, I retired to the woods to make the attempt. It was on the morning of a beautiful clear day, early in the spring of 1820. It was the first time in my life that I had made such an attempt; for amidst all my anxieties I had never as yet made the attempt to pray vocally. After I had retired into the place where I had previously designed to go, having looked around me, and finding myself alone, I kneeled down and began to offer up the desires of my heart to God. I had scarcely done so, when immediately I was seized upon by some power which entirely overcame me, and had such astonishing influence over me

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13. William Smith reconstructs what may have been Joseph Jr.'s immediate motivation. The Presbyterian minister, Benjamin Stockton, had hosted the successful revival of 1824-25, but Joseph Sr. held a grudge against Stockton for implying, during Alvin's funeral sermon, that the boy "had gone to hell, for Alvin was not a church member." Therefore, when Stockton suggested that the harvest of converts from the revival should become Presbyterians, the Smith family was in conflict. The next night, George Lane, a Methodist, preached on "What church shall I join?" According to William, "The burden of his discourse was to ask God, using as a text, 'If any man lack wisdom let him ask of God who giveth to all men liberally [James 1:5].' And of course when Joseph went home and was looking over the text he was impressed to do just what the preacher had said, and going out into the woods with child-like, simple trusting faith believing that God meant just what he said, he kneeled down and prayed; and . . . God was pleased to show him that he should join none of those churches but if faithful he should be chosen to establish the true church" (Vogel 1:513).

14. Coray: "lacked wisdom . . ."

15. Coray doubles this sentence, undoubtedly a copying error: "... never know; and unless I could get more wisdom than I then had, would never know . . ."



as to bind my tongue, so that I could not speak. Thick darkness gathered around me, and it seemed to me for a time as if I were doomed to sudden destruction. But exerting all my powers to call upon God, to deliver me out of the power of this enemy which had seized upon me, and at the very moment when I was ready to sink into despair, and abandon myself to destruction—not to an imaginary ruin, but to the power of some actual being from the unseen world, who had such a marvelous power as I had never before felt in any being; just at this moment of great alarm, I saw a pillar of light exactly over my head, above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually until it fell upon me. It no sooner appeared than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound. When the light rested upon me, I saw two personages, whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me, calling me by name, and said, pointing to the other, ‘This is my beloved Son; hear him!’

“My object in going to enquire of the Lord, was to know which of all the<sup>16</sup> sects was right, that I might know which to join. No sooner, therefore, did I get possession of myself, so as to be able to speak, than I asked the personages who stood above me in the light, which of all the sects was right—for at this time it had never entered into my heart that all were wrong—and which I should join.<sup>17</sup> I was answered that I should join none of them, for they were all wrong; and the personage who addressed me said that all their creeds were an abomination in his sight; that those professors were all corrupt. ‘They draw near me<sup>18</sup> with their lips, but their hearts are far from me; they teach for doctrine the commandments of men, having a form of godliness, but they deny the power thereof.’ He again forbade me to join any<sup>19</sup> of them; and many other things did he say unto me which I cannot write at this time. When I came to myself again, I found myself lying on my back, looking up into heaven.<sup>20</sup> Some few days after I had this vision, I happened to be in company with one of the Methodist preachers who was very active in the before-mentioned religious excitement, and conversing with him upon the subject

16. *Times and Seasons*: “these”

17. IE and Nibley: “which of all the sects was right—and which I should join.”

18. IE and Nibley: “near to me . . .”

19. *Times and Seasons*: “to join with any . . .”

20. IE and Nibley add the following sentences: “When the light had departed, I had no strength; but soon recovering in some degree, I went home. And as I leaned up to the fireplace, mother enquired what the matter was. I replied, ‘Never mind, all is well—I am well enough off.’ I then said to my mother, ‘I have learned for myself that Presbyterianism is not true.’ It seems as though the adversary was aware, at a very early period of my life, that I was destined to prove a disturber and an annoyer of his kingdom; else why should the powers of darkness combine against me? Why the opposition and persecution that arose against me, almost in my infancy?” These sentences do not appear in the *Times and Seasons* version (3:727) but are in the Pearl of Great Price canonized version.

of religion, I took occasion to give him an account of the vision which I had had. I was greatly surprised at his behaviour; he treated my communication not only lightly, but with great contempt, saying it was all of the devil; that there was no such thing as visions or revelations in these days; that all such things had ceased with the Apostles, and that there never would be any more of them. I soon found, however, that my telling the story had excited a great deal of prejudice against me among professors of religion, and was the cause of great persecution, which continued to increase; and though I was an obscure boy, only between fourteen and fifteen years of age, and my circumstances in life such as to make a boy<sup>21</sup> of no consequence in the world, yet men of high standing would take notice sufficient to excite the public mind against me and create a hot<sup>22</sup> persecution; and this was common among all the sects—all united to persecute me. It has often caused me serious reflection, both then and since, how very strange it was that an obscure boy, of a little over fourteen years of age—and one, too, who was doomed to the necessity of obtaining a scanty maintenance by his daily labour, should be thought a character of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the great ones of the most popular sects of the day, in a manner so as to create<sup>23</sup> in them a spirit of the hottest persecution and reviling. But strange or not, so it was, and was often cause of great sorrow to myself. However, it was, nevertheless, a fact that I had had a vision. I have thought since, that I felt much like Paul when he made his defence before King Agrippa, and related the account of the vision he had when he ‘saw a light and heard a voice’; but still there were but few who believed him [Acts 26:7-19]. Some said he was dishonest, others said he was mad, and he was ridiculed and reviled; but all this did not destroy the reality of his vision. He had seen a vision—he knew he had—and all the persecution under heaven could not make it otherwise; and though they should persecute him unto death, yet he knew, and would know unto his latest breath, that he had both seen a light and heard a voice speaking to<sup>24</sup> him, and all the world could not make him think or believe otherwise. So it was with me. I had actually seen a light, and in the midst of that light I saw two personages, and they did in reality speak unto me, or one of them did;<sup>25</sup> and though I was hated and persecuted for saying that I had seen a vision, yet it was true; and while they were persecuting me, reviling me, and speaking all manner of evil against me falsely, for so saying, I was led to say in my heart, Why persecute for telling the truth? I have actually seen a vision; and who am I that I can

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21. Coray: “to make me a boy . . .”

22. IE and Nibley: “bitter”

23. IE and Nibley: “of the day, so as to create . . .”

24. IE and Nibley: “unto”

25. IE and Nibley omit: “or one of them did . . .”

withstand God? or why does the world think to make me deny what I have actually seen? for I had seen a vision. I knew it, and I knew that God knew it; and I could not deny it, neither dare I do it—at least, I knew that by so doing I would offend God, and come under condemnation.”—*Times and Seasons*, vol. iii, p. 727. *Supp. to Mil. Star*, vol. xiv, p. 2.

From this time until the twenty-first of September, 1823, Joseph continued, as usual, to labour with his father, and nothing during this interval occurred of very great importance—though he suffered, as one would naturally suppose, every kind of opposition<sup>26</sup> and persecution from the different orders of religionists.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

<sup>27</sup>~~About this~~ The 3 harvest time<sup>28</sup> had now arrived since we opened our new farm and all ~~the~~ our sons were actively employed in assisting their Father to cut down the grain and storing it away in order, ~~for winter~~ One evening we were sitting till quite late conversing upon the subject of the diversity of churches that had risen up in the world and the many thousand opinions in existence as to the truths contained in scripture. Joseph ~~who~~ never said many words upon any subject but always seemed to reflect more deeply than common persons of his age upon everything of a religious nature.

~~This~~ After we ceased conversation he went to bed <and was pondering in his mind which of the churches were the true one> ~~an~~ but he had not laid there long till <he saw> a bright <light> entered the room where he lay he looked up and saw an angel of the Lord ~~stood~~ <standing> by him The angel spoke I perceive that you are enquiring in your mind which is the true church there is not a true church on Earth No not one ~~Not~~ <and> has not been since Peter took the Keys <of the Melchisedec priesthood after the order of God> into the Kingdom of Heaven The churches that are now upon the Earth are all man made churches Joseph ~~there is a record for you and you must get it one day get it~~ There is a record for you and Joseph ~~when you have learned to keep the commandments of God~~ but you cannot get it untill you learn to keep the commandments of God <For it is not to get gain> But it is

26. GAS: “. . . though he suffered, every kind of opposition . . .”; IE and Nibley: “suffered every kind of opposition”

27. In Lucy’s draft, this paragraph immediately follows her comments about the Faculty of Abrac, now located with chap. 17.

28. According to Wesley P. Walters, “Wheat harvest in New York state fell during the latter part of July (whether one planted winter wheat or spring wheat). By contracting for the property sometime after mid-July the harvest for that year was over and the first wheat harvest for the Smiths would fall in the summer of 1821. Accordingly, the third harvest brings us to the summer of 1823” (Vogel 1:289).

to bring forth that light and intelligence which has been long lost in the Earth Now Joseph <or> beware <or> when you go to get the plates your mind will be filld with darkness and all maner of evil will rush into your mind To keep <prevent> you from keeping the commandments of God <that you may not succed in doing his work> and you must tell your father of this for he will believe every word you say the record is on a side hill on the Hill of Cu-morah 3 miles from this place remove the Grass and moss and you will find a large flat stone pry that up and you will find the record under it laying on 4 pillars—<of cement> then the angel left him

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

On the evening of the twenty-first of September, he retired to his bed in quite a serious and contemplative state of mind. He shortly be-took himself to prayer and supplication to Almighty God, for a manifesta-tion of his standing before him, and while thus engaged he received the following vision:—<sup>29</sup>

“While I was thus in the act of calling upon God, I discovered a light appear-ing in the room,<sup>30</sup> which continued to increase until the room was lighter than at noon-day, when immediately a personage appeared at my bed-side, standing in the air, for his feet did not touch the floor. He had on a loose robe of most exqui-site whiteness. It was a whiteness beyond anything earthly I had ever seen, nor do I believe that any earthly thing could be made to appear so exceedingly white and brilliant. His hands were naked, and his arms also, a little above the wrist; so also were his feet naked, as were his legs a little above the ankles. His head and neck were also bare. I could discover that he had no other clothing on but this robe, as it was open, so that I could see into his bosom. Not only was his robe exceedingly white, but his whole person was glorious beyond description, and his counte-nance truly like lightning. The room was exceedingly light, but not so very bright as immediately around his person[.] When I first looked upon him I was afraid, but the fear soon left me. He called me by name, and said unto me me [sic] that he was a messenger sent from the presence of God to me, and that his name was Nephi;<sup>31</sup> that God had a work for me to do, and that my name should be had for

29. “History of Joseph Smith,” *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 12 (15 April 1842): 753-54.

30. IE and Nibley: “my room . . .”

31. Pratt 1853 note: “Moroni, see *Doc. & Cov.*, sec. L, par. 2; *Elders’ Journal*, vol. i, pp. 28 and 129; *History of Joseph Smith* under year 1838; *Deseret News*, No. 10, vol. iii—O.P.” The RLDS editions reproduce the same note, including Orson Pratt’s initials. IE and Nibley change the text from “Nephi” to “Moroni” without a note. Quinn, *Early*, 509n186, quotes an 1876 letter from Orson Pratt to a correspondent inquiring whether it was Nephi or Moroni who visited Joseph Smith. Pratt explains that it was Moroni, since Moroni “holds the keys of the Stick of the Record

good and evil among all nations, kindreds, and tongues; or that it should be both good and evil spoken of among all people. He said there was a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent, and the source from whence they sprang. He also said that the fulness of the everlasting Gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Saviour to the ancient inhabitants. Also, that there were two stones in silver bows, and these stones fastened to a breastplate, constituted what is called the Urim and Thummim, deposited with the plates; and the possession and use of these stones were<sup>32</sup> what constituted Seers in ancient or former times; and that God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book. After telling me these things, he commenced quoting the prophecies of the Old Testament. He first quoted part of the third chapter of Malachi; and he quoted also the fourth or last chapter of the same prophecy, though with a little variation from the way it reads in our Bible.<sup>33</sup> Instead of quoting the first verse as it reads in our books, he quoted it thus: 'For behold the day cometh that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall burn as stubble, for they that come<sup>34</sup> shall burn them, saith the Lord of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root or branch.' And again he quoted the fifth verse thus: 'Behold, I will reveal unto you the Priesthood by the hand of Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord.' He also quoted the next verse differently: 'And he shall plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers, and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers; if it were not so, the whole earth would be utterly wasted at its<sup>35</sup> coming.' In addition to these, he quoted the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, saying that it was about to be fulfilled. He quoted also the third chapter of Acts, twenty-second and twenty-third verses, precisely as they stand in our New Testament. He said that the Prophet was Christ, but the day had not yet come 'when they who would not hear his voice should be cut off from among the people,' but soon would come. He also quoted the second chapter of Joel, from the twenty-eighth verse to the last. He also said that this was not yet fulfilled, but was

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of Ephraim" and chalks up the "discrepancy" to the possible "ignorance or carelessness of the historian or transcriber. . . . The prophet often received visits from Nephi, Moroni, Peter, James, John (the Beloved), John (the Baptist), Elijah, Moses, The Three Nephites, etc. etc. In giving the instructions which these angels imparted to him in a verbal manner, it would not be surprising that some of these hearers should innocently confound and intermix the names of the angels." Pratt was, at the time he wrote this letter, Church Historian. For occult parallels with *Nephi* and reasons why Joseph used the two names interchangeably as late as 1839, see Quinn, *Early*, 198-99.

32. *Times and Seasons*: "was"

33. IE and Nibley: "Bibles"

34. *Times and Seasons*: "cometh"

35. Coray, GAS on Coray, *Times and Seasons*: "his"

soon to be. And he further stated the fulness of the Gentiles was soon to come in. He quoted many other passages of Scripture, and offered many explanations which cannot be mentioned here. Again, he told me that when I got those plates of which he had spoken, (for the time that they should be obtained was not then<sup>36</sup> fulfilled,) I should not show them to any person, neither the breast-plate, with the Urim and Thummim, only to those to whom I should be commanded to show them: if I did I should be destroyed. While he was conversing with me about the plates, the vision was opened to my mind that I could see the place where the plates were deposited, and that so clearly and distinctly, that I knew the place again when I visited it.

"After this communication, I saw the light in the room begin to gather immediately around the person of him who had been speaking to me, and it continued to do so until the room was again left dark, except just around him; when instantly I saw, as it were, a conduit open right up into heaven, and he ascended up till he entirely disappeared, and the room was left as it had been before this heavenly light made its appearance.

"I lay musing on the singularity of the scene, and marvelling greatly at what had been told me by this extraordinary messenger, when, in the midst of my meditation, I suddenly discovered that my room was again beginning to get lighted, and, in an instant, as it were, the same heavenly messenger was again by my bed-side. He commenced, and again related the very same things which he had done at his first visit, without the least variation, which having done, he informed me of great judgments which were coming upon the earth, with great desolations by famine, sword, and pestilence; and that these grievous judgments would come on the earth in this generation. Having related these things, he again ascended as he had done before."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. iii., p. 729. *Suppl. to Mil. Star*, vol. xiv., p. 4.

When the angel ascended the second time, he left Joseph overwhelmed with astonishment, yet gave him but a short time to contemplate the things which he had told him before he made his reappearance, and rehearsed the same things over, adding a few words of caution and instruction, thus: that he must beware of covetousness, and he must not suppose the Record was to be brought forth with the view of getting gain, for this was not the case, but that it was to bring forth light and intelligence, which had for a long time been lost to the world; and that when he went to get the plates, he must be on his guard, or his mind would be filled with darkness. The angel then told him to tell his father all which he had both seen and heard.

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36. Coray and *Times and Seasons*: "yet"



Lucy: 1844-45

Coray/Pratt: 1853

## CHAP. XIX.

THE ANGEL VISITS JOSEPH  
AGAIN—JOSEPH TELLS HIS FA-  
THER WHAT HE HAS SEEN AND  
HEARD—HE IS PERMITTED TO BE-  
HOLD THE PLATES—RECEIVES  
FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS—COM-  
MUNICATES THE SAME TO THE  
FAMILY—TAKES THE PLATES  
INTO HIS HANDS—THEY ARE  
TAKEN FROM HIM, AND HE IS RE-  
PROVED—HIS DISAPPOINTMENT.

The next <day> he <and his fa-  
ther ~~and~~> and ~~his brother~~ Alvin  
were reaping in the field together  
~~when~~ <sudenly> Joseph stopped  
and seemed to be in a deep study for  
sometime Alvin hurried <him>  
saying Joseph we ~~will~~ must keep to  
work or we shall not get our ~~this~~  
task done Joseph worked again dilli-  
gently then stopped in the same way  
~~again~~ <a second time> when ~~alvin~~  
<his father> Saw that he ~~look~~ was  
very pale and urged him to go to the  
house ~~to~~ and tell his mother that he  
was sick he went a short distance till  
he came to a green sward under an  
apple tree here he lay down <on his  
face> for he was so weak he could  
go no farther<sup>37</sup>

The next day, my husband,  
Alvin, and Joseph, were reaping to-  
gether in the field, and as they were  
reaping Joseph stopped quite sud-  
denly, and seemed to be in a very  
deep study.<sup>38</sup> Alvin, observing it, hur-  
ried him, saying, "We must not  
slacken our hands, or we will not be  
able to complete our task." Upon this  
Joseph went to work again, and after  
labouring a short time, he stopped  
just as he had done before. This be-  
ing quite unusual and strange, it at-  
tracted the attention of his father,  
upon which he discovered that  
Joseph was very pale. My husband,  
supposing that he was sick, told him  
to go to the house, and have his  
mother doctor him. He accordingly

37. An asterisk appears after this word but does not seem to have a counterpart indicating words to be inserted.

38. William Smith, who says he was working with his brothers (but does not mention Joseph Sr.'s presence), left his own memory of this event: "Joseph looked pale and unwell, so that Alvin told him if he was sick he need not work; he then went and sat down by the fence, when the angel again appeared to him, and told him to call his father's house together and communicate to them the visions he had received, which he had not yet told to any one; and promised him that if he



ceased his work, and started, but on coming to a beautiful green, under an apple-tree, he stopped and lay down, for he was so weak he could proceed no further.

The personage whom he saw the night before came to him again and said why did you not tell your father what I told you Joseph said he was affraid his father would not beleive him he will said the angel believe every word you say to him

He was here but a short time, when the messenger whom he saw the previous night, visited him again, and the first thing he said was, "Why did you not tell your father that which I commanded you to tell him?" Joseph replied, "I was afraid my father would not believe me." The angel rejoined, "He will believe every word you say to him."

~~he the said again~~ when you get the record take it immediately into the house and lock it up as soon as possible and let no one see it till it is translated and then show it to such as the Lord chooses as a witness to the world now I will show you the difference between light and darkness and the operation of a <good> Spirit and an evil one an evil Spirit will try to crowd your mind with every evil and wicked thing to keep every good thought and feeling out of ~~you~~<sup>39</sup> your mind

Joseph then promised the angel that he would do as he had been commanded. Upon this, the messenger departed, and Joseph returned to the field where he had left my husband and Alvin; but when he got there his father had just gone to the house, as he was somewhat unwell. Joseph then desired Alvin<sup>40</sup> to go straightway and see his father, and inform him that he had something of great importance to communicate to him, and that he wanted him to come out into the field where they

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would do so, they would believe it. He accordingly asked us to come to the house, as he had something to tell us." Thus, according to this account, Joseph Sr. learned of the angelic visitation at the same time as the rest of the family. After Joseph Jr. recounted the angel's visit and described the Book of Mormon, "the whole family were melted to tears, and believed all he said. Knowing that he was very young, that he had not enjoyed the advantages of a common education; and knowing too his whole character and disposition, they were convinced that he was totally incapable of arising before his aged parents, his brothers and sisters, and so solemnly giving utterance to anything but the truth" (*Mormonism*, 9-10).

39. New page: "4 3" is handwritten in the upper right corner.

40. Coray: "Joseph then desired his father to go straitway and see his Father [sic]"

<but you must keep your mind always staid upon God that that no evil may come into your heart>  
Joseph then promised to do as he was told by the angel and rose up and went to his brother Alvin and requested Alvin to go to the house and ask his Father to come to the field for said he I have something to tell him when his Father went to him Joseph rehearsed to him all that he had and seen and heard

were at work. Alvin did as he was requested, and when my husband got there, Joseph related to him all that had passed between him and the angel the previous night and that morning. Having heard this account, his father charged him not to fail in attending strictly to the instruction which he had received from this heavenly messenger.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Soon after Joseph had this conversation with his father, he repaired to the place where the plates were deposited, which place he describes as follows:—

“Convenient to the village of Manchester, Ontario co., New York, stands a hill of considerable size, and the most elevated of any in the neighbourhood. On the west side of this hill, not far from the top, under a stone of considerable size, lay the plates, deposited in a stone box. This stone was thick and rounding in the middle, on the upper side, and thinner towards the edges, so that the middle part of it was visible above the ground; but the edges<sup>41</sup> all round were covered with earth.

“Having removed the earth, and obtained a lever, which I got fixed under the edge of the stone, with a little exertion I raised<sup>42</sup> it up. I looked, and there, indeed, did I behold the plates! the Urim and Thummim, and the breast-plate, as stated by the messenger.”—(*Times and Seasons*, vol. iii., p. 729. *Suppl. to Mil. Star*, vol. xiv., p. 5).

While Joseph remained here, the angel showed him, by contrast, the difference between good and evil, and likewise the consequences of both obedience and disobedience to the commandments of God, in such a striking manner, that the impression was always vivid in his memory until the very end of his days; and in giving a relation of this circumstance, not long prior to his death, he remarked, that “ever afterwards he was willing to keep the commandments of God.”<sup>43</sup>

41. Coray: “ages” both here and above in the same paragraph; IE and Nibley: “edge”

42. *Times and Seasons*, IE, and Nibley: “stone, and with a little exertion raised . . .”

43. IE keeps the quotation marks; Nibley omits them.

Furthermore, the angel told him, at the interview mentioned last, that the time had not yet come for the plates to be brought forth to the world; that he could not take them from the place wherein they were deposited until he had learned to keep the commandments of God—not only till he was willing, but able, to do it. The angel bade Joseph come to this place every year, at the same time of the year, and he would meet him there and give him further instructions.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

~~When they came into the house in the evening—<Joseph> they told made known to the whole family the wonderful things which Joseph had made known to him Joseph told the whole family the wonderful things which he had been made known to Joseph~~ When Joseph came in the evening he told ~~all the~~ <whole> family all that he had made known to his father in the field f

we sat up up very late and listened attentively to all that he had to say to us but his mind had been so exercised that he became very much fatigued

When Alvin saw this he said now brother let us go to bed and we will get up early in the morning and go to work so as to finish our days labor by ~~an~~ an hour before sunset & if Mother will get our suppers early we will then have a fine long evening <and> ~~to~~ all set down and hear you talk The next day they <we> worked with great ambition by sunset

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

The ensuing evening, when the family were all together, Joseph made known to them all that he had communicated to his father in the field, and also of his finding the Record, as well as what passed between him and the angel while he was at the place where the plates were deposited.

Sitting up late that evening, in order to converse upon these things, together with over-exertion of mind, had much fatigued Joseph;

and when Alvin observed it, he said, "Now, brother, let us go to bed, and rise early in the morning, in order to finish our day's work at an hour before sunset; then, if mother will get our suppers early, we will have a fine long evening, and we will all sit down for the purpose of listening to you while you tell us the great things which God has revealed to you."<sup>44</sup>

44. IE incorrectly omits the closing quotation marks; Nibley neglects to add them.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

[Here an \* appears in the margin. The next several lines, two versions of the same material, are interlinearly written but neither version is lined through. I have identified them as #1 and #2. #1:] and were ready by Sunset to give our whole attention to the discoursing of my son pertaining the obtaining of the plates the goodness of God his knowledge and power our a own liability to error and transgression and the great salvation that lay before the faithful Now said he Father and Mother the angel of the Lord says that we must be careful not to proclaim these things or to mention them abroad For we do not any of us know the wickedness of the world which is so w sinful and [#2] by sunset were ready to be seated and give our att undivided attention to Josephs recitals ~~and this pre~~ before he began to explain to us the instructions which he had received he ~~told~~ charged us to not to mention what he told us out of the family as the world was so wicked that ~~if they~~ when they did come to a knoweledge of these things they would try to take our lives and we must be careful not to proclaim these things or as soon as we obtained the plates our names would be cast out as evil by all people. [end of interlinear material] that when we get the plates they will want to kill us for the sake of the gold if they know we had <have> them and as soon as they do find that we pretend to have any such thing our names will be cast out as evil and we shall be scoffed at ~~and~~ and all maner of evil spoken ~~eon~~<sup>45</sup> concerning us This astonished us very much ~~and we wondered in our hearts how these things could be so why any one could have a disposition to take our lives merely for a thing like this.~~ The He then said But <he continued> if we are wise and prudent in all things <that> which is revealed to <us> God is able to make all things known to us do you believe it Said he to his Father why yes certainly answered Mr. Smith he has all power and wisdom Knowledge and understanding and of course can teach us all things if we are worthy and we will try to live in such a as to deserve thefa the favor of God ~~that he may be pleased to instruct from day to day~~ —

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Accordingly, by sunset the next day we were all seated, and Joseph commenced telling us the great and glorious things which God had mani-

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45. New page: "4" is handwritten, preceded by an erasure, at the top left margin.

fested to him; but, before proceeding, he charged us not to mention out of the family that which he was about to say to us, as the world was so wicked that when they came to a knowledge of these things they would try to take our lives; and that when we should obtain the plates, our names would be cast out as evil by all people. Hence the necessity of suppressing these things as much as possible, until the time should come for them to go forth to the world.

After giving us this charge, he proceeded to relate further particulars concerning the work which he was appointed to do, and we received them joyfully, never mentioning them except among ourselves, agreeable to the instructions which we had received from him.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

From this time forth Joseph continued to receive ~~ans~~ instructions from time to time and every evening we gathered our children together ~~and gave our our time up to the discussion of those things which he imparted~~ ~~<un>~~ to us I think that ~~<we>~~ presented the most peculiar aspect of any family that ever lived upon the Earth all seated in a circle father mother sons and Daughters listening in breathless anxiety to the ~~<religious>~~ teachings of a boy 16<sup>46</sup> years of age who had never read the Bible through by course in his life for Joseph was less inclined to the study of books than any child we had but much more given to reflection and deep study

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

From this time forth, Joseph continued to receive instructions from the Lord, and we continued to get the children together every evening, for the purpose of listening while he gave us a relation of the same. I presume our family presented an aspect as singular as any that ever lived upon the face of the earth—all seated in a circle, father, mother, sons, and daughters, and giving the most profound attention to a boy, eighteen years of age, who had never read the Bible through in his life: he seemed much less inclined to the perusal of books than any of the rest of our children, but far more given to meditation and deep study.<sup>47</sup>

46. "6" has been written over another number, apparently a "7." Coray: "nineteen"; GAS on Coray: "eighteen"

47. Philip L. Barlow finds, on the contrary, that Joseph's "mind was steeped in the words and rhythms of the Authorized Version." Quinn continues: "Beyond the Bible, there is compelling evidence that Joseph Smith's mother was not accurate in describing his youthful indifference to books. . . . He later quoted from, referred to, and owned numerous books which were advertised in his neighborhood as a young man" (Barlow qtd. in Quinn, *Early*, 192).

We were convinced that God was about to bring to light something that we might stay our minds upon something that we could get a more definite idea of than anything which had been taught us heretofore and we rejoiced in it with exceeding great joy ~~and~~ the sweetest union and happiness pervaded our home no jar nor discord disturbed our peace and tranquility reigned in our midst

In the course of our evening conversations Joseph would give us some of the most amusing recitals which could be imagined he would describe the ancient inhabitants of this continent their dress thier maner of traveling the animals which they rode The cities that were built by them the structure of their buildings with every particular of their mode of warfare their religious worship—as particularly as though he had spent his life with them

it will be recollected by the reader that all that I mentioned and much more took place within the campass of one short year

The angel informed him at one time that he ~~might make an~~ effort to obtain the plates <on> the <22nd of the> ensuing september <he visted the place where the plates were laid and> and <thinking> <supposed [written under the line]> if he could keep every commandment given him

We were now confirmed in the opinion that God was about to bring to light something upon which we could stay our minds, or that would give us a more perfect knowledge of the plan of salvation and the redemption of the human family. This caused us greatly to rejoice, the sweetest union and happiness pervaded our house, and tranquillity reigned in our midst.

During our evening conversations, Joseph would occasionally give us some of the most amusing recitals that could be imagined. He would describe the ancient inhabitants of this continent, their dress, mode of traveling, and the animals upon which they rode; their cities, their buildings, with every particular; their mode of warfare; and also their religious worship. This he would do with as much ease, seemingly, as if he had spent his whole life with them.

On the twenty-second of September, 1824,<sup>48</sup> Joseph again visited the place where he found the plates the year previous; and supposing at this time that the only thing required, in order to possess them until the time for their translation, was to be able to keep the commandments of God—and he firmly believed that he could keep every commandment which had been given him—he fully expected to carry them home with him. Therefore, having

48. Coray: "1824". Quinn resolves this difficulty in dating as follows: "From this time forth [after September 1823] Joseph continued to receive instructions [from the angel] from time to time

that it would be possible for him to take them from their place and carry them home) but said the divine messenger you must take them into your hands and go straight to the house without delay ~~not and not stopping~~ <and put them in immediately and lock them up> Accordingly when the time arrived he went to the place appointed and removed the moss and grass from the surface of the rock and then pryed up the flat stone according to the directions which he had received he then discovered the plates laying ~~on~~ on 4 pillars in the inside of the box \* [\* After some further conversation Joseph] he put forth his hand <and> took them up <but> when he lifted them from their place the thought flashed across his mind that there might be something more in the box that ~~might~~ would be a benefit to him in a pecuniary point of view in the excitement of the moment he laid the record down in order in cover up the box lest some one should come along and take away whatever else might be deposited there When he turned again to take up the record it was gone but

arrived at the place, and uncovering the plates, he put forth his hand and took them up, but, as he was taking them hence,<sup>49</sup> the unhappy thought darted through his mind that probably there was something else in the box besides the plates, which would be of some pecuniary advantage to him.<sup>50</sup> So, in the moment of excitement, he laid them down very carefully, for the purpose of covering the box, lest some one might happen to pass that way and get whatever there might be remaining in it. After covering it, he turned round to take the Record again, but behold it was gone, and where he knew not, neither did he know the means by which it had been taken from him.

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. . . [and] he would describe the ancient inhabitants,' her description of a *several-year* period. Then she discussed the incident of the disappearing plates in the 'ensuing September,' which she immediately followed with a description of . . . Alvin's death in 'November 1822' [actually 1823]. This narrative sequence indicates that she intended the word "ensuing" to refer *back* to the September 1823 visit which she had interrupted by the commentary about her reflections concerning the angel's instructions then and young Joseph's 'amusing recitals' during subsequent years. Thus, she used 'ensuing' as if it meant 'this current September.' However, in preparing the manuscript for publication Orson Pratt interpreted 'ensuing' in its precise meaning of 'following.' Therefore, the published version of 1853 added '1824' as the specific year 'ensuing' would identify, even though Lucy Mack Smith was describing events of 1823 (with the exception of her aside about Joseph's 'amusing recitals')" (Quinn, *Early*, 473n219).

[Notes 49 and 50 appear on page 347.]



where he knew not nor did he know  
 by what means it was taken away  
 he was much alarmed at this ~~th~~ and  
 <he ~~and~~> kneeled down <&>  
 asked the Lord why it was that the re-  
 cord was taken from him The angel  
 appeared to him and told him that he  
 had not done as he was commanded  
 in that he laid down the record ~~and~~ in  
 order ~~to~~ to secure some imaginary  
 treasure that remained [An "X" is  
 drawn here locating the note inserted  
 at the asterisk.]

Joseph was then permitted to ~~open~~  
 raise the stone again and there he be-  
 held the plates the same as before he  
 reached forth his hand to take them  
 but was ~~hurled back~~ <thrown ~~(the~~  
~~angel gone~~> to the ground—\* when  
 he recov<ered he went<ered was the  
 angel was gone and he arose and went  
 to the house>

At this, as a natural conse-  
 quence, he was much alarmed.<sup>51</sup> He  
 kneeled down and asked the Lord why  
 the Record had been taken from him;  
 upon which the angel of the Lord ap-  
 peared to him, and told him that he  
 had not done as he had been com-  
 manded, for in a former revelation he  
 had been commanded not to lay the  
 plates down, or put them for a mo-  
 ment out of his hands, until he got into  
 the house and deposited them in a  
 chest or trunk, having a good lock and  
 key, and, contrary to this, he had laid  
 them down with the view of securing  
 some fancied or imaginary treasure  
 that remained.<sup>52</sup>

In the moment of excitement,  
 Joseph was overcome by the powers of  
 darkness, and forgot the injunction  
 that was laid upon him.

Having some further conversa-  
 tion with the angel on this occasion,  
 Joseph was permitted to raise the  
 stone again, when he beheld the  
 plates as he had done before. He im-  
 mediately reached forth his hand to  
 take them, but instead of getting  
 them, as he anticipated, he was  
 hurled back upon the ground with  
 great violence. When he recovered,  
 the angel was gone, and he arose

49. Coray: "and took them up; but, on starting off with them . . ."

50. Coray: "be of some advantage in a pecuniary point of view."

51. Coray: "At this, he was much alarmed . . ."

52. Coray: "... treasure that remained and thus had broken the commandment of God."

and returned to the house, weeping for grief and disappointment.<sup>53</sup>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

As he was aware that we would expect him to bring the plates home with him, he was greatly troubled, fearing that we might doubt his having seen them. As soon as he entered the house, my husband asked him if he obtained the plates. The answer was, "No, father, I could not get them."

His father then said, "Did you see them?"

"Yes," replied Joseph, "I saw them, but could not take them."

"I would have taken them," rejoined his father, with much earnestness, "if I had been in your place."

"Why," returned Joseph, in quite a subdued tone, "you do not know what you say. I could not get them, for the angel of the Lord would not let me."

*Lucy: 1844-45*

We were much disturbed by this as it showed to us more strikingly than anything which had previously come to our understanding the insinuations & power of the adversary (And we doubled our diligence & in prayer before God that Joseph might be more fully instructed and preserved from all the wiles and machinations of the Power of the Him who lieth in wait to deceive.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Joseph then related the circumstance<sup>54</sup> in full, which gave us much uneasiness, as we were afraid that he might utterly fail of obtaining the Record through some neglect on his part. We, therefore, doubled our diligence in prayer and supplication to God, in order that he might be more fully instructed in his duty, and be preserved from all the wiles and machinations of him "who lieth in wait to deceive."<sup>55</sup>

53. For problems with dating this sequence of visits and Quinn's hypothesis that there were actually four years of visits (1823-27), not three, and that Lucy is here describing Joseph's 1824 visit to the hill, not his 1823 visit, see *Early Mormonism*, chap. 5, esp. pp. 160-63. He further points out that a sequence of three visits could not have begun in 1824 because Alvin was still alive at the time of the first visit and did not die until November 1823 (*Ibid.*, 472n202).

54. RLDS, IE, and Nibley: "related the circumstances . . ."

55. See Ephesians 4:14: "That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive." RLDS note: "Whatever may have been Joseph Smith's lack of natural ability, one thing is quite certain, that the peculiar discipline to which he was subjected in these

We were still making arrangements for building my oldest son took principle Charge of this and when the month of November 1822 arrived the House was raised and all the Materials procured for completing the building. Alvin was very much animated by <the> Idea as he said of making Father & mother so comfortable he <would> say Now I am going to have a nice pleasant rom [sic] for them 2 sit in & everything arranged ~~to their~~ for their comfort and they shall not work as they have done any more—

We were still making arrangements to build us a comfortable house, the management and control of which devolved chiefly upon Alvin. And when Nov., 1822,<sup>56</sup> arrived, the frame was raised, and all the materials necessary for its speedy completion were procured. This opened to Alvin's mind the pleasing prospect of seeing his father and mother once more comfortable and happy. He would say, "I am going to have a nice pleasant room for father and mother to sit in, and everything arranged for their comfort, and they shall not work any more as they have done."<sup>57</sup>

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early days was of such a character that he learned that strict obedience and faithfulness to duty were the most essential requisites to an acceptance with God; this fitted him for the work that he subsequently did."

56. RLDS: November 1824; IE and Nibley: 1822; Nibley note: "This date, given in the first edition of this book [1901] is undoubtedly correct. The date was given in the Utah [1853] edition as 1824, but this could not be correct as Alvin had partially completed the new home before his death in November, 1823."

57. GAS on Coray: "mss better than printed books." The RLDS editions add this lengthy biographical note: "Of the life of Lucy Smith, familiarly called Grandmother Smith, after the Martyr's death, little need be written. At the time of the tragedy at Carthage, Grandmother Smith was living with Joseph, and continued living with Emma until in September following, when she removed with her son-in-law, Arthur Millikin, and her daughter Lucy, into a house known as the Ponson house, hired for them by the church, which also hired a girl to wait upon her and help generally. Sometime that fall, the fall of 1844, she commenced her history, the work now being republished, Mr. and Mrs. Corey [sic] writing for her.

"She completed this work sometime in 1845, the copyright being secured for her by Elder Almon W. Babbitt, in that year, or in the early part of 1846. The family moved into the house owned by Elder William Marks in 1845, but remained only till the next year, when they settled in a house bought for Grandmother, by the church. In the fall of 1846, under the pressure of the mob coming against the city, they moved to Knoxville, Illinois, remaining over the winter, and in the spring of 1847 returning to Nauvoo, again. Here they remained till the fall of 1849, when they moved to Webster, in the same county, staying there two years, when they removed to Fountain Green. In the spring of 1852 Grandmother Smith, and a grandchild, a daughter of Samuel H. Smith, Mary Bailey Smith by name, went to Nauvoo to live with Major Lewis C. Bidamon, whom Emma Smith had married in 1847. She remained with them, until her death, which occurred on the farm owned by the prophet before his death, two and a half miles east of Nauvoo, on the road to Carthage. The farm was then being carried on by Sr. Emma and her boys; and here, on May 8, 1855, watched over and ministered to by Emma, the wife of her son Joseph, her grandson, Joseph 3d, and the young daughter of a neighbouring farmer, Elizabeth Pilkington by name, this noble-hearted mother

## CHAPTER XX.

ALVIN'S SICKNESS AND DEATH.<sup>58</sup>

~~On the 15th of this month Alvin came in to the and said to me mother I am very sick~~

on the 15 of Nov Alvin was taken very sick ~~with health~~ about 10 o'clock in the day with the bilious cholick and came to <the> house in great distress and requested his Father to go for a physician which he accordingly did but as the Doctor whom generally attended upon our family being absent he was compelled to go farther than he expected however he found in the next village one Dr. Greenwood who when he came immediately administered to him although the patient objected much against it a heavy dose of Calomel

On the fifteenth of Nov. 1824,<sup>59</sup> about ten o'clock in the morning, Alvin<sup>60</sup> was taken very sick with the bilious colic. He came to the house in much distress, and requested his father to go immediately for a physician. He accordingly went, and got one<sup>61</sup> by the name of Greenwood, who, on arriving, immediately administered to the patient a heavy dose of calomel. I will here notice that this Dr. Greenwood was not the physician commonly employed by the family; he was brought in consequence of the family physician's absence. And on this account, as I suppose, Alvin at first refused to take the medicine, but by much persuasion he was prevailed on to do so.

in Israel went to her rest.

"Her granddaughter, Mary B. Smith, had some months before her death, married a Mr. Edward Kelteau, and had taken up her battle with the things of this life for herself. Major Bidamon was always kind to Grandmother Smith, and being a skillful workman in wood, constructed for her use a chair and carriage, upon which she was wheeled about the house and grounds, she being a bed-ridden invalid for years, helpless to a great extent.

"For a time she derived a little income from the exhibition of some mummies and the papyrus records found with them, which had been left in her care by the church for this purpose. But after a time she parted with the mummies and records; how, the writer is not informed, though he afterwards saw two of the mummies and a part of the records in Wood's Museum in Chicago, where they were destroyed by the fire of 1871. [The mummies were actually sold twelve days after Lucy's death, according to Newell and Avery, 266].

"Her son-in-law, Arthur Millikin, states that the "preface in the history written by Orson Pratt is not correct, for she never talked of such a thing (her history) till the fall after the Martyr's death."

58. Coray: "Alvin's Sickness—His Exhortation to His Brothers and Sisters and Death"

59. The Coray 1845 fair copy gives this date as 1824. GAS on Coray marked out the last "4" and wrote "3" directly above the number. Next to the "3" is a "4" in pencil, crossed out, also in pencil. Lucy, writing to William Smith in January 1845, comments, "There was a mistake in the printer with regard to Alvin's age when he died The paper states that he was nearly 32—this is wrong his age was between 24 & 25." She is referring to a mistaken item of information that W. W. Phelps wrote in a letter to William Smith on 25 December 1844 and published in *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 Jan. 1845): 760, that states Alvin Smith "died in Palmyra, N.Y., November 19, 1829, aged nearly 32." This confusion about Alvin's age is not easily resolved. Alvin's tombstone, inscribed by Hyrum

[Notes 60 and 61 appear on page 351.]

this lodged in his stomach and all the pow<er> medicine which was afterwards prescribed by 4 skillful physicians could ~~never~~ <not> remove it.

on the 3rd day Doe Dr Mackentire the favorite of the family a man of Great skill and experience was brought and with him 4 others proffessors of Medicine but all their exertions were of no avail as Alvin declared to them ~~and us~~ <As> For said <he> the calomel is still lodged in same place and you cannot move it consequently it must take my life.<sup>63</sup>

This dose of calomel lodged in his stomach, and all the medicine which was freely<sup>62</sup> administered by four very skilful physicians could not remove it.

On the third day of his sickness, Doctor M'Intyre, whose services were usually employed by the family, as he was considered very skillful, was brought, and with him four other eminent physicians. But it was all in vain, their exertions proved unavailing, just as Alvin had said would be the case—he told them the calomel was still lodged in the same place, after some exertion had been made to carry it off, and that it must take his life.<sup>64</sup>

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Smith, reads: "In memory of Alvin, son of Joseph and Lucy Smith, who died November 19, 1823, in the 25 year of his age." Michael Quinn argues that the tombstone is partially incorrect; Alvin was born in February 1798 and died in November 1823 (correct on the tombstone) at age twenty-five (or in his twenty-sixth year). Joseph Jr., dictating the family history to Oliver Cowdery in 1834, gave Alvin's death year as 1825. In 1838, he said Alvin died in 1824. Michael Quinn describes Joseph's dedication of his 1839 manuscript history to Alvin, which has been written by Hyrum and affixed to the inside front cover with sealing wax, showing not only that the tombstone is partially incorrect but also that neither Joseph nor Hyrum remembered the correct death date. This dedication reads: "In Memory of Alvin Smith, Died the 19th Day of November, In the 25th year of his age year 182,' with 3, 4, and 5 written over each other as the last digit of the year." The Smith family Bible gives his death year as 1825. Lucy here remembers it as 1824 (Quinn, *Early*, 460n46; Jessee, *Papers* 1:265; Vogel 1:67).

60. The Grandin Press edition has a superscript holograph cross after Alvin's name, making it possible to identify the specific copy of the 1853 edition used in the reproduction. There are a few other hand-made notations, but I will not identify them further.

61. IE and Nibley: "went obtaining one . . ."

62. IE and Nibley: "medicine afterwards freely . . ."

63. Coray: "Alvin being aware of this, told them that the calomel was still lodged in the same place, and must take his life."

64. Coray edits these three paragraphs heavily: ". . . Alvin was violently attacked with the bilious cholic; and coming to the house in much distress, desired his father to go immediately for a doctor. Mr Smith went without delay for D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Intire; but, not finding him at home brought one D<sup>r</sup> Greenwood; who, upon his arrival, administered a heavy dose of calomel, though much against the will of the patient. This calomel lodged in his stomach—we became alarmed, and called in five other skilful physicians; (one of these was D<sup>r</sup> McIntire) who administered the most efficient and powerful medicine in order to remove the dose which was first given him; but all in vain.

"Alvin being aware of this, told them that the calomel was still lodged in the same place and must take his life. Shortly <after> coming to this conclusion, he called Hyrum . . ."

He then called Hyrum to him<sup>65</sup> and said Hyrum I must die and now I want to say a few things to you that ~~you~~ you must remember I have done all that I could do to make our dear Parents comfortable I now want you to go on and finish the House take care <of> them in their old age and do not ~~let~~ ever let them work hard any more

he then called sophronia he said Sophronia You must be a good Girl and do all that lays in your power for Father & Mother never forsake them they have worked hard and they are now getting old be kind to them and remmember what they have done for us.

~~When~~ in the later part of the 4 night he called for all the children and again exhorted them separately to the same effect as before but to Joseph I he said Joseph I am going to die now the distress which I suffer and the sensations that I have tell me my time is very short I want you to be a good boy & do everything that lays in your power to obtain the records be faithful in receiving instruction and keeping a every commandment that is given you ~~ε~~ your brother Alvin ~~is~~ must now leave you but ~~he~~ remmember the example which he has set for you and set

On coming to this conclusion, he called Hyrum to him, and said, "Hyrum, I must die. Now I want to say a few things, which I wish to have you remember. I have done<sup>66</sup> all I could to make our dear parents comfortable. I want you to go on and finish the house, and take care of them in their old age, and do not any more let them work hard, as they are now in old age."

He then called Sophronia to him, and said to her, "Sophronia, you must be a good girl, and do all you can for father and mother—never forsake them; they have worked hard, and they are now getting old. Be kind to them, and remember what they have done for us."

In the latter part of the fourth night he called for all the children, and exhorted them separately in the same strain as above. But when he came to Joseph, he said, "I am now going to die, the distress which I suffer, and the feelings that I have, tell me my time is very short. I want you to be a good boy, and do everything that lies in your power to obtain the Record. Be faithful in receiving instruction, and in keeping every commandment that is given you. Your brother Alvin must leave you; but remember the example which he has set for you; and set the same example

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65. Coray: "to his bedside"

66. Coray: "Hyrum, I must die—now I want to say a few things which I wish you to remember—It is this: I have done . . ."

a good example for the children that are younger than you & always be kind to Father & Mother

he then asked me to take his <up> little sister Lucy up this child was the youngest of the Family and he was extremely fond of her which naturally attached her to him<sup>67</sup> She could not then talk plain and always called her brother Amby I went to her and said Lucy Amby wants to see you she started out of her sleep & screamed out Oh! Amby Amby We took her to him & <when> she Sprang from my arms and caught him round the neck & cried out Oh My Amby & kissed him again and again

Lucy said <he> you must be the best girl in the world and take care of Mother you cant have your Amby any more Amby is going away he must leave little Lucy he then Kissed her and Said take her away I think my breath offends her we took hold of the child but she clenched hold of him<sup>70</sup> with such a desperate grasp that it was very difficult to disengage her hands

for the children that are younger than yourself, and always be kind to father and mother."

He then asked me to take my little daughter Lucy<sup>68</sup> up, and bring her to him, for he wished to see her. He was always very fond of her, and was in the habit of taking her up and caressing her, which naturally formed a very strong attachment on her part for him. I went to her, and said, "Lucy, Alvin wants to see you." At this, she started from her sleep, and screamed out, "Amby, Amby;[]" (she could not yet talk plain, being very young.) We took her to him, and when she got within reach of him, she sprang from my arms and caught him round the neck, and cried out, "Oh! my Amby,"<sup>69</sup> and kissed him again and again.

"Lucy," said he, "you must be the best girl in the world, and take care of mother; you can't have your Amby any more. Amby is going away; he must leave little Lucy." He then kissed her, and said, "take her away, I think my breath offends her." We took hold of her to take her away; but she clinched him with such a strong grasp, that it was with difficulty we succeeded in disengaging her hands.

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67. Coray: "( . . . which would naturally make her very fond of him)"

68. Nibley note: "Lucy was born July 18, 1821, at Palmyra, before the family moved into their new home."

69. IE and Nibley: "Oh! Amby . . ."

70. Coray: "she clung to him with such a desperate grasp . . ."



as I turned he said Father Mother  
brothers sisters farewell I can now  
brathe out my life as calm as a clock  
and immediately closed his eyes in  
death

just the child still cried to go back to  
Alvin. One present said ~~he~~ Alvin is  
gone<sup>71</sup> an angel has taken his spirit to  
Heaven when the babe heard this She  
renewed her cries and as I bent over  
his corpse she again threw her arms  
round it and kissed him repeatedly  
screaming as before—and untill the  
Body was taken from the House she  
continued constantly crying and  
showing such manifestation of affec-  
tion & terror at the scene ~~she pre-~~  
~~sented before~~ <her> as is seldom wit-  
nessed in a child ~~and she would run~~  
~~out of the house and drag in a board~~  
~~and lay beside the corpse then take a~~  
~~white cloth and wrap herself in it and~~  
~~lay down on the board by his side.~~

this harrowed up our feelings almost  
to distraction for he was a youth of  
~~such~~ singular goodness of disposition  
~~and moral character~~ Kind and ami-  
able maners <so much so> that lam-  
entation and mourning <filled> the  
whole neighborhood where we lived  
~~then it is not to be wondered at if~~  
<and of course> more than usual

As I turned with the child to  
leave him, he said, "father, mother,  
brothers, and sisters, farewell! I can  
now breathe out my life as calmly<sup>71</sup>  
as a clock." Saying this, he immedi-  
ately closed his eyes in death.

The child still cried to go back  
to Alvin. One present observed to  
the child, "Alvin is gone; an angel  
has taken his spirit to heaven." Hear-  
ing this, the child renewed her cries,  
and, as I bent over his corpse with  
her in my arms, she again threw her  
arms around him, and kissed him re-  
peatedly. And until the body was  
taken from the house she continued  
to cry, and to manifest such mingled  
feelings of both terror and affection  
at the scene before her, as are seldom  
witnessed.

Alvin was a youth of singular  
goodness of disposition—kind and  
amiable—so that lamentation and  
mourning filled the whole neighbor-  
hood in which he resided.<sup>73</sup>

71. GAS on Coray: "calm"

72. Coray: the child cried to "go back to Alvin, and I returned with her.—Presently one standing by observed: 'Alvin is gone . . .'"

73. Coray: " . . . so that lamentation and mourning filled the whole neighbourhood, when he died."

Grief filled the hearts of those from whose immediate <circle he was taken those who felt> saw the effects of his nobleness and generosity every hour of his existence

It was the wish of the principle physician that he should be opened to ascertain the cause if possible of his disease and death when this was done they found the calomel lodged in <the> upper bowels & untouched by anything which he had taken to carry it off as near in its natural State as it could be surrounded as it was with by the highest gangrene

By the request of the principal physician, Alvin was cut open, in order to discover, if it were possible, the cause of his death. On doing so, they found the calomel lodged in the upper bowels, untouched by anything which he had taken to remove it, and as near as possible in its natural state, surrounded as it was with gangrene.

A vast concourse of people attended his obsequies, who seemed very anxious to show their sympathy for us in our bereavement.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Dr McIntire & Dr Robinson performed the operation the last named Dr. was [beginning at this point, a long passage is marked out with an X] 70 years ~~old~~ of age he spoke long and earnestly to the younger physicians upon the danger of administering powerful medicines without a thorough knowledge of <the practice of> physick here said he is one of the loveliest youths that ever trod the streets of Palmira destroyed murdered as it were by ~~the hand~~ him at whose hand relief was expected—cut off from the face of Earth by a careless quack who even dared to trifle with the life of a fellow mortal. When the time for interment arrived the inhabitants of the surrounding country gathered to gather and during the funeral obsequies they ~~the~~ gave the most affectionate manifestations of thier sympathy but there was one that felt our grief more deeply than the rest a lovel [sic] young woman who was engaged to ~~him~~ be married to my son shortly after the time in which he died the disconsolate girl was rendered most desolate by his unexpected Death and as long as we knew her she never recovered her wonted animation and Good spirits The circumstance of this Death aroused the neighborhood to the subject of religion Now will the reader indulge me in a few reflections [end of X'd passage]

Thus was our happiness blasted in a moment when we least expected the blow it came upon us the ~~spee~~ poisoned shaft entered our very hearts core and diffused its deadly effect throughout our veins we

were for a time almost swallowed up in grief so much so that it seemed impossible for us to interest ourselves at all about the concerns of life the feeling of every heart was to make speedy preparation to follow him who had been too much the Idol of our hearts and then if it pleased God to take us also we would receive the call as a favor at his hands from whom it came

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Alvin had ever manifested a greater zeal and anxiety if it were possible than any of the rest with regard to the plates record which had been shown to Joseph and he always showed the most intense interest concerning the matter With this before our minds we could not endure to hear or say one word upon that subject for the moment that Joseph spoke of the record it would immediately bring Alvin to ~~their~~ <our> minds with all his kindness his affection his zeal and piety and when we looked to his place and realized that he was gone from it to return no more in this life<sup>74</sup> we ~~weep~~ <all> wept with one accord our irretrievable loss and it ~~seemed as though~~ we could not be comforted because he was not

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Alvin manifested, if such could be the case, greater zeal and anxiety in regard to the Record that had been shown to Joseph, than any of the rest of the family; in consequence of which we could not bear to hear anything said upon the subject. Whenever Joseph spoke of the Record, it would immediately bring Alvin to our minds, with all his zeal, and with all his kindness; and, when we looked to his place, and realized that he was gone from it, to return no more in this life, we all with one accord wept over our irretrievable loss, and we could "not be comforted, because he was not."<sup>75</sup>

## CHAP. XXI.

RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT—JOSEPH'S PROPHECY—HE WORKS FOR MR. STOAL—BECOMES ACQUAINTED WITH EMMA HALE.

74. Coray: "in this state of probation . . ."

75. See Matthew 2:18: "... Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not." Nibley note: "See visions of the Prophet Joseph Smith in the Kirtland Temple in which he beheld Alvin in the Celestial Kingdom. (*History of the Church*, Vol. 2, p. 380.)"

about About this time there was a great revival in religion and the whole neighborhood was very much aroused to the subject and we among the rest flocked to the meeting house to see if there was a word of comfort for us that might relieve our overcharged feelings but as there was <at this time> a man then laboring in that place to effect a union of all the churches that all denominations might be agreed to worship God with one mind and one heart

This I thought looked right and tried to persuade My Husband to join with them as I wished to do so myself and it was the inclination of them all except Joseph he refused from the first to attend the meeting with us He would say Mother I do not wish to prevent you from going to meeting or joining any church you like or any of the Family who desire the like only do not ask me to go <do so> for I do not wish to go But I will take my Bible and go out into the woods and learn more in two hours than you could if you were to go to meeting two years

Shortly after the death of Alvin, a man<sup>76</sup> commenced labouring in the neighbourhood, to effect a union of the different churches, in order that all might be agreed, and thus worship God with one heart and with one mind.<sup>77</sup>

This seemed about right to me, and I felt much inclined to join in with them; in fact, the most of the family appeared quite disposed to unite with their numbers;<sup>78</sup> but Joseph, from the first, utterly refused even to attend their meetings, saying, "Mother, I do not wish to prevent your going to meeting, or any of the rest of the family's; or your joining any church you please; but, do not ask me to join them. I can take my Bible, and go into the woods, and learn more in two hours than you can learn at meeting in two years, if you should go all the time."

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76. Although Lucy recalls only one person, William Smith remembers two men associated with this 1824-25 revival: Benjamin Stockton and George Lane. Stockton became pastor of the Western Presbyterian Church at Palmyra on 18 February 1824. Lane, a Methodist, was born in 1784 near Kingston, Ulster County, New York. From 1819 to 1824, he presided over the Susquehanna District. From July 1824 to July 1825, he presided over the Ontario District, which included Palmyra and Manchester. In his writings, he comments on visiting Palmyra during a revival in December 1824. He died in 1859 at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania (Vogel 1:487, 494).

77. The phrase "with one heart and with one mind" does not appear in the Bible. The closest is Acts 4:32: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul." However, the phrase "one heart and one mind" or "one mind and one heart" appears in all three Mormon scriptures. See 2 Ne. 1:21; D&C 45:65; and Moses 7:18.

[Note 78 appears on page 358.]

My husband also declined attending the meetings after the first but did not object to myself and such of the children as chose ~~to go or to become~~ <going or becoming> church members ~~doing as suited us~~ <if the if we wished>

Joseph also said ~~I do not want to keep any of you from joining any church you like but~~ <if y it will do you no hurt to join them but> you will not stay with them long for you are mistaken in them you do not know the wickedness of their hearts

I will said he one day give you an example and you may set it down as a prophecy Now you look at deacon Joseph <Jessup> & you heare him talk very piously well you think he is a very good man but suppose that Mr (one of his poor neighbors) ~~<who had 8 children>~~ owed him the value of one cow well this man has eight small children suppose the poor man should be taken sick & die leaving his wife with one cow but destitute of every means of support for herself and family Now I tell you that deacon Jose <essu> p goød <religious> as he is would not hesitate to take the last cow from the widow and orphans rather than loose the debt although he has an abundance of every thing

To gratify me, my husband attended some two or three meetings, but peremptorily refused going any more, either for my gratification, or any other person's.

During this excitement, Joseph would say, it would do us no injury to join them, that if we did, we should not continue with them long, for we were mistaken in them, and did not know the wickedness of their hearts.

One day he said that he would give us an example, and that we might set it down as a prophecy; viz:—

"You look at Deacon Jessup," said he, "and you hear him talk very piously. Well, you think he is a very good man. Now suppose that one of his poor neighbours should owe him the value of a cow, and that this poor man had eight little children; moreover, that he should be taken sick and die, leaving his wife with one cow, but destitute of every other means of supporting herself and family—now I tell you, that Deacon Jessup, religious as he is, would not scruple to take the last cow from the poor widow and orphans, in order to secure the debt, notwithstanding he himself has an abundance of every thing."

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78. Coray: "with the rest in the general union . . ."

This seemed to us at that time impossible but it was not one year from the time in which it was spoken when we saw the very ~~aet~~ <thing> that was told transpire ~~before our~~ eyes<sup>79</sup>

After a short time ~~however~~ the first shock <occasioned by Alvin's death> passed off and we began to resume our usual avocations and having the building of the house already paid for we thought it would be well to set the workmen <Mechanics> at the ~~building~~ <work> and have it completed We accordingly did so and ere long we had ~~the~~ a pleasant commodious habitation ready to receive us and ~~the~~ Mr. Stoddard the principle workman on the house would have been very glad to have purchased it for \$1500 But that was no temptation nothing could persuade Mr. Smith to abandon the scene of his ~~L~~ labor and the toiling of his family for here they had borne the burden and heat of the day<sup>81</sup> and we contemplated much happiness and great enjoyment with the fruit of our labors

At that time this seemed impossible to us, yet one year had scarcely expired when we saw Joseph's supposition<sup>80</sup> literally fulfilled.

The shock occasioned by Alvin's death, in a short time passed off, and we resumed our usual avocations with considerable interest. The first move towards business was to complete the house before mentioned. This we did as speedily as possible, and, when it was finished, Mr. Stoddard, the principal workman, offered for it the sum of fifteen hundred dollars; but my husband refused his offer, as he was unwilling to leave the scene of our labour, where we had fondly anticipated spending the remainder of our days.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

A short time before the house was completed, a man by the name of Josiah Stool, came from Chenango co., New York, with the view of getting

79. Coray: "This at that time seemed impossible; but one year had scarcely lapsed, when we saw his prophecy literally fulfilled."

80. IE and Nibley: "prophecy"

81. See Matthew 20:12: "... thou hast made them equal unto us, which have borne the burden and heat of the day."

Joseph to assist him in digging for a silver mine.<sup>82</sup> He came for Joseph on account of having heard that he possessed certain keys, by which he could discern things invisible to the natural eye.<sup>83</sup>

Joseph endeavoured to divert him from his vain pursuit, but he was inflexible in his purpose, and offered high wages<sup>84</sup> to those who would dig for him, in search

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82. Pratt's note: "This project of Staal's was undertaken from this cause—an old document had fallen into his possession, in some way or other, containing information of silver mines being somewhere in the neighbourhood in which he resided." Nibley adds a note to Pratt's note or, at least, if he meant to add it at another point, he omitted the footnote number in the text. His note reads: "Mr. Staal came into the Palmyra district with Joseph Knight, Sr., to buy grain. In that way he became acquainted with the Smith family." Heman C. Smith retained Pratt's note and at the end of the second paragraph (. . . "having been a money digger") continues: "The fact that Joseph Smith with others did at one time seek for treasure, either that contained in mines, or that supposed to have been gathered by others and deposited by them in places of safety, the traces of which were lost, has formed a serious objection to Mormonism; it having been apparently taken for granted that because Joseph Smith dug for money, or treasure, there is no truth in any of the doctrines that he presented. Shorn of the terrible things that the opponents of the church have invested this money-digging business with, the facts seem to be these: It was rumored that in or near to Harmony, Pennsylvania, the place where Isaac Hale, the father of Emma Hale whom Joseph Smith married, was living, there had been found at some time in the past, rich silver deposits, from which the discoverers had taken fabulous sums, considerable portions of which had been coined, and left in safe places waiting the convenience of its owners to remove it; that owing to the uncertain and shifting nature of the times these hidden treasures had not been removed, but that the secret of their places of deposit and the mines whence they were taken had been lost.

"Because of these rumors, Josiah Staal, or Stowell, Joseph Smith and others, did engage in a search for them; nor is it seriously to the discredit of Joseph Smith, if the fact of his having had visions, and seemingly prophetic powers given him, or it having become current rumor that he had, that he should either for himself or for others, attempt the discovery of those hidden treasures by the use of those supernatural powers.

"The use of the divining rod, of 'witch hazel', or other peculiar wood, for the discovery of water, or treasure, is older than Joseph Smith, and legends and belief in remarkable finds by its use are found in regions where Joseph Smith never came, and where Mormonism is even now a hiss and a byword. There seems to be no good reason why it should be believed that Joseph Smith engaged in the avocation of a professional money hunter, or that he prostituted the gifts he received to this purpose; the most that can be shown, being that he, with others, in the employ of one who chose to pay for the work done, did labor in digging for a mine. In these days of mining excitement, as [meaning: equally] fabulous stories of infatuation and superstitious methods of finding rich deposits pass current in mining regions without comment, and without serious detriment to the character of those involved."

According to Richard Bushman, "Joseph Smith's Family Background," 11, treasure seekers at the time of Joseph Smith "were most often devout Christians who . . . sensed no sharp division between religion and magic. We know from his dreams how strongly Joseph, Sr., wanted salvation; it is even possible that along with the hope for riches, treasure-seeking was part of his religious quest."

83. Coray: "He came for Joseph from having heard that he was in possession of certain means, by which he could discern things, that could not be seen by the natural eye." IE and Nibley also use "means."

84. In a list of questions and answers for the *Elders Journal* prepared on 8 May 1838, Joseph Jr. good-humoredly admitted that he was "a money digger . . . but it was never a very profitable job to him, as he only got fourteen dollars a month for it." Bushman points out that Erie Canal workers



of said mine, and still insisted upon having Joseph to work for him. Accordingly, Joseph and several others, returned with him and commenced digging.<sup>85</sup> After labouring for the old gentleman about a month, without success, Joseph prevailed upon him to cease his operations; and it was from this circumstance of having worked by the month, at digging for a silver mine, that the very prevalent story arose of Joseph's having been a money digger.

While Joseph was in the employ of Mr. Stool, he boarded a short time with one Isaac Hale, and it was during this interval, that Joseph became acquainted with the daughter, Miss Emma Hale,<sup>86</sup> to whom he immediately commenced paying his addresses, and was subsequently married.

When Mr. Stool relinquished his project of digging for silver, Joseph returned to his father's house.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

[drawing of hand with pointing forefinger] ~~A little previous to the completion of the house,~~ <at this time> we received intelligence of the arrival of a new agent for the Everson Land of which our farm was a portion this caused us to bethink ourselves of the remmaining payment which was still due and which we would be under the necessity of making ~~previous~~ <prior> to obtaining the deed ~~that~~ <which> our bonds called for.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Soon after his return, we received intelligence of the arrival of a new agent for the Everson land, of which our farm was a portion.<sup>87</sup> This reminded us of the last payment,<sup>88</sup> which was still due, and which must be made before we could obtain a deed of<sup>89</sup> the place.

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received only eight to twelve dollars by comparison (Vogel 1:53).

85. Coray: "Joseph endeavored to divert him from his vain project; but he was inflexible, and offered high wages to such as would dig for him; in search of <the> said mine, and was still very anxious to have Joseph work for him; consequently, he returned with the old gentleman; besides several others who were picked up in the neighborhood, and commenced digging."

86. Nibley note: "Emma Hale was born at Harmony, Pennsylvania, July 10, 1804. She was eighteen months older than Joseph."

87. Nicholas Evertson, a New York City attorney, died in 1807. His heirs gave power of attorney to Dr. Casper W. Eddy, also of New York City, in June 1820. Eddy transferred this power to land agent Zachariah Seymour of Canandaigua on 14 July 1820. After his death in July 1822, "the Evertson heirs in New York City hired John Greenwood, a lawyer, to replace Seymour and conferred to him power of attorney in May 1824" (Marquardt and Walters, 120; Vogel 1:277).

88. Nibley note: "The amount of this payment is unknown."

89. IE and Nibley: "to"

Having just made the acquaintance of a couple of gentlemen from Pennsylvania who were desirous of purchasing a quantity of wheat which we had sown on the place this We agreed with them that if they would furnish us with the sum of money requisite for the liquidation of this debt that the wheat should be carried to them the ensuing season in flour Mr <Smith> having made this arrangement sent Hyrum to the new Agent at Canandagua to inform him that the money should be forthcoming as soon as the 25th of ~~Septem~~ Decber which the Agent said would answer every purpose and agreed to ~~wi~~ retain the land untill that time thus assured that all was safe we gave ourselves no <further> uneasiness about the matter

When the time <had nearly> come that rendered it necessary for my Husband to set out for Pennsylvania to get the money Joseph ~~one~~ ~~day~~ called Mr Smith and myself aside and told us that he had felt so lonely ever since Alvin's death that he had come to the conclusion of getting married if we had no objections ~~his~~ and he though [sic] that no young woman that he ever saw was acquainted with was better calculated to render the man of her

Shortly after this, a couple of gentlemen, one of whom was the before-named Staal, the other a Mr. Knight, came into the neighbourhood for the purpose of procuring a quantity of either wheat or flour; and we, having sown considerable wheat, made a contract with them, in which we agreed to deliver a certain quantity of flour to them the ensuing fall, for which we were to receive a sufficient amount of money to make the final payment on our farm. This being done, my husband sent Hyrum to Canandaigua to inform the new agent of the fact, namely, that the money should be forthcoming as soon as the twenty-fifth of December 1825.<sup>90</sup> This, the agent, said, would answer the purpose, and he agreed to retain the land until that time. Having thus, as we supposed, made all secure pertaining to the land, we gave ourselves no further uneasiness in regard to the matter.

When the time had nearly arrived for the last payment to be made, and when my husband was about starting for Mr. Staal's and Mr. Knight's, in order to get the money to make the same, Joseph called my husband and myself aside, and said, "I have been very lonely ever since Alvin died, and I have concluded to get married; and if you have no objections to my uniting myself in marriage with Miss Emma Hale, she would be my choice in

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90. Nibley note: "It appears that this date should be 1826 rather than 1825."

choice happy than Miss Emma Hale a young lady of whom he had been extremely fond <of> since his first introduction to her His Father was highly pleased with the choice which Joseph made in <a> wife and told <him> he would ~~will~~ was not only willing that he should marry her but desired him to bring her home with him that we might have the ~~comfort~~ <and pleasure> of her society this Miss Hale was a resident in the state of Pennsylvania and vicinity of Mr Stowell and Knight from whom we expected the money that Mr. Smith was going ~~for~~ <after> to bring up the arrearages on the farm They then concluded to set off together ~~one for money the other for a wife~~ and they did so as soon as the necessary preparations could be made<sup>91</sup>

preference to any other woman I have ever seen.”<sup>92</sup> We were pleased with his choice, and not only consented to his marrying her, but requested him to bring her home with him, and live with us. Accordingly he set out with his father for Pennsylvania.<sup>93</sup>

## CHAP. XXII.

JOSEPH SMITH, SEN., LOSES HIS FARM—JOSEPH, JUN., IS MARRIED—HAS ANOTHER INTERVIEW WITH THE ANGEL, BY WHOM HE IS CHASTISED—RECEIVES FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS.

91. Richard L. Anderson, “Reliability,” 26-27, clarifies the dating of these events. The Smiths lost their land in December 1825; in November 1826, not 1825, Hyrum married, and Joseph brought Emma from Pennsylvania in January 1827.

92. While not challenging Joseph’s expression of loneliness, especially given Hyrum Smith’s recent marriage, Quinn notes that Joseph Smith Jr., in marrying at age twenty-one, was departing from the family pattern of later marriages. His uncle Jesse was the only man “in two generations” to marry as young as twenty-one; Alvin had not married before his death at age twenty-five, Hyrum was twenty-five, Joseph Sr. had married at twenty-four, and three uncles had married at twenty-eight, twenty-four, and thirty-eight. He sees in Joseph Jr.’s urgency to marry additional evidence that Emma was the person divinely designated to be with him when he received the plates (Quinn, *Early*, 163).

93. Nibley note: “The date of the marriage of Joseph and Emma was January 18, 1827.”

Immediately after my Husband's departure I set myself to work to put my House in order throughout ~~and afterwards make~~ <sup><as I must now</sup> some ~~arran~~ <sup>></sup> arrangements <sup><to make></sup> for the reception of my sons bride I felt that ~~pir~~ pride and Ambition in doing this that is common to Mothers upon such occasions

and My oldest son had a previous to this Married him a wife that was one of the most excellent of Women I anticipated <sup><as></sup> much happiness with my second daughter in law <sup><&></sup> as I had received great pleasure from the society of the first <sup><and></sup> I there was nothing in my heart which could give rise to any forebodings as to an unhappy connection ~~which might have been the case had it been otherwise~~

one <sup><very pleasant></sup> afternoon immediately subsequent to this <sup><being></sup> I ~~was~~ by myself <sup><ironing></sup> [Beginning of an X'd-out passage] in a fine room of ~~<that over-~~ ~~looked>~~ calculenlated for a common setting room ~~and~~ <sup><as></sup> as I looked around me upon the various comforts that we [end of X'd out passage] by myself and some what at leisure having just <sup><finished></sup> arranged my house for the reception of My son and his bride <sup><and contemplating the various comforts with which I found myself surrounded></sup> were surrounded with

A few days subsequent to my husband's departure, I set myself to work to put my house in order for the reception of my son's bride; and I felt all that pride and ambition in doing so, that is common to mothers upon such occasions.

My oldest son had, previous to this, formed a matrimonial relation with one of the most excellent of women, with whom I had seen much enjoyment, and I hoped for as much happiness with my second daughter-in-law, as I had received from the society of the first, and there was no reason why I should expect anything to the contrary.<sup>94</sup>

94. Nibley note: "Hyrum was married to Jerusha Barden of Palmyra on November 2, 1826."

that seemed to surpass our most flattering expectations I fell into an very agreeable train of reflections and I poured out my soul to God in thanks & praise for the many blessings which he had conferred upon us as a family the The day was exceeding [sic] fine and would of itself produce fine feelings but every thing seemed to contribute to raise in the heart those warm soothing and grateful emotions that that we all have seasons of enjoying when the mind is at rest and the circumstances favorable As I stood musing upon the busy bustling life we had led and the apparent prospect of quiet and comfortable old age my attention was suddenly attracted across the yard to a trio of strangers who were entering upon nearer approach I recognized Mr. Stoddard the man who took charge of the building the house that we now occupied.

When they <they> entered I seated them and we commenced commonplace conversation but one of them soon began to ask impertinent questions as to our making the last payment on the place and if we did not want to sell the house. where Mr. Smith & my son had gone &c. &c.

One afternoon, after having completed my arrangements I fell into a very agreeable train of reflections. The day was exceedingly fine, and of itself calculated to produce fine feelings; besides this, every other circumstance seemed to be in unison, and to contribute to raise in the heart those soothing and grateful emotions which we all have seasons of enjoying when the mind is at rest.

Thus, as I stood musing, among other things, upon the prospect of a quiet and comfortable old age, my attention was suddenly arrested by a trio of strangers who were just entering. Upon their near approach I found one of these gentlemen to be Mr. Stoddard, the principal carpenter in building the house in which we then lived.<sup>95</sup>

When they entered the house, I seated them, and commenced commonplace conversation. But shortly one of them began to ask questions which I considered rather impertinent—questions concerning our making the last payment on the place; and if we did not wish to sell the house; furthermore, where Mr. Smith and my son had gone, &c., &c.

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95. While some scholars believe this individual to be Calvin Stoddard (*q.v.*, Biographical Summaries), Sophronia Smith's future husband, other candidates are "Russell Stoddard, who lived three farms south of the Smiths and ran a saw mill" or a "Squire Stoddard who had recently acquired land near the Smiths' residence and was taxed for 140 acres . . . adjacent [to] the Smiths in 1830" (Vogel 1:309). Although Lucy has been referring to herself as "old" since shortly after the move to Palmyra ten years earlier, she was, in the winter of 1826-27, fifty by her count.

Sell the House I replied No, Sir we have no occasion to sell the house we have made every necessary arrangement for getting the deed and have an understanding with the agent so we are quite secure about the matter—

They made no answer but went out to meet Hyrum who was then coming in & propounded the same questions to him and received the same answers when they had experimented in this way to their satisfaction they proceeded to inform my son that he need not put himself to any unnecessary trouble for said they we have bought the place and paid for it and we forbid you touching anything on the farm and moreover we warn you to leave forthwith and give possession to the lawful owners as we have got the <deed> in our possession

~~We were thunderstruck~~<sup>96</sup> why said I ~~what can this mean~~ Hyrum <said I> ~~do you know how how this is that all which we have earned in the last 10 years is taken away from us in one instant and when we least expected it~~ <what does this mean> Is this a reality or is it but a sham to startle and deceive us me but one collected look at these men convinced me of their purpose. I was overcome and fell back into a chair almost deprived of sensibility

"Sell the house!" I replied, "No, sir, we have no occasion for that, we have made every necessary arrangement to get the deed, and also have an understanding with the agent. So you see we are quite secure, in regard to this matter."

To this they made no answer, but went out to meet Hyrum, who was approaching the house. They asked him the same questions, and he answered them the same as I had done. When they had experimented in this way, to their satisfaction, they proceeded to inform my son that he need put himself to no further trouble with regard to the farm; "for," said they, "we have bought the place, and paid for it, and we now forbid your touching anything on the farm; and we also warn you to leave forthwith, and give possession to the lawful owners."

This conversation passed within my hearing. When they re-entered the house, I said, Hyrum, is it a reality? or only a sham to startle us? But one collected look at the men convinced me of their fiendish determination—I was overcome, and fell back into my chair almost deprived of sensibility.

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<sup>96</sup>. New page: "4" is written in the upper right-hand corner with another symbol to the right: "Br"? "5"?

when I recovered ~~from~~ I talked to them a length of time to reason them out of what they seemed determined to do viz. to rush us out off of our premises straightway into the common air like the beasts of the field or the fowls of Heaven with naught but <the> earth for a resting place and the canopy ~~of~~ ~~He~~ the skies for a covering But ~~in~~ our only answer was well we've got the place and d—m you help yourselves if you can—

Hyrum went straightway to Dr Robinson (an old Friend <of ours who lived in Palmira> ~~of whom I spoke on the detail of Alvin's death~~) a man of influence and notoriety to him he told the whole story this gentleman sat down and wrote the charecter of <my> family our industry and faithful exertion's to obtain a home in <the> forest where we had setled ourselves with many commendations caculated to beget confidence in us as to buisness transactions. This he took in his own hands and went through the village and in an hour there was attached to the paper the names of 60 subscribers He then sent the same by the hand of Hyrum to the land Agent in Canandagua.

When I recovered, we (Hyrum and myself) talked to them some time, endeavouring to persuade them to change their vile<sup>97</sup> course; but the only answer we could get from them was, "Well, we've got the place, and d—n you, help yourselves if you can."

Hyrum, in a short time, went to an old friend, Dr. Robinson, and related to him the grievous story. Whereupon, the old gentleman sat down, and wrote at some considerable length the character of the family—our industry, and faithful exertions to secure a home, with many commendations calculated to beget confidence in us with respect to business transactions. And, keeping this writing in his own hands, he went through the village, and in an hour procured sixty subscribers.<sup>98</sup> He then sent the same by the hand of Hyrum, to the land agent, who lived in Canandaigua.

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97. IE and Nibley: "wicked"

98. Coray: "about sixty subscribers."



The Agent was enraged when he found out the facts of the case he said the men told him that Mr. Smith & his son <Joseph> had run away and Hyrum was cutting down the sugar orchard and haleing off the rails burning them and doing all possible maner of mischief to everything on the farm that beleiving this he had sold them the place got his money and given them a deed of the premises

<sup>99</sup>After Hyrum related the circumstances under which his father left home and informed him also that there was a probability of his being detained on the road on buisness—The Agent directed him to write to his Father by the first mail and have letters deposited in every public house on the road which Mr. Smith travelled & it might be that these letters would some of them meet his eye ~~before he arrived at the end of his journey~~ and cause him to return more speedily this being done he dispatched a messenger to bring the men who had taken the deed of our farm in order to make some compromise with them if <&> possible get them to relinquish their claim on the place But they refused to come The Agent then sent ~~an officer~~ ~~after them~~ another message to them that if they did not make their appearance forthwith he would fetch them with a warrant The gentlemen came with the return of the despatch

On receiving this, the agent was highly enraged. He said the men had told him that Mr. Smith and his son Joseph had run away, and that Hyrum was cutting down the sugar orchard, hauling off the rails, burning them, and doing all manner of mischief to the farm. That, believing this statement, he was induced to sell the place, for which he had given a deed, and received the money.

Hyrum told him the circumstances under which his father and brother had left home; also the probability of their being detained on the road, to attend to some business. Upon this, the agent directed him to address a number of letters to my husband, and have them sent and deposited in public-houses on the road which he travelled, that, perchance some of them might meet his eye, and thus cause him to return more speedily than he would otherwise. He then despatched a messenger to those individuals to whom he had given a deed of the farm in question, with the view of making a compromise with them;<sup>100</sup> but they refused to do anything respecting the matter. The agent sent a message to them, stating that if they did not make their appearance forthwith, he would fetch them with a warrant. To this they gave heed, and they came without delay.

99. New page: "5" is handwritten in the upper left margin.

100. Coray: "with them, or between them and my husband . . ."

The agent used all the persuasion possible to convince them of the injustice & bad policy of the disgraceful measures which they had taken and urged them to retract from what they had done and let the land go back into Mr. Smith's hands

But they were for a long time inexorable aswering every argument with taunting sneers like the following We've got the land sir & we've got the deed so just let Smith help himself. Oh no matter about Smith he has gold plates gold money and gold Bibles he's rich he don't want any thing—At length [sic] however they agreed that if Hyrum could raise \$1000 by Saturday at 10 o'clock in the evening they would give up the deed

It was now Thursday near noon & he was at Canandaigua from here he must ride Home the distance of 9 miles before he could make the first move towards it he went home with a heavy heart suposing it impossible to effect anything towards redeeming the land but when he arrived there he found his father there as he had found one of the letters within fifty miles of home

The next day Mr. Smith requested me to go to one Mr. [blank] an old Gentleman who was a Quaker a man with whom we had been intimate since our first commencement on the farm now

The agent strove to convince them of the disgraceful and impolitic course which they were pursuing, and endeavoured to persuade them to retract, and let the land go back into Mr. Smith's hands again.

For some time they said but little, except in a sneering and taunting way, about as follows:—"We've got the land, sir, and we've got the deed, so just let Smith help himself. Oh, no matter about Smith, he has gold plates, gold bibles, he is rich—he don't want anything." But finally, they agreed, if Hyrum could raise them one thousand dollars, by Saturday, at ten o'clock in the evening, they would give up the deed.

It was now Thursday about noon, and Hyrum was at Canandaigua, which was nine miles distant from home, and hither he must ride before he could make the first move towards raising the required amount. He came home with a heavy heart. When he arrived, he found his father, who had returned a short time before him. His father had fortunately found, within fifty miles of home, one of those letters which Hyrum had written.

The following day, by the request of my husband, I went to see an old Quaker,<sup>101</sup> a gentleman with whom we had been quite intimate since our commencement on the farm, and who

[Note 101 appears on page 370.]

in question and who always ~~seeme~~ admired the neatness and arrangement of the same besides he manifested a great friendship for us from our first acquaintance with him. We hoped that he would be able to furnish the requisite sum and by his purchasing the Place we thought we might reap the benefit at least of the crops which were then sown on the farm—But in this we were disappointed This man had just paid <out to the Land Agent> all the money he could spare & within \$5 of his last farthing in order to redeem a piece of Land belonging to a friend in his immediate neighborhood had I arrived at his house 30 minutes earlier I sh~~o~~ould have found him with \$1500 in his pocket

When I told him what had occurred he was much distressed for us & regretted having no means of relieving our necessity—But said he if I have no money I will try to do something for you so Mrs. Smith say to your Husband that I will see him as soon as I can & let him know what the prospects are

It was near nightfall and the country new and my road lay through a dense forrest & I had 10 miles to ride alone however I hastend to inform Mr. Smith of my disappointment

had always seemed to admire the neat arrangement of the same. We hoped that he would be both able and willing to purchase the place, that we might at least have the benefit of the crops that were upon the ground, as he was a friend and would be disposed to show us favour. But we were disappointed, not in his will or disposition, but in his ability. He had just paid out to the land agent all the money he could spare, to redeem a piece of land belonging to a friend in his immediate neighborhood. If I had arrived at his house thirty minutes sooner, I would have found him with fifteen-hundred dollars in his pocket.

When I rehearsed to him what had taken place, he was much distressed for us, and very much regretted his inability to relieve our necessity. He said, however, "If I have no money, I will try to do something for you, and you may say to your husband, that I will see him as soon as I can, and let him know what the prospect is."

It was nearly night—the country was new, and my road lay through a dense forest. The distance that I had to travel was ten miles, and that alone, yet I hastened to inform my husband of the disappointment that I had met with.

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101. Vogel (1:319) suggests that this individual may be George Crane of Macedon, Wayne County, New York, who was in his seventies when enumerated in the 1830 census. Lucy had this conversation with him on Friday, 16 December 1825.

Mr [blank] came that night and told directed us to go to one Mr. Durfy, who lived 4 miles distant a Quaker also and see what he could devise for our benefit

Mr Smith went immediately and found Mr. D. still in his bed as it was not light but he sent Mr Smith still 3 miles farther to a son who was high Sherif and bid him say to the young man that his Father wished to see him as soon as possible Mr. Durfy the younger came without delay After breakfasting the 3 proceeded together to the farm ~~when they~~ It was now saturday 10 oclock A M they dined and rode on to meet the Agent and our competitors—

What I felt and suffered in that short day no one can imagine who has not experienced the same I did not feel our early losses so much for I realized that we were young and might by exertion better our situation and I furthermore had not felt the inconvenience of poverty so much as I had now done and consequently did not appreciate the value of property justly but at this time

The old gentleman, as soon as I left, started in search of some one that could afford us assistance, and hearing of a Mr. Durfee, who lived four miles distant, he came the same night, and directed us to go and see what he could devise for our benefit.<sup>102</sup>

Accordingly, my husband started without delay for Mr. Durfee's, and arrived at his house before daylight in the morning. He sent my husband three miles further, to one of his sons, who was High Sheriff, instructing him to say to the young man that his father wished to see him as soon as possible. Mr. Durfee, the younger, was obedient to the call. Immediately after he arrived at his father's, the three proceeded together to see the farm, and arrived about ten o'clock A.M. They tarried a short time, then rode on to see the agent and those villains who held the deed of our place.

The anxiety of mind that I suffered that day can more easily be imagined than described. I now looked upon the proceeds of our industry, which smiled around us on every hand, with a kind of yearning attachment that I never before had experienced; and our early losses I did not feel so keenly, for I then realized that we were young, and by making some exertions we might

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102. Coray: "As soon as I left, the old gentleman, started in search of some one who could afford us relief, and the same night, came and directed us to go to a gentleman by the name of Durfee, who lived four miles distant, and see what he could devise for our benefit."

~~I now felt that all must go at one fell swoop if this last resort failed and we be left in the decline of life destitute a burden upon our childrens hands~~ And I looked upon the proceeds of our industry which smiled on every side of me with a yearning attachment that I had never felt before

improve our circumstances; besides, I had not felt the inconveniences of poverty as I had since.

Mr Smith and the Messrs. Durfy arrived at Cannandagua at 1/2 past 9 oclock in night the Agent sent for Mr. Stoddard and his friends who when they came averred that the clock was too slow that it was really past 10 but being overcome in this the money was paid over to them and they gave up the deed to Mr Durfy the High Sheriff who now came into possession of the Farm

My husband, and the Messrs. Durfee, arrived in Canandaigua at half-past nine o'clock in the evening. The agent sent immediately for Mr. Stoddard and his friends, and they came without delay; but in order to make difficulty, they contended that it was after ten o'clock; however, not being able to sustain themselves upon this ground, they handed over the deed to Mr. Durfee, the High Sheriff, who now became the possessor of the farm.<sup>103</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

With this Gentleman we were now to sipulate as renters ~~upon premises which one week before we considered ourselves as much the entire possessors as did Adam and Eve the garden of Eden before satan entered it~~ but Mr Durfy gave us the priviledge of the place one year with this provision that samuel our 4th son was to labor for him 6 months<sup>104</sup>

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103. Although Lemuel Durfee Jr. (born 1801) paid the debt to acquire the farm, it was apparently his father, Lemuel Durfee Sr., who became its legal owner. Financial adjustments between the father and son may account for the the fact that, although the resale was concluded on Saturday, 17 December, the deed was not registered until Tuesday, 20 December 1825, when "Eliza Evertson and David B. Ogden, executors under the will of Nicholas Evertson, convey[ed] ninety-nine and one-half acres in Manchester to Lemuel Durfee of Palmyra." After three years of tenancy by the Smiths (the farming seasons of 1826, 1827, and 1828), he insisted that they leave and installed his daughter, Mary (born 1799) and her husband, Roswell Nichols, on the property. He bequeathed this property to her in his will, dated 12 June 1826; and the executors of the estate awarded her the property on 9 April 1834 (Vogel 1:320; 2:37; R. L. Anderson, "Reliability," 26).

104. According to Lemuel Durfee's account book, on 16 April 1827 "S. Harrison Smith Son

~~A short time subsequent to this Mr Smith sent~~ These things were all settled upon and The conclusion was that if after we had kept the place in this way one year we still chose to remain we could have the priviledge

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Now Joseph who returned from his journey with his Father began to <turn his mind to> the same object again which occupieid his attention previous to our disaster And he set out for Pennsylvania a second time and had such fine success that he returned with his wife in january in fine health & spirits

~~When Mr Knight heard of the movement which Mr. Stodard and his associates had made with regard to the Place they came up immediately to see how the affair had terminated~~

~~But just before~~ <Soon after> this Mr Smith had occasion to send Joseph to Manchester on buisness he set out in good season and we expected him <to be> at home as soon as 6 oclock but he did not arrive We had always had a peculiar anxiety about this child for it seemed as though something was always occurring to place his life in jeopardy\* [no corresponding insertion] and if he was absent ~~one~~ 1/2 <an> hour unexpectedly we were always apprehensive of some evil befalling him.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

I stated before, that at the time Mr. Smith started to see Knight and Stoal, Joseph accompanied him. When he returned, Joseph also returned with him, and remained with us until the difficulty about the farm came to an issue; he then took leave for Pennsylvania, on the same business as before mentioned and the next January returned with his wife, in good health and fine spirits.<sup>105</sup>

Not long subsequent to his return, my husband had occasion to send him to Manchester, on business. As he set off early in the day, we expected him home at most by six o'clock in the evening, but when six o'clock came, he did not arrive. We always had a peculiar anxiety about him whenever he was absent, for it seemed as though something was always taking place to jeopardize his life.

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of Joseph Smith began to Work for me by the month. [He] is to Work 7 Months for the use of the place Where Said Joseph Smith Lives" (Marquardt and Walters, 122). Although the original (1825) arrangement had been for one year, apparently the Smith family negotiated similar contracts each farming season until the spring of 1829, an option Lucy describes in the next paragraph (Vogel 1:376).

105. Nibley note: "This statement leads to the conclusion that the Smith farm was taken from the family by intrigue and deception in 1826, as Joseph was married in January, 1827."

*Lucy: 1844-45*

[An "X" is drawn through the next several lines.] one instance occurred when this child <he> was 14 years old which alarmed us very much he was out at play <on an errand> one evening about twilight When he was returning through <the> door yard a gun was fired across the pathway in which was walking with evident intention of hitting Joseph he sprang to door threw it open and fell upon the floor with fright we went in search of the person who fired the gun but found no trace of him untill the next morning when we tracked him from under a waggon where he lay when he fired ~~the gun~~ <but> we never found the man <out> nor ever suspected the cause of the act but we found the balls that were discharged from his piece the next day in the head & neck of a cow that stood opposite the wagon in a dark corner. [end of X'd-out passage.]<sup>106</sup>

This is but one of many instances which I have passed over in order to be brief in my recital. It is true he was now a man grown and capable of using sufficient judgment to keep out of common difficulties but we were now aware that God intended him for a good and an important work consequently we expected that the powers of darkness would strive with him on this account more than any other to overthrow him—

*Lucy: 1844-45*

But to return to the <first> circumstance which I commenced relating he did not return home till the night was considerably advanced his Father and myself were together no one else was present when he entered the house he threw himself into a chair seemingly much exhausted he was <as> pale as ashes his Father exclaimed "Joseph why have <you> staid so late has anything happened you we have been in distress about you these 3 hours

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

But to return. He did not get home till the night was far spent. On coming in, he threw himself into a chair, apparently much exhausted. My husband did not observe his appearance, and immediately exclaimed, "Joseph, why are you so late? has anything happened to you? we have been much distressed about you these three hours." As Joseph made no answer, he continued his interrogations, until, finally, I said, "Now, father,<sup>107</sup> let him rest a moment—don't trouble him now—you see he is home safe, and he is very tired, so pray wait a little."

The fact was, I had learned to be a little cautious about matters with regard

106. Coray and Pratt locate this incident in chap. 18.

107. Coray: "now, father, (as that was the manner in which I commonly addressed him) . . ."



[beginning of an X'ed out passage] after Joseph recovered himself a little he said Father I have had the severest chastisement that I ever had in my life

Chastisement indeed! said Mr Smith Well upon my word I would like to who has been takeing you to task and what their pretext was its pretty well too, if you are to be detained till this time of night to take lectures for your bad practises.

Joseph smiled to see his Father so hasty and indignant. Father said he it was the angel of the Lord. he says I have been negligent that the time has now come when the record should be brought forth and that I [end of X'ed-out passage] must be up and doing that I must set myself about the things which God has commanded me to do but Father give yourself no uneasiness as to this reprimand <for> I know what course I am to pursue an all will be well".

It <was> signified to him when he should make annother effort to obtain the plates which was september 22 but at this time he did not make this known to us

to Joseph, for I was accustomed to see him look as he did on that occasion, and I could not easily mistake the cause thereof.

Presently he smiled, and said in a calm tone,<sup>108</sup> "I have taken the severest chastisement that I have ever had in my life."

My husband, supposing that it was from some of the neighbours, was quite angry, and observed, "I would like to know what business anybody has to find fault with you!"

"Stop, father, stop," said Joseph, "it was the angel of the Lord: as I passed by the hill of Cumorah, where the plates are, the angel met me, and said that I had not been engaged enough in the work of the Lord; that the time had come for the Record to be brought forth; and that I must be up and doing, and set myself about the things which God had commanded me to do. But, father, give yourself no uneasiness concerning the reprimand which I have received, for I now know<sup>109</sup> the course that I am to pursue, so all will be well."

It was also made known to him, at this interview, that he should make another effort to obtain the plates, on the twenty-second day of the following Sept., but this he did

108. Coray: "a very calm tone . . ."

109. RLDS: "for I know . . ."

not mention to us at that time.

# CHAP. XXIII.

JOSEPH OBTAINS THE PLATES.

On the 20th of Sept Mr Knight came with his friend to see how we were man<ag>ing matters with Mr Stodard and company they remained with us untill the 22

On the night of the 21st I sat up very late as my buisness pressed upon my hands. & I did not retire untill past 12 about 12 Joseph came to me and asked me if I had a chest with a lock and key I knew in a moment what it was wanted for and <not> was ~~frightened for the issue as I had broken every lock in the house in moving~~ <having a lock but what was broken I was alarmed fearing that this might be a matter of great importance to him at that time> I told him this but he replied <But Joseph replied> never mind I can do very well just now without it and bid me be Calm all was <is> right

but I found it very difficult to do so for I had not forgotten the first failure he left soon after with his wife taking Mr. Knights horse and wagon I spent the night in prayer and at reasonable time for rising I went to preparing breakfast

On the twentieth of September,<sup>110</sup> Mr. Knight and his friend Stoyal came to see how we were managing matters with Stoddard and Co.; and they tarried with us until the twenty-second.<sup>111</sup>

On the night of the twenty-first, I sat up very late, as my work rather pressed upon my hands. I did not retire until after twelve o'clock at night. About twelve o'clock, Joseph came to me, and asked me if I had a chest with a lock and key. I knew in an instant what he wanted it for, and not having one, I was greatly alarmed, as I thought it might be a matter of considerable moment. But Joseph, discovering my anxiety, said, "Never mind, I can do very well for the present without it—be calm—all is right."

Shortly after this Joseph's wife passed through the room with her bonnet and riding dress; and in a few minutes they left together, taking Mr. Knight's horse and waggon. I spent the night in prayer and supplication to

110. Coray: "September 20th, 1828 . . ." GAS on Coray: "18287 . . ." Joseph Knight said he had gone to Rochester on business, stopping at Manchester on his return. Apparently this was not their first visit, since the conflict with Stoddard had been resolved by this point (Vogel 1:326).

111. Nibley note: "One would be led to believe that both Mr. Stoyal and Mr. Knight knew that Joseph was to receive the plates at this time as they were at the Smith home on the exact date when the sacred record was delivered to him."

my heart fluttering at every footfall for I now expected Joseph & Emma every moment and was in dread of a second disappointment in his obtaining the plates

When the male part of the family sat down to breakfast Mr. Smith enquired for Joseph <for no one but myself knew where he was> (as no one knew where he had gone but myself) I told him that I thought I would not call Joseph that I would have him set down with his wife

No. No. said My Husband I must have Joseph come and eat with me. Well now T Mr Smith says I do let him eat with his ~~new~~ wife this morning he most always takes breakfast <with you> ~~at the first table just indulge him a little this time~~

His Father at last <finally> consented to eat without ~~jo~~ him and I thought that there would no danger of any farther inquiry as to Joseph or ~~his busy~~ any thing else caculated to lead to an exposure of the cause of his absence but in a few minutes Mr. Knight came in quite disturbed Why Mr Smith said he my horse is gone I cant find him on ~~any part of the~~ premises and I want to start home in half an hour ~~why~~

God, for the anxiety of my mind would not permit me to sleep. At the usual hour, I commenced preparing breakfast. My heart fluttered at every footstep, as I now expected Joseph and Emma momentarily, and feared lest Joseph might meet with a second<sup>112</sup> disappointment.

When the male portion of the family were seated at the breakfast table, Mr. Smith enquired for Joseph, for he was not aware that he had left home. I requested my husband not to call him, for I would like to have him take breakfast with his wife that morning.

"No, no;" said my husband, "I must have Joseph sit down here and eat with me."

"Well, now, Mr. Smith," continued I, "*do* let him eat with his wife *this* morning; he almost always takes breakfast with you."

His father finally consented, and eat<sup>113</sup> without him, and no further questions were made concerning his absence, but in a few minutes Mr. Knight came in quite disturbed.<sup>114</sup>

"Why, Mr. Smith," exclaimed he, "my horse is gone, and I can't find him on the premises, and I wish to start for home in half an hour."

112. GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley: "another"

113. IE and Nibley: "ate"

114. Coray: "My husband He finally consented and eat without him; and no farther inquiries

never mind the horse said I Mr Knight does not know all the nooks and corners in the pasture I will call william (this <was> my 5th son) he will soon bring him

this satisfied him for a little while but he soon made an other discovery his waggon was gone. & now he concluded that the Horse and waggon had gone together and some rogue had gone with them both

Well now said I do be quiet I would be ashamed to have you go about gearing your own horse and waiting upon yourself just go out and talk with Mr. Smith till William comes & if you really must go home you shall be attended upon like a gentleman—he went and while he was absent Joseph returned

I was trembled so much with fear lest all might be lost aging [sic] by some small failure in keeping the commandments that I was under the necessity of laving the room to conceal my feelings Joseph saw this and followed me Mother said he do not be uneasy all is right see here said he I have got the key

“Never mind the horse,” said I. “Mr. Knight does not know all the nooks and corners in the pastures; I will call William, he will bring the horse immediately.”

This satisfied him for the time being; but he soon made another discovery. His waggon also was gone. He then concluded, that a rogue had stolen them both.<sup>115</sup>

“Mr. Knight,” said I, “do be quiet; I would be ashamed to have you go about, waiting upon yourself—just go out and talk with Mr. Smith until William comes, and if you really must go home, your horse shall be brought, and you shall be waited upon like a gentleman.”<sup>116</sup> He accordingly went out, and while he was absent Joseph returned.<sup>117</sup>

I trembled so with fear, lest all might be lost in consequence of some failure in keeping the commandments of God, that I was under the necessity of leaving the room in order to conceal my feelings. Joseph saw this, and said, “Do not be uneasy, mother, all is right—see here, I have got a key.”

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were made concerning his absence. But, in a few minutes after breakfast, Mr. Knight came in very much disturbed:”

115. Coray: “that they were both stolen.”

116. Quotation marks here in Coray, IE, and Nibley.

117. Coray: “He accordingly went out to talk with Mr. Smith, and before he came in Joseph returned.”

I knew not what he meant but took the article in my hands and upon after examining it <found> \* [\* with no covering but a silk handkerchief] that it consisted of 2 smott<ooth> 3 cornered diamonds set in glass and the glass was set in silver bows stones conected with each other in the same way that old fashioned spectacles are made He took them again and left me but did not tell me anything of the record

soon after he came again and asked my advice what it was best to do about getting a chest made I told him to go to a cabbinet maker who had been making some furniture for my oldest daughter and tell the man we would pay him for making a chest as we did for the other things viz half money and half produce he said he would but did not know where the money would come from for there was not a shilling in the house.

I knew not what he meant, but took the article of which he spoke into my hands, and, upon examination, found that it consisted of two smooth three-cornered diamonds set in glass, and the glasses were set in silver bows, which were connected with each other in much the same way as old fashioned spectacles.<sup>118</sup> He took them<sup>119</sup> again and left me, but said nothing respecting the Record.

In a short time he returned, and inquired of me in regard to getting a chest made. I told him to go to a certain cabinet-maker, who had made some furniture for my oldest daughter, and tell him that we would pay him for making a chest, as we did for the other work which he had done for us, namely, one half in cash and the other in produce.<sup>120</sup>

Joseph remarked that he would do so, but that he did not know

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118. Coray: "I knew not what he meant but took the article into my hands; and, upon examination, found, that it consisted of two smooth three-cornered diamonds set in glass, and the glasses were set in silver bows, which were connected with each other in much the same way as old-fashioned spectacles." GAS on Coray: "I knew not what he meant but took the article into my hands; and, <for> upon examination, <it> found, that it consisted of two smooth three-cornered diamonds set in glass, and the glasses were set in silver bows, which were connected with each other in much the same way as old-fashioned spectacles." IE and Nibley: "I knew not what he meant, but took the article of which he spoke, and examined it." Quinn notes that *diamond* was a traditional term for "treasure-digging stones." Since Martin Harris describes the Urim and Thummim as "white, like polished marble, with a few gray streaks," Quinn finds that the Urim and Thummin "were neither crystalline nor diamond-cut." In any case, after the loss of the 116 pages, Joseph used his brown seer stone, not the Urim and Thummim, for translating the Book of Mormon (Quinn, *Early*, 171-75).

119. IE and Nibley: "it"

120. Willard Chase's reminiscence says that Joseph Jr. asked him in early September and again a few days later to make a chest for the plates. He refused both times (Vogel 1:329). The furniture was probably being made for Sophronia's trousseau; she and Calvin Stoddard would be married on 30 December 1827.

The next day ~~one man~~ <Mr Warner> came to him ~~from macedon~~ and requested <Joseph> to go with him to a widows house <in macedon by the name of Wells> ~~in that place as she had sent for him to do some work that she wanted done and she~~ <a wall of a well ~~taken up~~ and as she wanted some labor done in a well> she would pay him the money for it he ~~put on his linen frock and started went with the~~ <he accompanied> Mr Warner to Macedon and ~~went to work for~~ <according to> Mrs Wells <request> a <this> woman ~~whom not~~ <had never seen> one of the family had ever seen or heard of before although she sent purposely for Joseph we considered it a provision of Providence to enable us to pay the money we were owing the cabinet maker

Joseph had been absent but a little while when one of the neighbor began to ask Mr Smith many questions about the plates. here let me mention that no one knew anything of ~~the~~ this business <from us> except one confidential friend of My Husband's to whom he named it some 2 or 3 years before. It now seemed that satan had stirred up the hearts of those who had in any way

where the money would come from, for there was not a shilling in the house.<sup>121</sup>

The following day one Mr. Warner came to him, and told him that a widow by the name of Wells, who was living in Macedon, wanted some labour done in a well, for which she would pay the money, and that she was anxious to have him (Joseph) do this labour for her. As this afforded us an opportunity to pay the cabinet maker for the chest, Joseph went immediately to the house of Mrs. Wells, and commenced work.

The next day after he left home, one of the neighbours asked Mr. Smith many questions concerning the plates. I will here observe, that no one ever heard anything from us respecting them, except a confidential friend,<sup>122</sup> whom my husband had spoken to about them some two or three years previous. It appeared that Satan had now stirred up the hearts of those who had got-

121. Nibley note: "This statement reveals the financial condition of the Smith family at the time Joseph received the plates of the Book of Mormon."

[Note 122 appears on page 381.]

got a hint of the matter to search into it and make every possible move towards preventing the work

Mr. Smith was soon informed that 10 or 12 men were clubbed together with one Willard Chase a Methodist class leader at their head and what was most ridiculous they had sent for a conjuror to come 60 miles to divine the place where the record was deposited by magic art

we were apprehensive that the pates [sic] were taken out and secreted some where and <we> were somewhat uneasy lest they might like Moses who was hid in the bulrushes be discovered by our enemies—accordingly the morning after we heard of their plans Mr Smith went over a hill that <lay> east of <us> to see what he could discover among the neighbors there ~~there~~ at the first house he came to he found the conjuror Willard Chase and the company all together this was the house of one Mr Laurence he made an errand and went in and sat down near the door leaving the door ajar for the men were so near that he

ten a hint of the matter from our friend, to search into it, and make every possible move towards thwarting the purposes of the Almighty.

My husband soon learned that ten or twelve men were clubbed together, with one Willard Chase, a Methodist class leader, at their head; and what was still more ridiculous, they had sent sixty or seventy miles for a certain conjuror, to come and divine the place where the plates were secreted.<sup>123</sup>

We supposed that Joseph had taken the plates, and hid them somewhere, and we were apprehensive that our enemies might discover their place of deposit. Accordingly, the next morning, after hearing of their plans, my husband concluded to go among the neighbours to see what he could learn with regard to the plans of the adverse party. The first house he came to, he found the conjuror and Willard Chase, together with the rest of the clan. Making an errand, he went in and sat down near the door, leaving it a little ajar, in order to overhear their conversation. They stood in the yard near the door, and were devising plans to find "Joe Smith's gold bible," [sic]

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122. Nibley note: "This friend was Martin Harris."

123. Michael Quinn hypothesizes that this conjuror was Luman Walter/Walters, invited to Palmyra by Alva Beman/Beaman, who later became one of Joseph Smith's staunchest supporters. According to Beman's daughter, Walters had been raised on the Hudson River south of Albany, New York, belonged to an affluent family, had been educated in Paris, was notably profane in his speech (Brigham Young also remembered this characteristic), and had been brought three times to Palmyra to find treasure on Cumorah. He identified Joseph Smith Jr. as a more effective seer than himself. Walter lived in Pultneyville, Sodus Township, New York (less than twenty miles from Palmyra), was born about 1788, married in November 1819, died in June 1860, was described as a clairvoyant and fortune-teller, and was sometimes in trouble with the law (Quinn, *Early*, 117-20).



could hear their conversation they were devising many plans and schemes to find Joe Smith's gold bible as they termed it the conjurer was really animated although <he> had travelled 60 miles during the latter part of the day and the night before.

the woman was uneasy at the exposures they were making so she stepped through a back door into the yard and called to her husband in a suppressed voice (but so loud that ~~Mr~~ Mr. Smith heard every word distinctly) Sam, Sam said she you are cutting your own throat—the <conjurer> bawled out again at the top of his voice I am not afraid of any body we will have the plates in spite of Joe Smith or all the Devils in Hell—

<when> the woman came in again Mr Smith laid aside a paper which he been holding in his hand with the pretence of reading and coolly remarked that he beleived he could not then finish the article which he was reading and returned home

we went to Emma Joseph's wife and asked her if she knew aught of the record whether Joseph had taken them out or where they were She said she did not know he then related what he had seen and heard

as they expressed themselves. The conjuror seemed much animated, although he had travelled sixty miles the day and night previous.

Presently, the woman of the house becoming uneasy at the exposures they were making, stepped through a back door into the yard, and called to her husband, in a suppressed tone, but loud enough to be heard distinctly by Mr. Smith, "Sam, Sam, you are cutting your own throat." At this the conjuror bawled out at the top of his voice, "I am not afraid of any body—we will have them plates in spite of Joe Smith, or all the devils in hell."

When the woman came in again, Mr. Smith laid aside a newspaper which he had been holding in his hand, and remarked, "I believe I have not time to finish reading the paper now." He then left the house, and returned home.

Mr. Smith, on returning home, asked Emma if she knew whether Joseph had taken the plates from their place of deposit, or if she was able to tell him where<sup>124</sup> they were. She said, she could not tell where they were, or whether they were removed from their place. My husband

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124. IE and Nibley: "able to tell where . . ."

Emma said she did not know what to do but she thought <if> Joseph was to have the record he would ~~have~~ <get it> yes said Mr Smith he will if he is watchful and obeidient but remmember that for a small thing Esau lost his blessing and birthright it may be so with Joseph

Well said Emma if I had a horse I would go and see him ~~about it~~ Mr Smith said she should have one in 15 minutes—as there had been a stray horse on the premises 2 days

so he sent William for the Horse who brought him up with a large hickory withe around his neck as it was ~~necessary~~ according to law to put a withe round the neck of a stray horse before turning him into an inclosure—and Emma was soon on her way to her <husband> husband

~~when she found him~~ <he was in the well when she arrived but having a sudden impression to get out of the well he come up and met her> she informed of the situation of affairs at home and he <went> immediately ~~inform~~ to Mrs. Wells and told her that he must return home to attend to some important ~~buisness~~

then related what he had both seen and heard.

Upon this Emma said that she did not know what to do, but she supposed if Joseph was to get the Record, he *would* get it, and, that they would not be able to prevent him.

“Yes,” replied Mr. Smith, “he will, if he is watchful and obedient; but remember, that for a small thing, Esau lost his birthright and his blessing. It may be so with Joseph.”

“Well,” said Emma, “if I had a horse I would go and see him.”

Mr. Smith then said, “you shall have one in fifteen minutes; for although my team is gone, there is a stray on the place, and I will send William to bring him immediately.”

In a few minutes William brought up the horse with a large hickory withe round<sup>125</sup> his neck (for it was according to law, to put a withe round the neck of a stray before turning it into an enclosure;) and Emma was soon under way for Macedon.

Joseph kept the Urim and Thummim constantly about his person, by the use of which he could in a moment tell whether the plates were in any danger. Just before Emma rode up to Mrs. Wells, Joseph, from an impression that he had had, came up out of the well in which he was labouring, and met her

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125. IE and Nibley: “around”

[The following page consists of a short sheet on which are written only ten lines.] Joseph kept the urim and thumim constantly about his person as he could by this means ascertain at any moment ~~whether~~ <if> the plates were in danger & having just looked into them before Emma got there he perceived her coming and came up out of the well and met her—When she informed him of ~~the situ~~ what had occurred he told her that the record was perfectly safe for the present. ~~but~~ he <however> concluded to go home with her and told Wells that his business at home made it necessary for him to return [end of short page]

she was not willing for him to leave but upon his promising to come back when he was at liberty again she consented and sent a boy to bring him a horse Which he mounted in his linen frock with his wife by his side with ~~the~~ her horse ~~in~~ decorated as before with a green hickory withe on his neck and thus they rode through the village of Palmira

when he came he met his father ~~a mile from the house~~ pacing back and forth in great anxiety of mind Father said he there is no danger all is perfectly safe there is no cause of alarm

not far from the house. Emma immediately informed him of what had transpired, whereupon he looked in the Urim and Thumim, and saw that the Record was as yet safe; nevertheless, he concluded to return with his wife, as something might take place that would render it necessary for him to be at home where he could take care of it.

He then told Mrs. Wells that business at home rendered it necessary for him to return. To this she did not agree at first, but finally consented. She then sent a boy for a horse, which Joseph mounted in his linen frock, and with his wife by his side on her horse, decorated as before with a hickory withe round his neck, he rode through the village of Palmyra, which was on the way home.

On arriving at home, he found, his father pacing the ground near his door, in great anxiety of mind. Joseph spoke to him, saying, "Father, there is no danger—all is perfectly safe—there is no cause of alarm."

when he had refreshed himself a little he sent carlos my younger son to his brother Hyrum and told him to ask Hyrum to come up <as> he wished to see him

when Hyrum came Joseph requested him to bring a chest that had a good lock and Key and have it <here immediately so that it may be ready> ~~there~~ there said Joseph by the time I get home

having left these directions he went to bring the record which he had deposited in a cavity in a birch log 3 miles distant ~~he too~~ and covered it with the bark of the same he took the plates from their place and wrapping them in his linen frock put them under his arm and started for ~~home~~ the house<sup>126</sup>

When he had taken a little refreshment, he sent Carlos, my youngest son, to his brother Hyrum's, to have him come up immediately, as he desired to see him.

When he came, Joseph requested him to get a chest, having a good lock and key, and to have it there by the time he (Joseph) should return. And, after giving these instructions, Joseph started for the plates.

The plates were secreted about three miles from home, in the following manner. Finding an old birch log much decayed, excepting the bark, which was in a measure sound, he took his pocket knife and cut the bark with some care, then turned it back, and made a hole of sufficient size to receive the plates, and laying them in the cavity thus formed, he replaced the bark; after which he laid across the log, in several places, some old stuff that happened to lay near, in order to conceal, as much as possible, the place in which they were deposited.

Joseph, on coming to them, took them from their secret place, and, wrapping them in his linen

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126. William, interviewed two weeks before his death in 1893, told Edmund C. Briggs and J. W. Peterson: "I handled them [the plates] and hefted them while wrapped in the tow frock and judged them to have weighed about sixty pounds. I could tell they were plates of some kind and that they were fastened together by rings running through the back. Their size was as described in Mother's history." In response to a question about whether he sometimes doubted Joseph's word, William replied that he never had. "He was a truthful boy. Father and mother believed him, why should not the children? I suppose if he had told crooked stories about other things we might have doubted his word about the plates, but Joseph was a truthful boy. That father and mother believed his report and suffered persecution for that belief shows that he was truthful. No sir, we never doubted his word for one minute" (RLDS 5:225).

after walking a short distance in the ~~road~~ road he concluded it would be safer to go across through the woods ~~across~~ in a moment he struck through the timber where there was a large windfall to cross he had not proceeded far in this direction till ~~upon~~ as he was jumping over a log a man spran [sic] up and gave him a heavy blow with a gun Joseph ~~struck~~ <leveled> him to the ground and ran at the top of his speed about 1/2 a mile farther he was met again in precisely the same way he soon brought this one down also and ran <on> again—but before he got home he was accosted the 3 time ~~in~~ with a severe stroke with a gun when he struck the last one he dislocated his thumb which however he did not notice till he came in sight of the house where he threw himself down in ~~the~~ the a corner of the fence to recover his breath and as soon as he could get on he rose and finished his race for the house—where he arrived altogether speechless from fright and exhaustion

after a moment's rest he said mother ~~tell~~ send carlos for father and Mr. Knight and his friend and tell them to go and see if they can find ~~those~~ <some> men who have been pursuing me then let carlos go tell Hyrum to bring his chest

frock, placed them under his arm and started for home.

After proceeding a short distance, he thought it would be more safe to leave the road and go through the woods. Travelling some distance after he left the road, he came to a large windfall, and as he was jumping over a log, a man sprang up from behind it, and gave him a heavy blow with a gun. Joseph turned around and knocked him down, then ran at the top of his speed. About half a mile further he was attacked again in the same manner as before; he knocked this man down in like manner as the former, and ran on again; and before he reached home he was assaulted the third time. In striking the last one he dislocated his thumb, which, however, he did not notice until he came within sight of the house, when he threw himself down in the corner of the fence in order to recover his breath. As soon as he was able, he arose and came to the house. He was still altogether speechless from fright and the fatigue of running.

After resting a few moments, he desired me to send Carlos for my husband, Mr. Knight, and his friend Stool, and have them go immediately and see if they could find the men who had been pursuing him. And after Carlos had done this, he wished to have him sent to Hyrum's, to tell him to bring the chest.

~~this was done and Mr Smith~~<sup>127</sup>

when carlos went into Hyrum's house he found him at tea with 2 of his wife's sisters carlos touched his his brother's shoulder just as he was raising his cup to his mouth without waiting to hear a word of the child's errand Hyrum sprang dropped his cup & sprang from the table and ketched up the chest turn'end it upside down and leaving the contents on the left the House in an instant with the chest on his shoulder

the young ladies were much surprised at his singular behaviour and protested to his wife (who was bed-fast her oldest daughter Lovina being but 4 days) that her husband was positively crazy

she laughed heartily O! not in the least said she has just thought of something that he has neglected and it's just like him to fly off in a tangent when he thinks of anything that way

When the chest came Joseph locked up the record and threw himself on the bed after resting himself so a little so that he could converse he went out & related his adventure to his father and Mr Knight who had come back from their scouting expedition without seeing any one—he

I did as I was requested, and when Carlos arrived at Hyrum's, he found him at tea, with two of his wife's sisters. Just as Hyrum was raising a cup to his mouth Carlos touched his shoulder. Without waiting to hear one word from the child, he dropped the cup, sprang from the table, caught the chest, turned it upside down, and emptying its contents on the floor, left the house instantly with the chest on his shoulder.

The young ladies were greatly astonished at his singular behaviour, and declared to his wife—who was then confined to her bed, her oldest daughter, Lovina,<sup>128</sup> being but four days old—that he was certainly crazy.

His wife laughed heartily, and replied, "Oh, not in the least; he has just thought of something which he has neglected, and it is just like him to fly off in a tangent when he thinks of anything in that way."

When the chest came, Joseph locked up the Record, then threw himself upon the bed, and after resting a little, so that he could converse freely, he arose and went into the kitchen, where he related his recent adventure to his father, Mr. Knight, and Mr. Staal, besides many others,

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127. New page: "5" is written at the top right margin.

128. IE: "Lovian"—an obvious typographical error. Nibley corrected it to "Lovina" and added a note: "The date of Lovina's birth is given as September 16, 1827. She would therefore have been a little more than a week old."

showed his thumb saying I must stop talking Father and get you to put my thumb in place for it is very painful

when this was done he related to our guests the whole history of the record which interested them very much and listened and beleived all that was told them<sup>129</sup> [beginning of X'ed out passage] up to the time when he took <it> out of the <ement> stone box in the hill of cumorah which took place the moring that Mr Knight missed his horse and waggon [end of X'd out passage]

When he <Joseph> took the plates into his hands at this time the angel of the Lord stood by and said now you have have got the record into your own hands and you are but a man therefore you will have to be watchful and faithful to your trust or you will be overpowered by wicked men for they will lay every plan and scheme that is possible to get them away from you and if you do not take heed continually they will suceed while they were in my hands I could keep them and no man had power <to take> them away but now I give them up to you beware and look well to your ways— <and you shall have power to keep retain them untill the time for them to be translated>

who had by this time collected, with the view of hearing something in regard to the strange circumstance which had taken place. He showed them his thumb, saying, "I must stop talking, father, and get you to put my thumb in place, for it is very painful."

I will here mention that my husband, Mr. Knight, and Mr. Stoal, went in pursuit of those villains who had attempted Joseph's life, but were not able to find them.

When Joseph first got the plates, the angel of the Lord stood by, and said:—

"Now you have got the Record into your own hands, and you are but a man, therefore you will have to be watchful and faithful to your trust, or you will be overpowered by wicked men, for they will lay every plan and scheme that is possible to get it away from you, and if you do not take heed continually, they will succeed. While it was in my hands, I could keep it, and no man had power to take it away; but now I give it up to you. Beware, and look well to your ways, and you shall have power to retain it, until the time for it to be translated."

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129. New page: "6" is written at the upper left margin.



The thing which spoke of that Joseph termed a Key was indeed nothing more nor less than ~~the~~ a urim and Thummim by which the angel manifested those things to him that were shown him in vision by the which also he could at any time ascertain the approach of danger either to himself or the record and for this cause he kept these things constantly about his person.\* [The asterisk has no corresponding passage.]

<new Chapter>

he now commenced work with his Father on the farm in order to be near the treasure that was committed to his care

That of which I spoke, which Joseph termed a key, was indeed, nothing more nor less than the Urim and Thummim, and it was by this that the angel showed him many things which he saw in vision; by which he could also ascertain,<sup>130</sup> at any time, the approach of danger, either to himself or the Record, and on account of which he always kept the Urim and Thummim about his person.<sup>131</sup>

#### CHAP. XXIV.

JOSEPH BRINGS HOME THE BREAST-PLATE—MARTIN<sup>132</sup> HARRIS AND HIS WIFE INTRODUCED—THE TRANSLATION COMMENCES—MRS. HARRIS BEGINS TO OPPOSE THE WORK.

After bringing home the plates, Joseph commenced working with his father and brothers on the farm, in order to be as near as possible to the treasure which was confided to his care.

Soon after this, he came in from work, one afternoon, and after remaining a short time, he put on his great coat, and left the house. I was engaged at the time, in an upper room, in preparing some oil-cloths for painting. When he returned, he requested me to come down stairs. I told him, that I could not leave my work then, yet,

130. IE and Nibley: "by which also he could ascertain . . ."

131. Coray: "That, that Joseph termed a key mentioned on a foregoing page, was, indeed, nothing more or less than a Urim and Thummim; and it was by this that the angel showed him those things which he saw in vision: he could also ascertain at any time, the approach of danger, either to himself or the Record, On account of which he always kept it about his person."

132. Coray: "Martan"

upon his urgent request, I finally concluded to go down, and see what he wanted, upon which he handed me the breast-plate spoken of in his history.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

It was wrapped in a thin muslin handkerchief, so thin that I could see the glistening metal, and ascertain its proportions<sup>133</sup> without any difficulty.

It was concave on one side and convex on the other, and extended from the neck downwards, as far as the centre of the stomach of a man of extraordinary size. It had four straps of the same material, for the purpose of fastening it to the breast, two of which ran back to go over the shoulders, and the other two were designed to fasten to the hips. They were just the width of two of my fingers, (for I measured them,) and they had holes in the ends of them, to be convenient in fastening.

The whole plate was worth at least five hundred dollars; after I had examined it, Joseph placed it in the chest with the Urim and Thummim.<sup>134</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

one day he came to the house in haste and inquired if there had been <a> company of men there I told him there had no one came to the house since he left it he said that there would be a mob there that night if not before to search for the records and that it must be removed

Shortly after this circumstance, Joseph came to the house in great haste, and inquired, if there had been a company of men about. I told him, not a single individual had come to the house since he left. He then said, that a mob would be there that night, if they did not come before that time, to

133. GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley: "... so thin that I could feel its proportions ..."

134. Coray: "The whole plate was worth at least five hundred dollars; which plate, together with the Urim and Thummim Joseph placed in the chest after I examined it"; GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley: "The whole plate was worth at least five hundred dollars; he Joseph placed the Urim and Thummim in the chest after I examined it."

Katharine Salisbury, then fifteen, recalled in 1886: "We had supposed that when he should bring them [the plates] home, the whole family would be allowed to see them, but he said it was forbidden of the Lord. They could be seen only by those who were chosen to bear their testimony to the world. We had therefore to be content until they were translated and we could have the book to read. Many times when I have read its sacred pages, I have wept like a child, while the Spirit has borne witness with my spirit to its truth" (Letter 10 March 1886, written from Fountain Green Township, Ill., published in *Saints Herald* 33 [1886]: 260; qtd. in R. L. Anderson, *Investigating*, 26). William Smith, *Mormonism*, 12, was not one of the witnesses but "was permitted to lift them as they laid in a pillow-case; but not to see them, as it was contrary to the commands he had received. They weighed about sixty pounds according to the best of my judgment."

Soon after one Mr <esqur> Beaman came from the neighboring village <of Livonia> a man of in whom we reposed much confidence and who was well worthy of the same to him Joseph told his apprehension of a mob and says he we must drive them away but the first thing to be attended to was to se- crect the record and <breastplate> it was resolved that a portion of the hearth should be taken up and the plates buried under the same and the hearth relaid to prevent suspi- cion

this was carefully and speedily done and the hearth was scarcely laid down when a large company of men came rushing up to the house armed with guns. Joseph threw the door open and taking a hint from the stratagem of his Grandfather Mack he halloed ~~to the~~ as if he had a le- gion at his ~~command~~ hand giving the word of command with great importance and in a tone like sten- tor<sup>136</sup> at the same time the males that I belonged to the house from the Fathaer down to little carlos ran out ~~to~~ with such vehemence upon the

search for the Record, and that it must be removed immediately.

Soon afterwards, a man by the name of Braman<sup>135</sup> came in from the village of Livonia, a man in whom we reposed much confidence, and who was well worthy of the same. Joseph told him his apprehensions of a mob being there that night, and that they must prepare themselves to drive them away; but that the first thing to be attended to, was to secure the Re- cord and breast-plate.

In view of this, it was deter- mined that a portion of the hearth should be taken up, and that the Re- cord and breast-plate should be bur- ied under the same, and then the hearth be relaid, to prevent suspicion.

This was done as speedily as possible, but the hearth was scarcely relaid when a large company of men well armed came rushing up to the house. Joseph threw open the doors, and taking a hint from the stratagem of his grandfather Mack, halloed<sup>137</sup> as if he had a legion at hand, in the meanwhile, giving the word of com- mand with great emphasis; while all the male portion of the family, from the father down to little Carlos, ran out of the house with such fury upon the mob, that it struck them with terror and dismay, and they fled be

1 135. Coray: "Beaman." "Braman" is a typographical error in Pratt that RLDS, IE, and Nibley retain. n. GAS likewise does not correct it.

1 136. Stentor was a Greek herald in the Trojan War known for his resounding voice.

1 137. IE: "halloed"; Nibley: "halloed." Nibley differs from IE in so few respects that even a

men that they ~~thought it best to give leg bail while they were able~~ and fled <and were> pursued by our little spartan band away into the woods and dispersed themselves to their several homes

We had but a few days rest however for Joseph soon received another intimation of the approach of a mob and the necessity of removing the record & breasplate again from its hiding place he took it <them> up and carried it them out to a cooper shop across the road<sup>139</sup> and took them out of the box and after wrapping them carefully in cloths laid them away in the midst of a quantity of flax which was stowed in the shop. ~~le~~ loft he then nailed up the box as before and tore up the floor and put the box under it—

As soon as it was dark the mob came on and ransacked the place but did come into the house after ~~mat~~ a satisfactory research they went away

the next morning we found the floor of the cooper shop taken <up> and the wooden box which was put under it Split to peices

fore the little Spartan band into the woods, where they dispersed<sup>138</sup> themselves to their several homes.

In a short time Joseph received another intimation of the approach of a mob, also of the necessity of removing the Record and breast-plate from the place wherein they were secreted, consequently he took them out of the box in which they were placed, and wrapping them in clothes, carried them across the road to a cooper's shop, and laid then [sic] in a quantity of flax which was stowed in the shop loft. After which he nailed up the box again, then tore up the floor of the shop, and put it under the same.

As soon as night came, the mob came also, and commenced ransacking the place. They rummaged round the house, and all over the premises, but did not come into the house. After making satisfactory search they went away.

The next morning we found the floor of the cooper's shop torn up, and the box which was laid under it shivered in pieces.

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variant spelling is unusual.

138. RLDS: "when they dispersed to . . ."

139. This shop was probably Joseph Sr.'s, since he also worked as a cooper in debtors' prison. (See chap. 36.) Richard Anderson ("Reliability," 22) reports Pomeroy Tucker's statement about the "manufacture and sale of black-ash baskets and birch brooms" on the Smith farm, while the 1820 census lists two adult Smith males as employed in agriculture and one in manufacture. Anderson concludes that Joseph Sr. was engaged in "coopering and similar production, whereas Alvin and Hyrum, then twenty-one and twenty, were engaged mainly in the heavy work of farming."

and in a few days we learned the cause of this <last> move and why their curiosity led them in this direction ~~wi~~ a young woman who was sister to Willard Chase had found ~~an~~ a green glass ~~that~~ <&> by looking through ~~the~~ it she could see many wonderful things and among the rest of her discoveries she said she had found out the exact place where Joe Smith kept his gold bible hid so in pursuance to her directions they gathered their forces and laid siege to the cooper shop

but went away disappointed But this did not shake their confidence in Miss Chase for they still went from place to place by her suggestion determined to get possession of the object of their research

~~soon~~ It soon became necessary to take some measures to accomplish the translation of the record into English but he was instructed to take off a fac simile of the ~~alphabet~~ ~~Egyptian~~ characters <composing the alphabet which were called reformed egyptian> Alphabetically and send them to all the learned men that he could find and ask them for the translation of the same. Joseph was very solicitous about the work but as yet no means had come into his hands of accomplishing ~~the same~~ it.

In a few days afterwards we learned the cause of this last move—why their curiosity led them in the direction of the cooper's shop. A young woman by the name of Chase, sister to Willard Chase, found a green glass, through which she could see many very wonderful things, and among her great discoveries she said that she saw the precise place where "Joe Smith kept his gold bible hid," and obedient to her directions, the mob gathered their forces and laid seige to the cooper's shop.

Notwithstanding their disappointment in not finding the plates in the shop, their confidence was not in the least shaken in Miss Chase, for they still went from place to place by her direction, determined to get, if possible the much desired object of their search.<sup>140</sup>

Not long after the circumstance of the mob's going into the cooper's shop, and splitting in pieces the box, Joseph began to make arrangements to accomplish the translation of the Record. The first step that he was instructed to take in regard to this work, was to make a *fac-simile* of some of the characters, which were called reformed Egyptian, and to send them to some of the most learned men of this generation, and ask them for the translation thereof.

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140. Nibley note: "The events described above probably took place in the fall of the year 1827 or the early winter of 1828."

The reader will notice that on a preceeding page I spoke of a confidential friend to whom Mr. Smith mentioned the existence of the record 2 or 3 years before it came forth This was no other than Martin Harris one of the Witnesses to the book of ~~Mormon~~ after it was translated To him Joseph desired me to go ~~and~~ one afternoon as he wished to see him But this was an errand that I somewhat disliked for his wife was a peculiar sort of a woman one that was habitually of ~~an~~ a very jealous temperment and being hard of hearing she was always suspicious of some secret being in agitation that was designedly kept from her hearing on this account I would rather not go unless I could approach her upon the subject before I spoke to him about it. ~~Jes~~ Joseph consented to this and I went ~~to Mr Harris away~~ according to his request

The reader will here observe, that on a preceding, page of this volume, I spoke of a confidential friend to whom my husband merely mentioned the existence of the plates, some two or three years prior to their coming forth. This was no other than Martin Harris, one of the witnesses to the book subsequent to its being translated.

With the view of commencing the work of translation, and carrying it forward as speedily as circumstances would permit, Joseph came to me one afternoon and requested me to go to this Mr. Harris, and inform him that he had got the plates, and that he desired to see Mr. Harris concerning the matter. This, indeed, was an errand which I much disliked, as Mr. Harris's wife was a very peculiar woman, one that was natuarlly [sic] of a very jealous disposition; besides this, she was rather dull of hearing, and when anything was said that she did not hear distinctly, she suspected that it was some secret, which was designedly kept from her.<sup>141</sup> So I told Joseph that I would rather not go, unless I could have the privilege of speaking to her first upon the subject. To this he consented, and I went according to his request.

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141. Nibley note: "Tradition has it, in Palmyra, that Lucy Harris, wife of Martin Harris, was his first cousin."

When I arrived there I carefully detailed the particulars of the finding record as far as wisdom dictated and necessity demanded in order to satisfy the woman's mind but she did not wait for me to get through with my story till she commenced urging me to receive a considerable amount of money which she had at her own command a kind of private purse which her husband permitted her to keep to satisfy her peculiar disposition— She also had a sister in the house who was extremely anxious to help me to \$75 dollars in money I told her I came on no such business that I did not want her money that Joseph would attend to his own affairs that I would like to speak to <with> Mr. Harris a moment and then I would return home as my family would soon be expecting me back she said that she was determined to assist in the business and <for> she knew that he would want money and she could spare \$200 as well as not

On arriving at Mr. Harris's, I cautiously detailed the particulars with regard to Joseph's finding the plates, so far as wisdom dictated and necessity demanded, in order to satisfy Mrs. Harris's curiosity. However, she did not wait for me to get through with my story, before she commenced urging upon me a considerable amount of money, that she had at her command. Her husband always allowed her to keep a private purse, in order to satisfy her singular disposition, and it was this private money that she wished me to receive. She also had a sister living with her who desired me to receive an amount of money, I think some seventy-five dollars, to assist in getting the Record translated.

I told her that I came on no such business, that I did not want her money, and that Joseph would attend to his own affairs; but, that I would like to talk with Mr. Harris a moment, and then return home, as my family would soon be expecting me. Yet, notwithstanding all this, she was determined to assist in the business, for she said she knew that we should want money, and she could spare two hundred dollars as well as not.

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*Contextual note:* Lorenzo Saunders, interviewed in 1884, described Lucy H. Harris as "pretty high on combativeness" and "large on self esteem. . . . She had an irritable temper and was a hard piece to live with. Martin used to whale her" (Vogel 2:133). Although Lucy Smith's sympathies are obviously with Martin in describing the Harris marriage, Lucy Harris also claimed that Martin



was both unfaithful to her with a neighbor's wife and physically abusive. On 29 November 1833, she gave Ebert D. Howe an affidavit:

He is naturally quick in his temper and in his mad-fits frequently abuses all who may dare to oppose him in his wishes. . . . He has whipped, kicked, and turned me out of the house. About a year previous to the report being raised that Smith had found gold plates, . . . I would not give credit to the report. . . . In one of his fits of rage he struck me with the but end of a whip, which I think had been used for driving oxen, and was about the size of my thumb, and three or four feet long. He beat me on the head four or five times, and the next day turned me out of doors twice, and beat me in a shameful manner. . . . The marks of his beating me . . . remained more than two weeks. (Vogel 2:35-36)

Jesse Townsend, pastor of Palmyra's Western Presbyterian Church, 1817-20, and at nearby Sodus, 1827-31, asserted that Martin Harris "has whipped his wife and beaten her so cruelly and frequently, that she was obliged to seek refuge in separation. He is considered here, to this day, a brute in his domestic relations, a fool and dupe to Smith in religion, and an unlearned, conceited hypocrite, generally" (Vogel 3:23; note omitted).

Rhett B. James has written a sympathetic interpretation of Lucy Harris's character in light of the extenuating circumstances of her deafness. Because Mrs. Harris is, by Lucy's account, loquacious, he hypothesizes that Mrs. Harris's ailment was a progressive condition, possibly accompanied by "severe pain." He cites psychological literature that identifies some symptoms of deafness as being "fear of failure, fear of ridicule, . . . fear of being slighted, avoided, made conspicuous," suspicion, and depression. Recognizing that "deafness seems to be a powerful stimulus to any latent paranoid trend in the personality," James calls for a "more compassionate" view of her. He also challenges the idea that they were divorced but does not address Lucy Harris's own accusations that Martin beat her. Harris made his wife a private allowance and placed eight acres of land in her name (Walker, 35-36), in addition to making another settlement on her in April 1831 when he left New York for Ohio.

While Lucy Smith describes herself and Joseph Jr. as repelling Lucy Harris's financial advances, Abigail ("Nabbie") Harris, who was married to Lucy Harris's brother Peter, makes a different claim in describing a visit to Martin and Lucy Harris some time between December 1827 and February 1828 when Joseph Jr. was in Harmony. Joseph Sr. and Lucy visited the Martin Harrises that night and discoursed on the "Gold Bible" at length. Nabbie Harris found Lucy Smith's orientation decidedly pecuniary:

The old lady said also, that after the book was translated, the places were to be publicly exhibited—admittance 25 cents. She calculated it would bring in annually an enormous sum of money—that money would then be very plenty, and

the book would also sell for a great price, as it was something entirely new—that they had been commended [*sic*] to obtain all the money they could borrow for present necessity, and to repay with gold. . . . Early the next morning . . . the old lady took me into another room, and after closing the door, she said, “have you four or five dollars in money that you can lend until our business is brought to a close? the spirit has said you shall receive four fold.” I told her that when I gave, I did it not expecting to receive again—as for money I had none to lend. I then asked her what her particular want of money was; to which she replied, “Joseph wants to take the stage and come home from Pennsylvania to see what we are all about.” To which I replied, he might look in his stone and save his time and money. The old lady seemed confused, and left the room, and thus ended the visit.

Abigail Harris also claimed to overhear Martin Harris say he did not care if the Book of Mormon was a fraud but he “would make money out of it” (Vogel 2:32-33; italics omitted).

*Lucy: 1844-45*

but finally she went with me to her Husband & told him I wanted to speak to him he said he was not going to stop his work for said he I am now just laying the last brick of this hearth

you see this is the last work that I have to do for one year on the House or about the house or on the farm and when this is done I am going away to hire a hand to work a year for me as I shall travel 12 month before I settle myself at home again

he soon left and after being gone a short time he came and told me that he was now a free man his hands were altogether untied to go and come and do as he pleased.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

After detaining me a few minutes, she went with me to her husband, and told him that I wished to speak to him. He replied, that he was not going to stop his work, for he was just laying the last brick in his hearth.

“You see,” said he, “this is the last work I have to do on the house, and it is the last work I shall do about the house, or on the farm, in one year. And when this is done, I am going to hire a hand to work a year for me, as I shall travel that length of time before I shall settle myself at home again.”

After completing the work in which he was engaged, he left the house, but was absent only a short time. On returning, he came to me and said, “Now I am a free man—my hands are altogether untied—I can come and go and do as I please.”

I told him in short the errand on which I had come—he said he would see Joseph ~~in~~ in a few days—Yes said Mrs Harris and I am coming to see him too and I will be there tuesday afternoon and stop over night

accordingly she came as soon <as> she came in and was well seated she began to importune my son as to the truth of what he said ~~now~~ declaring that she would see the Gold plates if he really had any and she was ~~resolv~~ resolved to help him in publishing them.

he told her that she was mistaken that she could not see them as [written over “and”] he was not permitted to exhibit them to any one except those whom the Lord will appoint to testify of them and as to assistance I always prefer dealing with men rather than their wives

This highly displeased Mrs Harris for she was a woman who piqued herself upon her superiority to her husband—well now Joseph said she are you not telling me a lie can you look full in my eye and say before God that you have in reality found that record as you pretend

I related, in short, the errand on which I had come. He said that he would see Joseph in the course of a few days. At this his wife exclaimed, “Yes, and I am coming to see him too, and I will be there on Tuesday afternoon, and will stop over night.”

Accordingly, when Tuesday afternoon arrived, Mrs. Harris made her appearance, and as soon as she was well seated, she began to importune my son relative to the truth of what he had said concerning the Record, declaring that if he really had any plates, she *would*<sup>142</sup> see them, and that she was determined to help him publish them.

He told her that she was mistaken—that she could not see them, for he was not permitted to exhibit them to any one, except those whom the Lord should appoint to testify of them.<sup>143</sup> “And, in relation to assistance,” he observed, “I always prefer dealing with men, rather than their wives.”

This highly displeased Mrs. Harris, for she considered herself altogether superior to her husband, and she continued her importunities. She would say, “Now, Joseph, are you not telling me a lie? Can you look full in my eye, and say before God, that you have in reality found a Record, as you pretend?”

142. IE and Nibley: not italicized

143. According to Martin Harris, both his wife and his daughter were allowed to lift the box containing the gold plates (Vogel 1:348).

he told said indifferently why yes Mrs Harris I would as soon look into your face and say so as ~~and~~ not if you would be at all gratified by it

well Now Joseph said she I will tell what I will do If I can get a witness that you do speak the truth I will beleive it and I want to do something about the translation and I mean to help you any way She went to bed and in the morning told us a very remarkable dream she said that a personage had appeared to her the night before and said to her that inasmuch as she had disputed the servant of the Lord and said that his word was not to be believed and asked him many improper questions that she had done that which was not right in the sight of God Now said behold here are the plates look upon them and believe

she then described them record minutely and again said that she had made up her mind as to what she would do that she had in her possession 28 dollars that her mother gave her ~~and~~ just before she died when she was on her death bed Joseph should take that and if he would he might give his note but he should certainly accept of it on sone [sic] terms

To this Joseph replied, rather indifferently, "Why, yes, Mrs. Harris, I would as soon look you in the face, and say no, as not, if that will be any gratification to you."

Then said she, "Joseph, I will tell you what I will do, if I can get a witness that you speak the truth, I will believe all you say about the matter, and I shall want to do something about the translation—I mean to help you any way."

This closed the evening's conversation. The next morning, soon after she arose, she related a very remarkable dream which she said she had had<sup>144</sup> during the night. It ran about as follows She said that a personage appeared to her, who told her, that as she had disputed the servant of the Lord, and said his word was not to be believed, and had also asked him many improper questions, she had done that which was not right in the sight of God. After which he said to her, "Behold, here are the plates, look upon them and believe."

After giving us an account of her dream, she described the Record very minutely, then told us that she had made up her mind in relation to the course which she intended to pursue, namely that she had in her possession twenty-eight dollars which she received from her mother just before she died, while she was on her death bed, and that Joseph should accept of it.<sup>145</sup> If he

144. RLDS: "which she had . . ."

145. RLDS: "should accept it . . ."

would<sup>146</sup> he might give his note, but he should certainly take it upon some terms.

this last proposition he acceded to in order get rid of her importunities

The last proposal Joseph accepted, in order to get rid of further importunity upon the subject.

Shortly after this Alvin Hale Joseph's brotherinlaw came to our house from Pennsylvania for the purpose of moving my son and his wife to Mr Hale his Father's house as word had been sent to them that it was their wish to go to her father's as soon as my son could settle <up> his buisness in New York They were Alvin and Joseph were one day in Palmira at a public house doing some buisness with the land-lord When Mr. Haris entered the room there was many strangers present when he came in he walked up to my son giving his said how do you do Mr Smith then taking a bag of silver from his pocket said here Mr Smith is \$50 I give it to you to do the Lords work with. "No said he I give it to the Lord for his own work No said Joseph we will give you a note and Mr Hale I presume will sign it with me

Soon afterwards, Alva Hale,<sup>147</sup> Joseph's brother-in-law, came to our house from Pennsylvania for the purpose of moving Joseph to his father-in-law's, as word had been sent to them that Jospeh [sic] desired to move there as soon as he could settle up his business.<sup>148</sup> During the short interval of Alva's stay with us, he and Joseph were one day in Palmyra, at a public-house, transacting some business. As they were thus engaged, Mr. Harris came in: he stepped immediately up to my son, and taking him by the hand, said, "How do you do, Mr. Smith." After which, he took a bag of silver from his pocket, and said again, "Here, Mr. Smith, is fifty dollars; I give this to you to do the Lord's work with; no, I give it to the Lord for his own work."

"No," said Joseph, "We will give you a note, Mr. Hale, I presume, will sign it with me."

146. IE and Nibley: not italics.

147. Coray: "In a short time from this, Alva Hale . . ." Nibley note: "Alva Hale, a brother of Emma Hale Smith, made the journey of 155 miles from Harmony to Palmyra to move Joseph and Emma to the Hale home."

148. Joseph purchased a small farm of thirteen acres and eighty perches from Isaac Hale and lived in the frame house that Emma's brother Jesse had occupied before moving to Illinois. When he moved to Waterloo, New York, in the fall of 1830 and from there to Kirtland, Ohio, in late January 1831, he left the property standing, or rented it, until he sold it to Joseph McKune Jr., his brother-in-law, on 28 June 1833 (Porter, "Ye," 2-3; Newell and Avery, 24).

yes replied Alva I will

But Mr Harris persisted [sic] that he would give the money to the Lord and called upon all present to witness to the fact that he gave it freely and did not demand any compensation or return for the same that it was for the purpose of helping Mr Smith to do the Lord's work

It was soon arranged so that Joseph was ready to set out for Penn. with the Breasplate [sic] and record these were securely nailed up in a box and the box put into a strong cask made for the purpose the cask was then filled with beans and headed up<sup>149</sup>

as soon as it was ascertained that this removal of My son and family was in contemplation there was a mob of 50 men collected who went to Dr ~~ma~~ McIntire and requested him to take the command of the company that their object was to follow Joe Smith and take his Gold Bible away from him Dr McIntire told them they must be a pack of devilish fools and bid them go home and mind their own the business that if Smith had ~~and~~ any thing of that sort to attend to he was capable of doing it and they would do better to busy themselves about that which concerned them more.

"Yes," said Alva, "I will sign it."

Mr. Harris, however, insisted that he would give the money to the Lord, and called those present to witness the fact that he gave it freely, and did not demand any compensation, that it was for the purpose of helping Mr. Smith to do the Lord's work. And as I have been informed, many were present on that occasion, who witnessed the same circumstance.

Joseph, in a short time, arranged his affairs, and was ready for the journey. The Record and breast-plate for security, he nailed up in a box and then put them into a strong cask; and after filling the cask with beans, headed it up again.

When it became generally known that Joseph was about moving to Pennsylvania, a mob of fifty men collected themselves together, and they went to one Doctor McIn tyre, and requested him to take the command of the company, stating, that they were resolved on following "Joe Smith," and taking his "gold bible" from him. The doctor's ideas and feelings did not altogether harmonize with theirs, and he told them they were a pack of devilish fools, and to go home and mind their own business; that, if Joseph Smith had any business of that sort to attend to, he was capable of doing it, and that

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149. Coray: "The Record and breastplate he nailed up in a box, then put them into a strong cask; and after filling the cask with beans, headed it up again in order to their security [sic]."

A quarrel then arose as to who should be captain and ran so high that it ~~bro~~ broke up the expedition—<sup>150</sup>

Joseph started Dec [blank] for Penn and [approximately three lines left blank] it was agreed that Martin Haris should follow him as soon as he Joseph should have sufficient time to transcribe the Egyptian alphabet which Mr. Harris was to take to the east and through the country in every direction to all who were professed linguists to give them an opportunity of showing their talents—

as soon as Mrs H Heard this she declared her intention of accompanying her husband but he concluded that it would be better to go without her and left sudenly not giving her any intimation of his intention Hyrum went with him.

Mrs. Harris soon missed her husband and came to me to find out whether I knew where he was I told her what he had said to me ~~of~~ about leaving suppressing however his remarks pertaining to herself

it would be better for them to busy themselves about that which more concerned them.

After this a quarrel arose among them respecting who should be captain, and it ran so high that it broke up the expedition.<sup>151</sup>

When Joseph had had a sufficient time to accomplish the journey, and transcribe some of the Egyptian characters, it was agreed that Martin Harris should follow him—and that he (Martin) should take the characters to the East, and, on his way, he was to call on all the professed linguists, in order to give them an opportunity to display their talents in giving a translation of the characters.

When Mrs. Harris heard of what her husband had in contemplation, she resolved to accompany him; but he, concluding that it would be better to go without her, left quite suddenly without her knowledge, in company with my son Hyrum.

Mrs. Harris soon missed her husband, and came to me, for the purpose of ascertaining if I knew where he was. I told her what he had said concerning his leaving, suppressing, however, his remarks pertaining to herself.

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150. GAS on Coray but not on Pratt has added: "Consequently, Joseph had an opportunity of setting out unmolested; and he prosecuted the journey without meeting any of the gang." Instructions to the printer within a circle state: "This to be put in as headnote:"

151. IE has a line of asterisks, usually an indication of an omission. No material is, in fact, omitted, suggesting that the editor meant it to represent the passage of time. However, such a device is not used elsewhere in the IE and it makes other omissions without ellipses or asterisks. Nibley does not have asterisks at this point.



She was highly enraged and accused me of panning [sic] the whole affair I told her I had nothing to do with the plan nor the execution of it that the buisness of the House which were the natural cares of a woman were all that I attempted to dictate or interfere with unless by my Husbands or sons request—

Mrs. H said she had property & she knew how to take care of it and she show me that

Now stop replied I do you not know that we never asked you for money or property. had we been disposed to take advantage of your liberality might we not have gotten possession of at least \$270 of your money she answered in the afirmative but went home in anger determined to have satisfaction in some way for the slight which she had received

When a short space of time had elapsed Mr H returned but his wifes anger kindled afresh at her husbands presence so much so that she prepared a bed and room for him alone which she refused to enter—

On hearing this, she became highly exasperated, and charged me with planning the whole affair. I protested against it, asserting that I had nothing to do with the plan, nor the execution of it. Furthermore, that the business of a house, which was the natural cares of a woman,<sup>152</sup> was all that I attempted to dictate, or interfere with, unless it was by my husband's or son's request.

Mrs. Harris then observed, that she had property, and knew how to take care of it, which she would convince me of.

"Now, stop," said I, "do you not know that we have never asked you for money or property? and that if we had been disposed to take advantage of your liberality, could we not have got,<sup>153</sup> at least, two hundred and seventy dollars of your cash?" She answered in the affirmative, notwithstanding she went home in a great rage, determined to have satisfaction for the treatment which she had received.

In a short time Mr. Harris returned, and his wife's anger kindled afresh at his presence, insomuch that she prepared a separate bed and room for him, which room she refused to enter.<sup>154</sup>

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152. RLDS: "the business of the house, which was the natural care of a woman . . ."

153. IE and Nibley: "obtained"

154. James H. Reeves, who published two reminiscences about the Harrises in 1872 in the *Palmyra Courier*, and refers to Lucy Harris familiarly as "Aunt Dolly," tells a different and more humorous version: "He vowed that he would not allow her in his room and she declared she would never trouble him on that score. So determined were they in occupying separate apartments, that

A young man had been ~~ad~~re paying his addresses to Lucy Haris Martins old-est daughter of ~~this~~ by the name of Dikes <of> this young gentleman the Father of <the> Girl was very fond and the young Lady was not at all averse to him ~~but~~ of course Mrs. Harris was decidedly upon the negative But just at this juncture a scheme entered her brain that changed her deportment to Mr Dikes very materially— She told Mr Dikes that if he would contrive to get the egyptian characters out of Martins possession and hire a room in Palmira & ~~take~~ transcribe them accurately and bring her the transcripts that she would give him her daughter Lucy to wife

Mr Dikes readily agreed to this and suffice it to say he succeeded to the woman's satisfaction and received the promised reward

When Mr. Haris began again to prepare to set out for Penn ~~again~~ in order to set himself about the writing of the translation of the plates His <wife> wife told <him> that she fully decreed in her heart to go also He proposed to her that she should go with him and stay a week or two on a visit and then he would take her home and go again to do the work of writing the Book She ~~ac-~~ceeded to this very cheerfully—

A young man by the name of Dikes, had been paying some attention to Miss Lucy, Martin Harris's old-est daughter. To this young man Mr. Harris was quite attached, and his daughter Lucy was by no means opposed to him; but Mrs. Harris, of course, was decidedly upon the negative. However, just at this crisis, a scheme entered her brain which materially changed her deportment to Mr. Dikes. She told him, if he would manage to get the Egyptian characters from Mr. Harris's possession, and procure a room in Palmyra for the purpose of transcribing them, and then bring her the transcript, that she would consent to his marriage with her daughter Lucy.

To this, Mr. Dikes cheerfully consented, and suffice it to say, he succeeded to her satisfaction, and thus received the promised reward.

When Mr. Harris began to make preparations to start for Pennsylvania the second time, with the view of writing for Joseph, his wife told him that she had fully decreed in her heart to accompany him. Mr. Harris, having no particular objections, informed her that she might do so; that she might go and stay one or two weeks, and then he would bring her home again, after which he would return, and resume

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both expressed themselves to the hired man, that if he ever knew of their occupying the same sleeping room, they would give him their best cow." The hired man, by scraping a lighted lantern along the sill of Lucy's second-story window, wakened her. Whether out of fright or anger, she descended to Martin's room where the hired man and a witness testified that they were in the same room and acquired the cow (Vogel 2:343).

But her husband did suspect what he was to encounter The first time he exhibited the egyptian charecters she took out of her pocket an exact copy of them and informed those present that Joe smith was not the only one that was in possesion of this great curiosity that she herself had as the same characters and they were quite as genuine as those displayed <to> them by Mr H she pursued this course wherevers she went untill she reached My sons house

when arrived there she said she had come to see the plates and would never leave untill she attained her object The next day Joseph was compled to take them out of the house and bury both the breast plate & the record. for she began by ransack<ing> every nook & corner of the house chest cupboard trunk &c the day after she went out and hunted the ground over ajacent to the house she kept up the search till 2 oclock in <the> afternoon when she came in very ill natured and after warming herself a little enquired of Emma if they had snakes there in the Winter time I was walking around in the woods said she to look at situation of your place &c &c as I turned round to come home a tremendous great black snake stuck up its head before me and commenced hissing at me—

his writing for Joseph. To this she cheerfully agreed.

But Mr. Harris little suspected what he had to encounter by this move. The first time he exhibited the characters before named, she took out of her pocket an exact copy of the same; and told those present, that “Joe Smith” was not the only one who was in possession of this great curiosity, that she had the same characters, and, they were quite as genuine as those shown by Mr. Harris. This course she continued to pursue, until they arrived at Joseph’s.

As soon as she arrived there, she informed him that her object in coming, was to see the plates, and that she would never leave until she had accomplished it. Accordingly, without delay, she commenced ransacking every nook and corner about the house—chests, trunks, cupboards, &c.; consequently, Joseph was under the necessity of removing both the breast-plate and the Record from the house, and secreting them elsewhere. Not finding them in the house, she concluded that Joseph had buried them, and the next day she commenced searching out of doors, which she continued to do until about two o’clock P.M. She then came in rather ill-natured; after warming herself a little, she asked Joseph’s wife if there were snakes in that country in the winter. She replied in the negative. Mrs. Harris then said, “I have been walking round in the woods to look at the situ-

The woman was so disappointed and perplexed in everything she undertook that left the house and took lodgings at ~~the nearest tavern~~ <the house of a near neighbor><sup>155</sup> here she stated to the ~~landlady~~ <hostess> that she was in search of the plates that <when> she came to a place where she thought they must be buried ~~that~~ upon stooping down to ~~rem~~ scrape away the snow and leaves in order to examine the spot she encountered a horrible black snake which frightened her so sadly that she ran to the house as fast as possible

She continued her operations while she remained in Harmony doing all that her ingenuity could contrive to injure Joseph in the estimation of his neighbors She told them that he was a grand imposter that he had deceived her <husband with his> specious pretensions and was exerting all his deceptive powers in order to induce Mr Haris to give his property into Joseph's hands that he might by robbing her Husband make himself rich

ation of your place, and as I turned around to come home, a tremendous black snake stuck up his head before me, and commenced hissing at me."

The woman was so perplexed and disappointed in all her undertakings, that she left the house and took lodgings during her stay in Pennsylvania with a near neighbour, to whom she stated that the day previous she had been hunting for the plates, and that, after a tedious search, she at length came to a spot where she judged, from the appearance of things, they must be buried; but upon stooping down to scrape away the snow and leaves, in order to ascertain the fact, she encountered a horrible black snake, which gave her a terrible fright, and she ran with all possible speed to the house.

While this woman remained in the neighbourhood, she did all that lay in her power to injure Joseph in the estimation of his neighbours—telling them that he was a grand impostor, and, that by his specious pretensions, he had seduced her husband into the belief that he (Joseph Smith) was some great one, merely through a design upon her husband's property.

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155. It is possible that this neighbor was Emma's mother, Elizabeth Hale, who ran "an inn or tavern" and whose house was near the one that Joseph and Emma occupied on land they had purchased from Isaac Hale (Newell and Avery, 3).

when she returned home which was ~~in~~ about 2 weeks from the time she arrived ~~there~~ in Harmony she endeavored to dissuade Mr H from having any thing farther to do with writing or translating the record but ~~Martin~~ he paid but little attention to her and as he agreed to go back and write for a season at least he did so—

After Mr H left his house Mrs H went from place telling her grievances to everyone she met but particularly bewailing that the deception which Joe Smith was practicing upon the people was about to strip her of all that she possessed. but said the woman I know how to take care of my property & I'll let them see that pretty shortly. so she carried away her furniture her linen and bedding and other movable articles till she well nigh divested the premises of everything which could conduce to comfort or convenience— These things she deposited with her friends where she reposed sufficient confidence to assure her of ~~their~~ their safety of her property

[drawing of a hand with pointing forefinger] New Chap

When she returned home, being about two weeks after her arrival in Harmony, the place where Joseph resided, she endeavoured to dissuade her husband from taking any further part in the publication of the Record; however, Mr. Harris paid no attention to her, but returned and continued writing.

Immediately after Martin Harris left home for Pennsylvania, his wife went from place to place, and from house to house, telling her grievances, and declaring that Joseph Smith was practising a deception upon the people, which was about to strip her of all that she possessed, and that she was compelled to deposit a few things away from home in order to secure them. So she carried away her furniture, linen, and bedding; also other moveable articles, until she nearly stripped the premises of every thing that could conduce either to comfort or convenience, depositing them with those of her friends and acquaintances, in whom she reposed sufficient confidence to assure her of their future safety.<sup>156</sup>

#### CHAP. XXV.

MARTIN HARRIS IS PERMITTED TO TAKE THE MANUSCRIPT HOME WITH HIM—HE LOSES IT—THE SEASON OF MOURNING WHICH ENSUED.

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156. Nibley note: "In 1831, when Martin Harris moved to Kirtland, he made a settlement with his wife and left her. He subsequently married a daughter of John Young."

Mr Harris remained with my son and wrote dilligently untill he had transcribed nearly 116 pages of the record ~~when~~ it <then> became necessary for him to return home—he now ~~began to~~ requested Joseph to permit him to look upon the plates for he desired a further witness ~~that~~ of their ~~work~~ <actual existence and> that he might be better able to give a reason for the hope that was within <him><sup>157</sup> of seeing great things come to pass in the last days—

Martin Harris, having written some one hundred and sixteen pages for Joseph, asked permission of my son to carry the manuscript home with him, in order to let his wife read it, as he hoped it might have a salutary effect upon her feelings.<sup>158</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Joseph was very partial to Mr Harris on account of the friendship which he had manifested ~~for~~ in an hour when there seemed to be no earthly freind to succour or to sympathize.

Under these circumstances Joseph felt a great desire to gratify the man's feelings as far as it was justifiable to do so accordingly he enquired at the hand of the Lord concerning the matter when he received a revelation which is contained in the book of doctrine and covenants ~~see 33. Revelation given March 1829~~

Sec 33 [Section 5 in LDS 1981 edition] — Revelation given March 1827 [sic] <1st paragraph> Behold I say unto you, that as my servant Martin Harris has desired a witness at my hand that you my servant Joseph Smith junior have got the plates of which <you> have testified and borne record that you have received of me: and now behold, this shall you say unto him, He who spake unto you said unto you, I the Lord am God, and have given these things unto you, my servant joseph smith Junior and have commanded you that you should stand as a witness of these things and I have caused you that you should enter into a covenant with me that you should not show them except to those persons to whom I command you and you have no power over

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157. See 1 Peter 3:15: "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you . . ."

158. Nibley note: "In his history the Prophet Joseph tells us that Martin Harris began writing for him 'about the 12th of April, 1828, and continued until the 14th of June, following,' during which time 116 pages had been written. It will be noted that Joseph had the plates in his possession more than seven months before he began to translate, while Martin Harris recorded for him."

them except I grant it unto you\* [No corresponding footnote or insertion.] And you have a gift to translate the plates and this is the first gift that I bestowed upon you and I have commanded that you should pretend to no other gift untill my purpose is fulfilled in this for I will grant unto you no other gift untill ~~this~~ <it> is finished—<sup>159</sup> again paragraph 5 And now <again> I speak unto you ~~concerning the~~ my servant Joseph concerning the man that desires the witness Behold I say unto you ~~concerning~~ he exalts himself and does not ~~humble~~ humble himself sufficiently before me but if he will bow down before me and humble himself in mighty prayer and faith in the sincerity of his heart then will I grant unto him a view of the things which he desires to see And then he shall say unto the people of this generation behold I have seen the things which the Lord has show<sup>160</sup> unto Joseph Smith Jr and I know of a surety that they are true for I have seen them: for they have been shown to me by the power of God and not of man and I the Lord command him my servant Martin Harris that he shall say no more unto them except he shall say I have seen them and they have been shown unto me by the power of God and these are the words which he shall say But if he deny this he will break the covenant which he has before covenanted with me and behold he is condemned And now except he humble himself ~~before me~~ and acknowledge the things which he has done which are wrong and covenant with me that he will keep my commandments and exercise faith in me behold I say unto him he shall have no such views for I will grant unto him no views of the things of which I have spoken And if this be the case I command you my servant Joseph that you shall say unto him that he shall do no more nor trouble me any more concerning this matter—

paragraph 6th And if this be the case behold I say unto thee Joseph when thou hast translated a few more pages thou shalt stop for a season even untill I command thee again then thou mayest translate again And except thou do this— behold thou shalt have no more gift & I will take away the things which I have intrusted ~~to~~ <with> thee And now because I foresee the lying in wait to destroy thee yea I foresee that if my servant Martin Harris humbly not himself and receive a witness ~~at~~ <from> my hand that he will fall into transgression and there are many that lie in wait to destroy thee from off

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159. At this point are vv. 5-22 in the 1981 D&C. That section prophecies “woe” on this “unbelieving and stiff-necked generation,” promises that Joseph will be “ordained” as will be three “servants” to “behold and view these things,” foretells “the coming forth of my church out of the wilderness,” prescribes that believers “shall be born . . . of water and of the Spirit,” and assures Joseph that if he “walk[s] more uprightly before me” he will receive “eternal life, even if you should be slain.”

160. New page: “6” is written in the upper right margin.



the face of the Earth and for this cause that thy days may be prolonged I have given unto thee these commandments yea for this cause I have said stop and stand still till I command thee & I will provide means whereby thou mayest accomplish the thing which I have commanded thee and if thou art faithful in keeping my <sup>161</sup>commandments thou shalt be lifted up at the last day Amen—

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Joseph was willing to gratify his friend as far as he could consistently, and he inquired of the Lord to know if he might do as Martin Harris had requested, but was refused. With this Mr. Harris was not altogether satisfied, and, at his urgent request, Joseph inquired again, but received a second refusal.<sup>162</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

This discouraged Mr Harris from saying much more about the plates but he insisted upon taking that which he had written home with him that he might show his family what he had been employed in during his absence from them he also hoped that it might have a salutary effect upon his wifes feelings to read what was written— Joseph for a long time resisted every entreaty of this kind at last however he begged The priviledge of obliging Mr Harris by allowing his last request this priviledge was given with the condition that my son was responsible for their safety. This my son was willing to do as he could not conceive it

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Still, Martin Harris persisted as before, and Joseph applied again, but the last answer was not like the two former ones. In this the Lord permitted Martin Harris to take the manuscript home with him, on condition that he would exhibit it to none, save five individuals whom he had mentioned, and who belonged to his own family.<sup>163</sup>

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161. New page: "7" is written in the upper left margin.

162. This revelation (D&C 5) is dated in the Book of Commandments as occurring in March 1829; Lucy thus misdates it by saying it occurred in March 1827. Martha Jane's numeral sevens have very long initial strokes, making the figure resemble a squarish "n," while her nines have very small top loops on an extended horizontal stroke, making them resemble a % sign without the following dot.

163. These five individuals were apparently Martin's parents, Nathan and Rhoda Harris; his

possible for so kind a friend to betray the trust reposed in him, but there is no doubt of this indulgence being given to Joseph in order to show him by another lesson of bitter experience how vain are all human calculations—and also to learn him not to put his trust in man nor make flesh his arm<sup>164</sup>

Mr Harris now took the most solemn oath that he would not show the ~~writing~~ manuscript to any save 5 individuals who belonged his household for the [sic] hoped that it might be the means of carrying the ~~truth~~ truth home to their hearts and affecting a union of sentiment <in his family> animated him very much. & his anxious desires were now gratified as to the means which he wished to make use of as an instrument to effect this much wished for object—Accordingly he was now fully prepared to set out for home which he did carrying with him 116 pages of the record in manuscript this was in July<sup>165</sup>

Mr. Harris was delighted with this, and bound himself in a written covenant of the most solemn nature, that he would strictly comply with the injunctions which he had received.

Which being done, he took the manuscript and went home.

Joseph did not suspect but that his friend would keep his faith, consequently he gave himself no uneasiness with regard to the matter.

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brother Preserved; his wife, Lucy ("Dolly"), and his wife's sister, Mary ("Polly") Harris Cobb. Polly was the widow of Freeman Cobb, drowned in a shipwreck on Lake Ontario on 19 December 1821 (Walker, 31-33; Porter, "The Field," 74, 87).

164. See Jeremiah 17:5: "Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm . . ."

165. Lucy may be mistaken. Joseph Jr. dates Martin Harris's stay as from 12 April to 14 June 1828; and since Martin apparently left the day before Emma gave birth to her first child, Joseph's memory of the date is probably quite clear ("History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 13 [2 May 1842]: 785).

immediately after his departure Emma ~~was confined~~ became the mother of a son but she had but ~~little~~ <small> comfort from the society of the dear little stranger for he was very soon snatched from her arms<sup>166</sup> and borne aloft to the world of spirits before it had time learn good or evil and for some time its Mother seemed to tremble upon the verge of the silent home of her infant so uncertain seemed her fate for a season that in the space of 2 weeks her husband never slept one hour in undisturbed quiet. at the end of this time His anxiety became so great about the manuscript that <he> determined as his wife was now some better that as soon as she had gained a little more strength he would make a trip to New York and see after the same but he did not mention the subject to Emma for fear of agitating her mind too much for the health of her body—

however she soon manifested that she was not without her thoughts upon the subject not withstanding the debilitated state which she was in for she called her husband to her and asked him what he thought about the manuscript I feel so

Shortly after Mr. Harris left, Joseph's wife became the mother of a son,<sup>167</sup> which, however, remained with her but a short time before it was snatched from her arms by the hand of death. And the mother seemed, for some time, more like sinking with her infant into the mansion of the dead, than remaining with her husband among the living. Her situation was such for two weeks, that Joseph slept not an hour in undisturbed quiet. At the expiration of this time she began to recover, but as Joseph's anxiety about her began to subside, another cause of trouble forced itself upon his mind.<sup>168</sup> Mr. Harris had been absent nearly three weeks, and Joseph had received no intelligence whatever from him, which was altogether aside of the arrangement when they separated. But Joseph kept his feelings from his wife, fearing that if she became acquainted with them it might agitate her too much.

In a few days, however, she mentioned the subject herself, and desired her husband to go and get her mother to stay with her, while he should repair to Palmyra, for the purpose of learning the cause of Mr. Harris's absence as well as silence.

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166. Coray: "Shortly after Martin left, Emma became the mother of a son; but it remained with her but a short time for it was <soon> snatched from its mother's arms by the hand of death."

167. Nibley note: "This child, a son, the eldest of Joseph and Emma, was born on June 15, 1828. It died the same day, and its little grave is still to be seen in the old cemetery at Harmony."

168. Coray: "... undisturbed quiet: but at the expiration of this time, she began to recover, however and continued to amend until she her health was restored. But, as his anxiety . . ."

uneasy said she that I cannot rest and shall not be at ease untill I know something about what Mr Harris is doing with it do you not think it would be advisable for you to go and enquire into the reason of his not writing or sending any word back to you since he left us—

Joseph begged her to be quiet and not worry herself as he could not leave her just then as he should not dare to be absent from her even one hour while her situation was so precarious I will said Emma send for my Mother and she shall stay with me while you are gone after much persuasion he concluded to leave his wife in the care of her Mother for a few days and set out on the before mentioned journey.

But the sensations which he experienced when he found himself well seated in the stage coach ~~with~~ left to the Solitude of his own imagination (as there was but one passenger beside himself inside the vehicle and this individual did not seem inclined to urge conversation) cannot be imagined by any one who reads this for they have not been in like circumstances. and of course they cannot be correctly described.

There were various causes acting upon his mind which were calculated to have a very peculiar effect upon him

At first Joseph objected, but seeing her so cheerful, and so willing to have him leave home, he finally consented.

He set out in the first stage that passed for Palmyra, and, when he was left to himself, he began to contemplate the course which Martin had taken, and the risk which he (Joseph) had run in letting the manuscript go out of his own hands—for it could not be obtained again, in case Martin had lost it through transgression, except by the power of God, which was something Joseph could hardly hope for—and that, by persisting in his entreaties to the Lord, he had perhaps fallen into transgression, and thereby lost the manuscript. When, I say, he began to contemplate these things, they troubled his spirit, and his soul was moved with fearful apprehensions.

And, although he was now nearly worn out, sleep fled from his eyes, neither had he any desire for food, for he felt that he had done wrong, and how great his condemnation was he did not know.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

in the first place was the consideration of the calling which he had received at the hand of God many years previous to <do> a thing unlooked for by the people of the generation in which he lived he cast his eyes abroad upon the age present <now> upon the earth and reflected that he stood alone an unlearned youth opposed to all the casuistry and learning and ingenuity of the combined world. Whose business was to tear open the bowels of the Earth and drag to light the precious things of the Earth beneath and then extend his search up to the throne of God and bring down the precious of Heaven above into the midst of the sons of men despite all their preconceived opinions and prejudices which were so great that in order to gratify a pride of popularity and sustain a fashionable religion they would and did <strive> and even before this had sought <used all their ingenuity> to take away his life to prevent the truth from coming forth and <least> their own opinions receive injury thereby—But this he did not regard ~~this or~~ while he was sure of the strong support of the Omnipotent arm of the Almighty ruler of men and every other power which was and is and is to come—there remained another Item of consideration of tenfold weight and more vital importance than any of these. He had not now that feeling of justification which assured him of the especial favor of God for he awfully feared that he had ventured too far in vouching for the safety of the manuscript after it was out of his possession and should this be the case the consequence which must ensue was inevitable ~~that~~ which was he would not be permitted to retain the plates untill he should be able to translate ~~it~~ them and perhaps he might never have the privilege of touching a finger to the work which untill now he had been the blessed instrument in the hands of God of bring [sic] to the knowledge of mankind nor was this the worst apprehension that disturbed his mind the hot displeasure of the Almighty would be kindled against him for turning aside from the injunctions which was laid upon him ~~and~~ and calling upon his heavenly Father to grant him an indulgence that was not according to instructions of the Angel of the Lord. for it now appeared to him upon reflection that he had acted hastily & in an inconsiderate manner and that he had regarded

man more than his maker. Whilst these thoughts accompanied by ten thousand others which naturally fell into their train passed in rapid succession through his brain there was but small opportunity of rest and little relish for refreshment consequently he neither ate nor slept while on the rout

*Lucy: 1844-45*

this was observed by his fellow traveller so much so that when Joseph remarked as he descended from the stage\* [No corresponding note or insertion.] that he had still twenty miles to travel on foot the stranger objected <saying> I have watched you since you first entered the stage & I know that you have not slept nor eaten since you commenced your journey and you shall not go on foot 20 miles alone this night for if you must and will go I will be your company—and now tell me what ~~is or~~ can be the trouble which makes you thus desperate and also weighs down your spirits to such an extent that you refuse every es preferred comfort and convenience—

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Only one passenger was in the stage besides himself: this man, observing Joseph's gloomy appearance, inquired the cause of his affliction, and offered to assist him if his services would be acceptable. Joseph thanked him for his kindness, and mentioned that he had been watching some time with a sick wife and child, that the child had died, and that his wife was still very low; but refrained from giving any further explanation. Nothing more passed between them on this subject, until Joseph was about leaving the stage; at which time he remarked, that he still had twenty miles further to travel on foot that night, it being then about ten o'clock. To this the stranger objected, saying, "I have watched you since you first entered the stage, and I know that you have neither slept nor eat<sup>169</sup> since that time, and you shall not go on foot twenty miles alone this night; for, if you must go, I will be your company. Now tell me what can be the trouble that makes you thus dispirited?"<sup>170</sup>

169. IE and Nibley: "eaten"

170. Coray: "makes you thus desperate."

Joseph told the gentleman that he had left his wife in so low a state of health that he had reason to fear that he would not find her alive when he returned also he had buried his first and only child but a few days previous to leaving home this explanation was given in truth and sincerity although there was heavy trouble laying at his heart that he did not dare to mention—

I feel said the kind stranger to sympathize with you and I will go with you for I fear that your constitution which is evidently not strong will not be sufficient to support you and you will be in danger of falling asleep in the forest and some accident befall you—

Joseph thanked him and they proceeded together—when they arrived at our house it was nearly daylight 4 miles of distance the stranger was under the necessity of leading Joseph by his arm for nature was too much exhausted to support him any longer and he would fall asleep as he stood upon his feet as often as once in a few minutes—

When they came in the stranger said I have brought your son through the forest because he insisted on coming but he is sick and wants rest and refreshment he ought to have some pepper immedi-

Joseph replied, about as before—that he had left his wife in so low a state of health, that he feared he should not find her alive when he returned; besides, he had buried his first and only child but a few days previous. This was true, though there was another trouble lying at his heart, which he dared not to mention.

The stranger then observed, “I feel to sympathize with you, and I fear that your constitution, which is evidently not strong, will be inadequate to support you. You will be in danger of falling asleep in the forest, and of meeting with some awful disaster.”

Joseph again thanked the gentleman for his kindness, and, leaving the stage, they proceeded together. When they reached our house it was nearly daylight. The stranger said he was under the necessity of leading Joseph the last four miles by the arm; for nature was too much exhausted to support him any longer, and he would fall asleep as he was walking along, every few minutes, towards the last of this distance.

On entering our house, the stranger remarked that he had brought our son through the forest, because he had insisted on coming, that he was sick, and needed rest, as well as refreshment, and that he



ately to warm his stomach—after you have prepared that I will thank you for a little breakfast as I am in haste to be on my journey again—

When the first direction was complied with Joseph requested us to send with all possible speed for Martin Harris we did so and after the stranger left (whose name we never knew) we prepared breakfast as soon as we could conveniently for Martin always came in such haste when sent for that we supposed he would be there and ready to take breakfast ~~before~~ with us before we could ~~pæ~~ be ready to eat—it was now near 6 oclock ~~æ~~ and he lived 3 miles distant—

at 8 oclock we sat the victuals on the table ~~as we~~ as we were looking for him every moment we waited till 9 and he came not till 10 and he was not there till 11 still he did not make his appearance at ½ past 12 we saw him walking with a slow and measured ~~pæ~~ tread toward the house his eyes fixed thoughtfully upon the ground when he came to the gate he did not open it but got upon the fence and sat some time with his hat ~~drawn~~ drawn over his eyes—

ought to have some pepper tea to warm his stomach. After thus directing us, relative to our son, he said, that when we had attended to Joseph he would thank us for a little breakfast for himself, as he was in haste to be on his journey again.

When Joseph had taken a little nourishment, according to the directions of the stranger, he requested us to send immediately for Mr. Harris. This we did without delay. And when we had given the stranger his breakfast, we commenced preparing breakfast for the family; and we supposed that Mr. Harris would be there, as soon as it was ready, to eat with us, for he generally came in such haste when he was sent for.

At eight o'clock we set the victuals on the table, as we were expecting him every moment. We waited till nine, and he came not—till ten, and he was not there—till eleven, still he did not make his appearance. But at half-past twelve we saw him walking with a slow and measured tread towards the house, his eyes fixed thoughtfully upon the ground. On coming to the gate, he stopped, instead of passing through, and got upon the fence, and sat there some time with his hat drawn over his eyes.

at last he entered the house after we sat down and were ready to commence eating Martin ~~too~~ with the rest he took up his knife and fork as if to use them but dropped them from his hands Hyrum said Martin why do you not eat are you sick Martin pressed his hands upon his temples and cried out in a tone of anguish Oh! I have lost my soul I have lost my soul.

Joseph who had smothered his fears till now sprang from the table exclaiming Oh! Martin have you lost that manuscript? have you broken your oath and brought down condemnation upon my head as well as your own

Yes replied Martin it is gone and I know not where— Oh! My God My God said Joseph clenching his hands together all is lost is lost what shall I do I have sinned it is me that<sup>171</sup> tempted the wrath God by asking him to that which I had no right to ~~de~~ ask as I was differently instructed by the angel—and he wept ~~to like~~ and groaned walking the floor continually

at last he told martin to go back to his house and search again— No said Mr Harris it is all in vain for I have looked in Every place in the house I have even ripped open beds and pillows and I know it is not there

At length he entered the house. Soon after which we sat down to the table, Mr. Harris with the rest. He took up his knife and fork as if he were going to use them, but immediately dropped them. Hyrum, observing this, said “Martin, why do you not eat; are you sick? Upon which Mr. Harris pressed his hands upon his temples, and cried out in a tone of deep anguish, “Oh, I have lost my soul! I have lost my soul!”

Joseph, who had not expressed his fears till now, sprang from the table, exclaiming, “Martin, have you lost that manuscript? have you broken your oath, and brought down condemnation upon my head, as well as your own?”

“Yes, it is gone,” replied Martin, “and I know not where.”

“Oh, my God!” said Joseph, clinching his hands. “All is lost! all is lost! What shall I do? I have sinned—it is I who tempted the wrath of God. I should have been satisfied with the first answer which I received from the Lord; for he told me that it was not safe to let the writing go out of my possession.” He wept and groaned, and walked the floor continually.

At length he told Martin to go back and search again.

“No,” said Martin, “it is all in vain; for I have ripped open beds and pillows, and I know it is not there.”

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171. Coray: “me that”; GAS: “I who”

Then must I said Joseph return to my wife with such a tale as this I dare not do it least I should kill her at once and how shall I appear before the Lord of what rebuke am I not worthy from the Angel of the most high

I besought him not to mourn so that it might be that the Lord would forgive him after a short season of humiliation and repentance on his part—but what could I say to comfort him when he saw the family all in the same state of mind that he was ~~nothing could be more affecting than the appearance which we presented~~ <for> sobs and groans and the most bitter lamentations filled the house Joseph <in> particularly was more distressed than the rest for he knew definitely and by sorrowful experience the consequence of the what would seem to others to be a very trifling neglect of duty he continued ~~walking the~~ <pacing back> floor <wards> and forwards and weeping and grieving like a tender infant untill about sunset we persuaded him to take a little nourishment<sup>173</sup>

the next morning he went home we parted with heavy hearts for it seemed as though all our fond anticipations which we had fed upon

“Then must I,” said Joseph, “return to my wife with such a tale as this? I dare not do it, lest I should kill her at once.<sup>172</sup> And how shall I appear before the Lord? Of what rebuke am I not worthy from the angel of the Most High?”

I besought him not to mourn so, for perhaps the Lord would forgive him, after a short season of humiliation and repentance. But what could I say to comfort him, when he saw all the family in the same situation of mind as himself; for sobs and groans, and the most bitter lamentations filled the house. However, Joseph was more distressed than the rest, as he better understood the consequences of disobedience. And he continued pacing back and forth, meantime weeping and grieving, until about sunset, when, by persuasion, he took a little nourishment.

The next morning we [sic] set out for home. We parted with heavy hearts, for it now appeared that all which we had so fondly anticipated,

172. GAS on Coray: “return to my wife with such a tale as this? I dare not do it, lest I should kill her at once.” RLDS: “lest it should kill her”; IE and Nibley: “. . . return with such a tale as this? I dare not do it.”

173. Coray: “when, by much persuasion, he took . . .”

and which had been the source of so much secret gratification<sup>174</sup> to us all was in moment fled and fled for ever—

and which had been the source of so much secret gratification, had in a moment fled, and fled for ever.

## CHAP. XXVI.

MARTIN HARRIS'S PERFDY.

I will now return and trace Martin Harris and give a sketch of his proceedings through the fortnight's time that had brought to pass a train of circumstances that had swept over us like a the simoon<sup>175</sup> blast—and seared our bright hopes in the tender bud ere we were granted the priviledge beholding even the opening leaf—

I will now give a sketch of the proceedings of Martin Harris during the time he was absent from Joseph.<sup>176</sup>

When he arrived at home he was not slow to exhibit the manuscript to his wife and family thus far he was under no condemnation his wife seemed highly pleased with what she heard and entered into the spirit of it so much that she gave her husband the priviledge of locking it up in a set of drawers which she had never <before> permitted him to look into after he had shown the transcript to those who were priviledged to see it by his oath<sup>177</sup> he laid it aside and went with Mrs H to visit a relative of her's who lived [blank] miles distant and as his wife

After leaving Joseph he arrived at home with the manuscript in safety. Soon after he exhibited the manuscript to his wife and family. His wife was so pleased with it, that she gave him the privilege of locking it up in her own set of drawers, which was a special favour, for she had never before this allowed him even the privilege of looking into them. After he had shown the manuscript to those who had a right, according to his oath, to see it, he went with his wife to visit one of her relatives, who lived some ten or fifteen miles distant.

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174. Coray: "of so much joy secret gratification . . ."

175. The *simoom* is a hot, dry, dust-laden wind from Asian and African deserts.

176. Coray: "during the two weeks in which he was absent . . ."; RLDS: "of the proceeding . . ."

177. Coray: "After showing the manuscript to those <to> whom he had a right to exhibit it to, according to his oath . . ."

declined returning with him he left her with her friends and went home alone—<sup>178</sup>

shortly after he got there a very particular friend made him a visit to whom he related all he knew concerning the record The man's curiosity was much excited and he earnestly desired to see the transcript Martin was anxious to gratify his friend although it was contrary to his obligation. but when he went to seek for it he found that key could not be found but he soon resolved to carry his design into execution and to do this he picked the lock and in so doing he injured his lady's beaureau considerably

he now removed the manuscript to his own set off [sic] drawers here he had ~~th~~ it at his command and passing by his oath he showed ~~them~~ <it to> any good friend that happened call on him

when Mrs Harris returned and beheld the marred and injured state of her beaureau her irracible temper knew no bounds and an intolerable storm ensued throughout the house which descended with greatest force upon the head of the devoted husband

After remaining with them a short time, he returned home, but his wife declined accompanying him back.

Soon after his return, a very particular friend of his made him a visit, to whom he related all that he knew concerning the Record. The man's curiosity was much excited, and, as might be expected, he earnestly desired to see the manuscript. Martin was so anxious to gratify his friend, that, although it was contrary to his obligation, he went to the drawer to get the manuscript, but the key was gone. He sought for it some time, but could not find it. Resolved, however, to carry his purpose into execution, he picked the lock, and, in so doing, considerably injured his wife's bureau.

He then took out the manuscript, and, after showing it to this friend, he removed it to his own set of drawers, where he could have it at his command. Passing by his oath, he showed it to any good friend that happened to call on him.

When Mrs. Harris returned, and discovered the marred state of her bureau, her irascible temper was excited to the utmost pitch, and an intolerable storm ensued, which descended with the greatest violence upon the devoted head of her husband.

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178. Coray: "After remaining with them a short time, he returned home, but left his wife, as she wished to visit with her friends some longer. In a short time after he reached home . . ."

Having once made a sacrifice of his conscience, Mr. Harris no longer regarded its scruples; so he continued to exhibit the writings, until a short time before Joseph arrived, to any one whom he regarded as prudent enough to keep the secret, except our family, but *we* were not allowed to set our eyes upon them.

and when Joseph arrived peace was not yet restored and because of this she was accused of having taken the transcript by stealth and secreted it for when ~~<although but>~~ Joseph sent for him he went ~~im~~ immediately to his drawer—but the manuscript was gone—he asked his wife where it was—she solemnly averred that she did not know anything about it whatever—not regarding what she said he went through the house and made a faithful search—

but it was more vain than Esau's seeking his blessing

For a short time previous to Joseph's arrival, Mr. Harris had been otherwise engaged, and thought but little about the manuscript. When Joseph sent for him, he went immediately to the drawer where he had left it, but, behold it was gone! He asked his wife where it was. She solemnly averred that she did not know anything respecting it. He then made a faithful search throughout the house, as before related.<sup>179</sup>

The manuscript has never been found; and there is no doubt but Mrs. Harris took it from the drawer, with the view of retaining it, until another translation should be given, then, to alter the original translation, for the purpose of showing a discrepancy be-

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179. RLDS note: "In 1860, when conversing with Martin Harris, at Kirtland, Ohio, in respect to the Book of Mormon and the prophetic mission of Joseph the Martyr, he in reply to direct inquiries, told me that he obtained the one hundred and sixteen pages manuscript of the Book of Mormon from Joseph, and took them to his home, where he read them in the evenings to his family and some friends, and that he put them in his bureau in the parlor, locking both bureau and parlor, putting the keys of each in his pocket, and so retired for the night, after which he never saw them. He seemed to be still conscience-smitten for permitting them to be stolen. He reaffirmed his testimony, in substance, as found in connection with that of O. Cowdery and D. Whitmer, in respect to the divinity of the Book of Mormon. —W. W. BLAIR." According to Lorenzo Saunders, Mrs. Harris said she burned the manuscript. Martin first believed she had given it to a third party, but later in life said that she burned it (Vogel 1:367-68).

<after Joseph returned we co> for he not only lost his spiritual blessing <but a great temporal blessing also—for there was a heavy fog which swept over the <[illegible]> his fields and caused his wheat to blighted all his wheat while that on the opposite of the road remained untouched by the mildew which spoiled his grain>

tween them, and thus make the whole appear to be a deception.<sup>180</sup>

It seemed as though Martin Harris, for his transgression, suffered temporally as well as spiritually. The same day on which the foregoing circumstance took place, a dense fog spread itself over his fields, and blighted his wheat while in the blow, so that he lost about two-thirds of his crop, whilst those fields which lay only on the opposite side of the road received no injury whatever.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

I well remember that day of darkness, both within and without. To us, at least, the heavens seemed clothed with blackness, and the earth shrouded with gloom. I have often said within myself, that if a continual punishment, as severe as that which we experienced on that occasion, were to be inflicted upon the most wicked characters who ever stood upon the footstool of the Almighty—if even their punishment were no greater than that, I should feel to pity their condition.<sup>181</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

We never heard from our unfortunate son untill 2 months after when being uneasy as to the consequences of his distress of mind. We (that is Mr Smith and myself) went down to Harmony to make him a visit

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

#### CHAP. XXVII.

THE URIM AND THUMMIM ARE  
TAKEN FROM JOSEPH—HE RE-  
CEIVES THEM AGAIN.

For nearly two months<sup>182</sup> after Joseph returned to his family, in Pennsylvania, we heard nothing from him, and becoming anxious about him, Mr. Smith and myself set off to make him a visit.

180. This is the explanation given in the revelation canonized as D&C 10.

181. Coray: "if I say their punishment was even no greater than this. I should feel to pity the condition of the most depraved."

[Note 182 appears on page 424.]



when we came within 3/4 of a mile of the House Joseph started off to meet us telling his wife that Father and Mother were coming although he could not see us—

when he met us with a countenance blazing with delight and it was very evident that his joy did not arise wholly from seeing us ~~a while a great and real trouble was seated at heart~~ <he said> very little passed concerning this subject <of his trouble> untill evening—he then related what had taken place since he was in New York with great minute precision as follows

I returned home immediately after I left you ~~without accident~~ after I arrived here I commenced humbling myself in mighty prayer before the Lord and <as> I poured out my soul ~~bef~~ in supplication to him that if possible I might obtain mercy at hands and be forgiven of all that I had done which was contrary to his will—As I was doing this an Angel stood before me and answered me saying that I had sinned in that he [sic] had delivered the manuscript into the hands of a wicked man and as he had ventured to become responsible for this man's faithfulness he would of necessity suffer the

When we came within three-quarters of a mile of the house, Joseph started to meet us, telling his wife, as he left, that father and mother were coming.<sup>183</sup>

When he met us, his countenance wore so pleasant an aspect, that I was convinced he had something agreeable to communicate with regard to the work in which he was engaged. When I entered, the first thing which attracted my attention was a red morocco trunk, lying on Emma's bureau, which Joseph shortly informed me contained the Urim and Thummim, and the plates. And, in the evening, he gave us the following relation of what had transpired since our separation:—

"On leaving you,"<sup>184</sup> said Joseph, "I returned immediately home. Soon after my arrival, I commenced humbling myself in mighty prayer before the Lord, and, as I was pouring out my soul in supplication to God, that if possible, I might obtain mercy at his hands, and be forgiven of all that I had done contrary to his will, an angel stood before me, and answered me, saying, that I had sinned in delivering the manuscript into the hands of a wicked man, and, as I had ventured to become responsible for his faithfulness I would of necessity have to suffer the consequences of his indiscretion, and I

182. After 22 September 1828, if Joseph Jr.'s chronology in the *History of the Church* is correct.

183. Nibley note: "Joseph gives the date of the visit of his father as February 1829."

[Note 184 appears on page 425.]

consequence's of his indiscretion that he must now give back the plates into the hands of the angel from he had received them

but said he it may be if you are sufficiently humble and penitent that you will receive them again on the 22 september—

Soon after this he received ~~the~~ <a following> revelation from the Lord<sup>185</sup>— The works and <the> designs and <the> purposes of God cannot be frustrated, neither can they come to naught. For God doth not walk in crooked paths: neither doth he turn to the right hand nor to the left, neither doth he ~~turn~~ vary from that which he hath said, therefore his ~~course is one~~ paths are straight, and his course is one eternal round. Remember, Remmember, that it is not the work of God that is frustrated but the work of men: For although a man may have many revelations and have power to do many mighty works, yet if he boasts ~~himself~~ in his own strength, and sets at naught the counsels of God and follows after the dictates of his own will and carnal desires, he must fall and incur the vengeance of a just God upon him. Behold, you have

must now give up the Urim and Thummim into his (the angel's) hands.

"This I did as I was directed, and as I handed them to him, he remarked, 'If you are very humble and penitent, it may be you will receive them again; if so, it will be on the twenty-second of next September.'"

Joseph then related a revelation which he received soon after the angel visited him. A part of which is as follows:—

"Behold, you have been entrusted with these things, but how strict were your commandments, and remember, also, the promises which were made to you, if you did not transgress them; and behold how oft you have transgressed the commandments, and the laws of God, and have gone on in the persuasions of men. For behold, you should not have feared man more than God. Although men set at naught the counsels of God, and despise his words, yet you should have been faithful, and he would have extended his arm, and supported you against all the fiery darts of the adversary, and he would have been with you in every time of trouble.

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184. Coray: "After leaving you . . ."

185. Lucy's rough draft corresponds to the current (1981) LDS Doctrine and Covenants 3:1-20, while the Pratt version consists of vv. 5-16. Spelling errors and omitted words suggest that Lucy read the revelation aloud while Martha Jane copied it, otherwise there would have been fewer errors.

<been> entrusted ~~you~~ with these things but how strict were your commandments; and remmember also the promises which were made to you if you did not transgress them and behold how oft you have transgressed the commandments and the laws of God, and ~~has~~ have gone on in the persuasions of men for behold you should not have feared man more than God although men set at naught the counsels of God, and despise his words— yet you should have been faithful and he would have extended his arm and supported you against all the fiery darts of the adversary and he would have been with you in every time of trouble

Behold thou art Joseph, and thou wast chosen to do the work of the Lord but because of transgression if thou art not aware thou wilt fall but remmember God is merciful therefore repent of that which thou hast done which is contrary to the commandment which I gave you and thou art still chosen and art again called to the work except thou do this thou shalt be delivered up and become as other men and have no more gift.

And when thou deliveredst up that which God had given thee sight and power to translate thou deliveredst up that which was sacred into the

“Behold, thou art Joseph, and thou wast chosen to do the work of the Lord; but because of transgression, if thou art not aware, thou wilt fall. But remember, God is merciful; therefore, repent of that which thou hast done, which is contrary to the commandment which I gave you, and thou art still chosen, and art again called to the work. Except thou do this, thou shalt be delivered up, and become as other men, and have no more<sup>186</sup> gift.

“And when thou deliveredst up that which God had given thee sight and power to translate, thou deliveredst up that which was sacred,

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186. Coray: “and have no gift”; GAS on Coray: “and have no more gift.”

hands of a wicked man who has set at naught the counsels of God and has broken the most sacred promises which were made before God,<sup>187</sup> and has depended upon his own strength judgment and boasted in his own wisdom and this is the reason that thou hast lost thy privileges for a season—For thou hast suffered the counsel of thy director to be trampled upon from the beginning

Nevertheless, my work shall go forth for inasmuch as the knowledge of a savior has come unto the world, through the testimony of the Jews even so shall the knowledge of a Savior come unto my people—

into the hands of a wicked man, who has set at naught the counsels of God, and has broken the most sacred promises which were made before God, and has depended upon his own judgment, and boasted in his own wisdom; and this is the reason that thou hast lost thy privileges for a season, for thou hast suffered the counsel of thy director to be trampled upon from the beginning.

“Nevertheless, my work shall go forth, for inasmuch as the knowledge of a Saviour has come unto the world through the testimony of the Jews, even so shall the knowledge of a Saviour come unto my people.”

For the sake of brevity, I have omitted part of this revelation, but the reader will find it in the *Doc. and Cov.*, sec. xxx.<sup>188</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

and to the Nephites and the Jacobites and the Josephites and the Zoramites throug [sic] the testimony their fathers and this testimony shall come to the knowledge of the Lamanites and the Lemuelites and Ishmaelites who dwindled in unbelief because of the iniquity of their Father's whom the Lord has suffered to destroy their brethren the Nephites, because of their iniquities and their abominations. and for this purpose are these plates preserved which contain these records that the promises of the Lord might be fulfilled which he made to his people and that the Lamanites might come to the knowledge of their Fathers and that they might know the promises of the Lord and that they may believe the Gospel and rely upon the merits of Jesus Christ and be

187. GAS on Coray: “set at naught the counsels of God, and has broken the most sacred promises which were made before God . . .”

188. Coray: “will find it on pake [sic] 156, Doctrine and Covenants, 1st ed.” GAS: “will find it in Section 30 [sic] of the book of Doctrine and Covenants.” RLDS note: “Late edition, section 2”; IE and Nibley: “section 3:5-16.”

glorified through faith in his ~~name~~ and that through their repentance they might be saved: Amen.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

I ~~then~~ continued <said> Joseph my supplications to God without cessation that his mercy might again be exercised towards me and on the 22 of september I had the joy and satisfaction of again receiving the ~~record~~ <urim and Thummin> into my possession and I have commenced translating and Emma writes for me now but the angel said that ~~if I get the plates again~~ that the Lord would send some one to write for me and I trust that it will be so—he also said that ~~the angel seemed~~ <he was> rejoiced when he gave ~~him~~ <me> back the plates <urim and Thummin> and said that ~~he~~ <God> was pleased with ~~his~~ <my> faithfulness and humility ~~also that the Lord was pleased with him~~ and loved him <me> for ~~his~~ <my> penitence and dilligence in prayer in the which ~~he~~ <I> had performed his duty so well as to receive the ~~record~~ <urim and Thummin> and ~~he~~ <was> able to enter upon the work of translation again<sup>189</sup>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

I will now return to Joseph's recital.

"After the angel left me," said he, "I continued my supplications to God, without cessation, and on the twenty-second of September, I had the joy and satisfaction of again receiving the Urim and Thummim, with which I have again commenced translating, and Emma writes for me, but the angel said that the Lord would send me a scribe, and I trust his promise will be verified. The angel seemed pleased with me when he gave me back the Urim and Thummim, and he told me that the Lord loved me, for my faithfulness and humility."

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

A few months after Joseph received them, he inquired of the Lord, and obtained the following revelation:—

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189. Here appears a hand-drawn set of four connected rectangles divided once lengthwise. On the top line is written "See Emma's paper names [now?]."

"Now, behold I say unto you, that because you delivered up those writings which you had power given unto you to translate, by the means of the Urim and Thummim, into the hands of a wicked man, you have lost them, and you also lost your gift at the same time, and your mind became darkened; nevertheless, it is now restored unto you again; therefore, see that you are faithful, and continue on unto the finishing of the remainder of the work of translation as you have begun. Do not run faster, or labor more than you have strength and means provided to enable you to translate, but be diligent unto the end, pray always, that you may come off conqueror, yea, that you may conquer Satan, and that you may escape the hands of the servants of Satan that do uphold his work. Behold, they have sought to destroy you, yea, even the man in whom you have trusted, has sought to destroy you, and for this cause I said, that he is a wicked man, for he has sought to take away the things wherewith you have been entrusted, and he has also sought to destroy your gift; and because you have delivered the writings into his hands, behold wicked men have taken them from you. Therefore, you have delivered them up, yea, that which was sacred, unto wickedness. And behold, Satan has put it into their hearts to alter the words which you have caused to be written, or which you have translated, which have gone out of your hands; and behold, I say unto you, that because they have altered the words, they read contrary from that which you<sup>190</sup> translated and caused to be written; and on this wise the devil has sought to lay a cunning plan, that he may destroy this work. For he has put it into their hearts to do this, that, by lying, they may say they have caught you in the words."—*Doc. and Cov.*, sec. xxxvi.<sup>191</sup>

Lucy: 1844-45      Coray/Pratt: 1853

While on this visit we became acquainted with the family of Mr. Hale Joseph's Fatherinlaw whose name was Isaac his Family consisted of Elizabeth his wife and Jesse, David, Alva, Isaac Ward, & Reuben his sons also his Phebe Elizabeth & Ar [blank] his daughters

While on this visit we became acquainted with Emma's father, whose name was Isaac Hale; also his family, which consisted of his wife, Elizabeth, his sons, Jesse, David, Alva, Isaac Ward, and Reuben; and his daughters, Phebe, Elizabeth, and A——.<sup>192</sup>

190. GAS on Coray: "from that which you have . . ."

191. Coray: "... in the words which you have pretended to translate."—*Doc. and Cov.*, sec. 36 p. 163; RLDS note: "Late edition, section 3."

192. Coray: "David, Alva, Isaac W., and Reuben; and his daughters, Phebe and Elizabeth." RLDS note identifies "A——" as "Trial, wife of Michael Morse, Amboy, Illinois"; IE and Nibley:

they were a lovely inteligent and highly respectable Family. They were pleasantly situated living in fine circumstances in the county of susquehanah town of Harmony on an elegant farm lying a short distance from the foot of a ~~spendid~~ range of Mountains that ran north and south on the East <south> of them between which and the farm the susquehanah poured its chrystal floods in full view of the masion [sic] in which they lived a large neatly finished frame with <every> convenient appendange necessary on an extensive and well cultivated farm—it was a most delightful situation and did honor to the good taste of the inteligent proprié <tor><sup>193</sup>

We spent the time very agreeably and returned home relieved of a burden which had seemed too heavy to be borne the joy we had over the present prosperity of our son with regard to his spiritual concerns far outweighed anything of the kind which we had before experienced for we now had learned to appereciate the sweet from having drank deeply of the bitter for a season—But as <it> ~~had~~ always <had> been the case our season of rejoicing was soon mingled with ~~the~~ anxiety and distress

They were an intelligent and highly respectable family. They were pleasantly situated, and lived in good style, in the town of Harmony, on the Susquehannah river, within a short distance of the place where Joseph resided.

The time of our visit with them, we passed very agreeably, and returned home relieved of a burden which was almost insupportable, and our present joy far overbalanced all our former grief.

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"Phebe and Elizabeth."

<sup>193</sup>. New page: A symbol is drawn here resembling a large squarish "n"—probably the number "77."



## CHAP. XXVIII.

OLIVER COWDERY COMMENCES  
WRITING FOR JOSEPH—THEY AT-  
TEND TO THE ORDINANCE OF BAP-  
TISM.

When we arrived at home we found sopronia & samuel lying at the point of Death Hyrum had shut up his own house and left it to take care of the children during our absence Sophronia lay very sick for 2 months in which time she was dreadfully salivated<sup>194</sup> by the Dr. who attended her—

Soon after we returned there came a man into our neighborhood by the name of Lyman Cowdray he went to Hyrum (as he was one of the principle trustees) and applied for the school. It was settled that he should have it and the terms were agreed upon—But the next day he brought his brother Oliver and requested them to receive him in the place of himself as buisness had arisen that would oblige him to disappointt them but he would warrant the prosperity and Good conduct of the school in oliver's hands if the trustees would accept of his services—

When Mr. Smith and myself arrived at home, we found Samuel and Sophronia very sick, indeed, they were so low that Hyrum had left his own house, and quitted business, in order to take care of them during our absence. They continued sick a length of time—Samuel did not altogether recover for a number of months.<sup>195</sup>

Soon after we returned from Harmony, a man by the name of Lyman Cowdery came into the neighbourhood, and applied to Hyrum, (as he was one of the trustees,) for the district school. A meeting of the trustees was called,<sup>196</sup> and Mr. Cowdery was employed. But the following day, this Mr. Cowdery brought his brother Oliver to the trustees, and requested them to receive him instead of himself, as circumstances had transpired which rendered it necessary for him to disappoint them, or which would not allow of his attending to the school himself; and he would warrant the good conduct of the school under his brother's supervision.

194. "Salivation" was a medical treatment that employed mercury to generate an abnormal flow of saliva.

195. Coray: "Samuel in particular did not altogether recover . . ."

196. RLDS: "a meeting was called . . ."

All parties were satisfied and Oliver requested my husband to take him as a boarder<sup>197</sup> at least for a little while untill he should become acquainted with his patrons in the school. He had not been in the place long till he began to hear about the plates from all quarters and immediately he commenced importuneing Mr. Smith upon the subject but he did not succeed in eliciting any information from him for a long time. At length however he gained My husbands confidence so far as to get a sketch of the facts which relates to the plates

One day, Oliver came home from school in quite a lively mood and; as soon as he had ~~on~~ an opportunity of conversing with Mr Smith he told him that he (Oliver) had been in a deep study all day and it had been put into his heart that he would have the priviledge of writing for Joseph ~~and he had concluded that~~ when the term of school which he was then teaching was closed, ~~Mr Smith said but little to this and oliver still continued~~ he could hit upon some plan that would be enable him to ~~he would~~ go and ~~and that he wou~~ pay Joseph a visit after he should mature the matter more fully in his own mind.

All parties being satisfied, Oliver commenced his school, boarding for the time being at our house. He had been in the school but a short time, when he began to hear from all quarters concerning the plates, and as soon began to importune Mr. Smith upon the subject, but for a considerable length of time did not succeed in eliciting any information. At last, however, he gained my husband's confidence, so far as to obtain a sketch of the facts relative to the plates.<sup>198</sup>

Shortly after receiving this information, he told Mr. Smith that he was highly delighted with what he had heard, that he had been in a deep study upon the subject all day, and that it was impressed upon his mind, that he should yet have the privilege of writing for Joseph. Furthermore, that he had determined to pay him a visit at the close of the school, which he was then teaching.

197. Coray: "The trustees being satisfied with this arrangement, Oliver commenced his school, and came to our house to board."

198. Possibly Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr. consulted about Oliver Cowdery during Joseph Sr.'s visit in February 1829 with Lucy to Harmony.

The next day was so very stormy as to render it almost impossible to travel the road between the school house and our place and the rain fell in torrents all the evening so I supposed that Oliver would certainly stop with some neighbor that lived nearer the school house than we did but he was not to be deterred from coming, by any common difficulty for his mind was now fully set upon a subject which he could not converse upon anywhere else. When he came <in> he said that I have now resolved what I will do for the thing which I told you seems working in my very bones insomuch that I cannot for a moment get rid of it— My plan is this—my term of school will be out in march and I want Hyrum as he is one of the trustees to manage to have my school money ready for me as soon as the school closes that I may be able to set off for Penn immediately upon making the necessary preparations. And as I understand that samuel is going to stay with Joseph through the spring I will endeavor to be ready to start by the time he recovers his health again. I have made it a subject of prayer and I firmly believe that it is the will of the Lord that I should go and that there is a work for me to do in this thing and I am determined if [written over "to"] there is to attend to it

On coming in on the following day, he said, "The subject upon which we were yesterday conversing seems working in my very bones, and I cannot, for a moment, get it out of my mind, finally, I have resolved on what I will do. Samuel, I understand, is going down to Pennsylvania to spend the spring with Joseph; I shall make my arrangements to be ready to accompany him thither, by the time he recovers his health; for I have made it a subject of prayer, and I firmly believe that it is the will of the Lord that I should go. If there is a work for me to do in this thing, I am determined to attend to it."

We told him that we thought it was his priviledge to know whether this was the case and advised him to seek for a testimony ~~concerning it~~ <for himself> he did so and received the witness spoken of in the book of doctrine and covenants.<sup>199</sup> [An addition at the bottom of the page, X'd through, reads: "Samuel ~~told me~~ <says> that he is going down to help Joseph next spring then my school will be out and I will manage to have my money collected for me so that I can go with"]

from this time Oliver was so entirely absorbed in the subject of the record that it seemed impossible for him to think or converse about anything else

We had agreed for the place <2> years<sup>200</sup> The time was now drawing to a close. We now began to make preparations to remove our family and effects ~~back to the log house we had formerly lived in but~~ <that which Hyrum occupied>, <which> was now occupied by Hyrum. Now we began to feel more seriously than we had ever done the effects of <our loss fr> ~~the blast that swept all our property and every comfort and convenience of~~

Mr. Smith told him, that he supposed it was his privilege to know whether this was the case, and advised him to seek for a testimony for himself, which he did, and received the witness spoken of in the Book of *Doc. and Cov.*, sec. viii.

From this time, Oliver was so completely absorbed in the subject of the Record, that it seemed impossible for him to think or converse about anything else.

As the time for which we had agreed for the place was now drawing to a close, we began to make preparations to remove our family and effects to the house in which Hyrum resided.<sup>201</sup> We now felt more keenly than ever the injustice of the measure which had placed a landlord over us on our own premises, and who was about to eject us from them.

199. Lucy here seems to refer to D&C (1981) 6:22-24: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, if you desire a further witness, cast your mind upon the night that you cried unto me in your heart, that you might know concerning the truth of these things. Did I not speak peace to your mind concerning the matter? What greater witness can you have than from God? And now, behold, you have received a witness; for if I have told you things which no man knoweth have you not received a witness?"

200. It was actually three years—the growing seasons (spring through fall) of 1826, 1827, and 1828.

[Note 201 appears on page 435.]

~~this nature from our hands at once~~  
 before this we had the use of our ef-  
 fects property, although it was not  
 nominally ours but the time of  
 course for us to feel the stroke most  
 sensibly was when we gave ~~them~~ up  
 to the ~~last~~ New landlord full and en-  
 tire possession of the last vestige of  
 real estate which we could call our  
 own ~~now no longer ours~~.

~~I thought~~ that it would not be  
 possible in the crowded situation in  
 which we would have to live in the  
 house to which we were soon to con-  
 vey our family for us to make Mr  
 Cowdray comfortable and m men-  
 tioned ~~the~~ to him the necessity of  
 seeking another boarding place I  
 also thought this would be a good  
 occasion to bring to his mind the  
 cause of all our present privation as  
 well as the misfortu<ne> that he  
 himself was liable to if he turned his  
 back upon the world and set out in  
 the service of God ~~regardless of con-~~  
~~sequences.~~

Now Oliver said I just look upon  
 this thing ~~as it is~~ see what a comfort-  
 able home we have had here and  
 what pains every child that we have  
 has taken to provide for us every-  
 thing necessary to make our old age  
 comfortable and long life desirable.  
 Especially here I have to look upon  
 the handiwork of that dear son  
 whom death has removed from our  
 sight ~~in~~ everything which meets my

This I thought would be a good  
 occasion for bringing to Oliver's  
 mind, the cause of all our present pri-  
 vations, as well as the misfortunes  
 which he himself was liable to if he  
 should turn his back upon the world,  
 and set out in the service of God.

"Now, Oliver," said I, "see what  
 a comfortable home we have had  
 here,<sup>202</sup> what pains each child we  
 have has taken to provide for us  
 every thing necessary to make old  
 age comfortable, and long life desir-  
 able. Here, especially, I look upon  
 the handywork of my beloved Alvin,  
 who even upon his death-bed, and  
 in his last moments, charged his  
 brothers to finish his work of pre-

201. Nibley note: "It appears that the Smith family left their farm in the spring of 1829."

[Note 202 appears on page 436.]

eyes reminds me of my beloved Alvin Even upon <his> death bed in last moments his dying injunction <was> to his brothers, was that they should not by any means neglect to finish his work of preparing a place of earthly rest for us that if possible through the exertions of our children our last might be our best days and there is scarcely anything that I see which has not passed through hands of that faithful boy and afterwards been carefully aranged as precisely according to his every plan by his brothers who survived him showing to me in every particular their faithful and affectionate remembrance both of their Parents and the Brother whom they loved. ~~From~~ all these tender recollectionions render our present trial doubly severe for these relics ~~(which even were they without other value othe than that which is attached to them by these recollections are to me most precious)~~ must now pass into the hands of wicked men who fear not God neither do they regard man. and by what right or upon what righteous principle. They never have raised a hand to earn any part of that <of> which they are now to reap the benefit of .

paring a place of earthly rest for us; that if it were possible, through the exertions of the children, our last days might be our best days. Indeed, there is scarcely anything which I here see, that has not passed through the hands of that faithful boy, and afterwards, by his brothers, been arranged precisely according to his plan,<sup>203</sup> thus showing to me their affectionate remembrance, both of their parents, and of the brother whom they loved. All these tender recollections render our present trial doubly severe, for these dear relics must now pass into the hands of wicked men, who fear not God and regard not man.<sup>204</sup> And upon what righteous principle has all this been brought about? Have they ever lifted a finger to earn any part of that which they now claim? I tell you they have not. Yet I now give up all this for the sake of Christ and salvation, and I pray God to help me to do so, without a murmur or a tear. In the strength of God, I say, that from this time forth, I will not cast one longing look upon anything which I now leave behind me.

202. RLDS: "home we had here . . ."

203. Coray: "his every plan . . ."

204. This phrase is from the parable of the unjust judge in Luke 18:1-5: "Though I fear not God, nor regard man; Yet because this widow troubleth me, I will avenge her . . ."

In consequence of these things; Oliver, we cannot make you comfortable any longer and you will be under the necessity of taking board-  
ing somewhere else for we shall have to crowd ourselves ourselves together in a log house where we shall have none of the convenience that we have here

Mother exclaimed the young man with much feeling only let me stay with you and I can live in any log hut where you and Father lives but I can't <not> go away from you so say no more about convenience I care not for it I can do well enough Well continued I now look around me upon all these things that have been gathered together for my happiness which has cost the toil of years and <said I now mark> I now give it all <this> up for the sake of Christ and salvation and I pray God to help me to do so without one murmur or a tear and in the strength of God I give them up from this time and I will not cast one longing look upon anything which I leave behind me

In April all Mr Cowdray's affairs being arranged according to his mind he and Samuel set out for Penn. The weather had for some time previous been very wet and disagreeable occasionally freezing nights this made the roads almost impassible particularly in the middle of the day but Mr Cowdray was determined not be detained by wind or weather

However, in consequence of these things, Oliver, we cannot make you comfortable any longer, and you will be under the necessity of taking boarding somewhere else."

"Mother," exclaimed the young man, "let me stay with you, for I can live in any log hut where you and father live, but I cannot leave you, so do not mention it."

In April Samuel and Mr. Cowdery set out for Pennsylvania. The weather, for some time previous, had been very wet and disagreeable—raining, freezing, and thawing alternately, which had rendered the roads almost impassable, particularly in the middle of the day. Notwithstanding, Mr. Cowdery was not to be detained, either by wind or weather,



and persvered untill they arrived at Joseph's house although Oliver frozes his <one of toes> ~~feet~~ and suffered much on the road from fatigue as well as <Samuel> ~~the in-~~  
~~elemency of the weather~~

When they arived there Joseph was not at home ~~wh~~ as he had been so hurried with buisnes and writing &c. that he could not proceed with the work as fast as it was ncesary for him to do and <there was also another disadvantage under which he had to labor> Emma had so much of her time taken up with her work that she could ~~not~~ write but little for him accordingly 2 or 3 days before the arrival of Oliver and Samuel he feeling it his priviledge to lay hold of the promise of the angel that the Lord would send him a scribe he called upon ~~the~~ His Heavenly Father for the promised assistance and was informed that the same should be forthcoming in a few days as soon <after> Oliver was introduced to him he said Mr Smi<th> I have come for the purpose of writing for you. This was not at all unexpected to Joseph for although he had never seen Mr Cowdray before he knew that the Lord was able to perform and that he had been faithful to fulfill all his promises <informed Joseph what his buisness was>

and they persevered until they arrived at Joseph's.<sup>205</sup>

Joseph had been so hurried with his secular affairs, that he could not proceed with his spiritual concerns so fast as was necessary for the speedy completion of the work; there was also another disadvantage under which he laboured, his wife had so much of her time taken up with the care of her house, that she could write for him but a small portion of the time. On account of these embarrassments, Joseph called upon the Lord, three days prior to the arrival of Samuel and Oliver, to send him a scribe, according to the promise of the angel; and he was informed that the same should be forthcoming in a few days. Accordingly, when Mr. Cowdery told him the business that he had come upon, Joseph was not at all surprised.<sup>206</sup>

205. Nibley note: "Oliver and Samuel arrived at Joseph's home in Harmony during the first week of April, 1829."

206. Coray: "not at all disappointed." GAS: "not at all surprised."

They ~~then~~ sat down and conversed together untill late bed time and Joseph told Oliver His entire history as far as it was necessary for his information in those things which concerned him. They <were> soon deeply engaged in the work of writing and translation and prgressed rapidly.

They sat down and conversed together till late. During the evening, Joseph told Oliver his history, as far as was necessary for his present information, in the things which mostly concerned him. And the next morning they commenced the work of translation, in which they were soon deeply engaged.

one morning however they sat down to their usual work when the first thing that presented itself to Joseph was a commandment from God that he and Oliver should repair to the water & each of them be baptized they immediately went down to the susquehanah river and obeyed the ~~comm~~ mandate given them through the urim and Thumim as they were on their return to the house they overheard samuel in a secluded spot engaged in secret prayer They had now received authority to baptize and Joseph said that he considered it a sufficient testimony of samuel's honesty of heart and zeal for religion that they had found him privately bowing before the Lord in pray<er> that for himself he thought it was an evidence readiness for baptism Oliver was of the same opinion and they spoke to Samuel who went withe them straightway to the water and was baptized After this they again went on with the translation as before—

One morning they sat down to their work, as usual, and the first thing which presented itself through the Urim and Thummim, was a commandment for Joseph and Oliver to repair to the water, and attend to the ordinance of Baptism.<sup>207</sup> They did so, and as they were returning to the house, they overheard Samuel engaged in secret prayer. Joseph said, that he considered this as a sufficient testimony of his being a fit subject for Baptism; and as they had now received authority to baptize, they spoke to Samuel upon the subject, and he went straightway to the water with them, and was baptized. After which, Joseph and Oliver proceeded with the work of translation as before.<sup>208</sup>

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207. Nibley note: "This account does not exactly agree with the account given by Joseph. It would be well here to read the narrative in the *History of the Church*, Vol. 1, p. 39." The HC account

[Note 208 appears on page 440.]

## CHAP. XXIX.

MRS. HARRIS PROSECUTES  
JOSEPH.<sup>209</sup>

Samuel remained with his brother untill july or August ~~where~~ he then went back to the state of New York and brought us news of their success and prosperity This roused in Martin Harris ~~the~~ a great desire to go down to Penn to see how they were prospering for himself as he was more than commonly interested in the matter his <wife> soon came to the knowledge of his intention and fixed in her mind a determination to prevent him from going ~~in~~ also to bring Joseph into a difficulty that would be the Means of ~~stopping~~ hindering him perhaps entirely from accomplishing the work which he was about

About the first of August, Samuel returned home, bringing us news of Joseph's success.<sup>210</sup> This intelligence produced in Martin Harris a great desire to go down to Pennsylvania to see how they were prospering. This being made known to his wife, she resolved to prevent him from going, also to bring Joseph into difficulty, which would perhaps hinder him from ever accomplishing the work in which he was engaged.

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explains that, on 15 May 1829, Joseph and Oliver "went into the woods to pray and inquire of the Lord respecting baptism for the remission of sins." In response, John the Baptist "descended in a cloud of light, and having laid his hands upon us, he ordained us, saying: 'Upon you my fellow servants, in the name of Messiah I confer the Priesthood of Aaron, which holds the keys of the ministering of angels, and of the Gospel of repentance, and of baptism by immersion for the remission of sins'" and instructed them to baptize each other and ordain each other to the Aaronic priesthood.

208. According to Joseph Jr.'s account in *History of the Church* (1:44), Oliver was already engaged as a scribe and they had received authority to baptize before Samuel arrived. When they explained their new understanding of the scriptures, "Samuel was not . . . very easily persuaded of these things, but after much inquiry and explanation he retired to the woods, in order that by secret and fervent prayer he might obtain of a merciful God, wisdom to enable him to judge for himself. The result was that he obtained revelation for himself . . . and on the twenty-fifth day of that same month in which we had been baptized and ordained, Oliver Cowdery baptized him; and he returned to his father's house, greatly glorifying and praising God, being filled with the Holy Spirit."

209. GAS on Coray: "by an ex parte proceeding"; IE and Nibley also include GAS's addition. The phrase means "on or from one side only."

210. Nibley note: "It is possible that Mrs. Smith is in error here as to the time that Samuel returned home from Harmony. Joseph and Oliver left Harmony with David Whitmer sometime during the last of May or the first of June, 1829, for Waterloo, New York. It is not likely that Samuel would have remained in Harmony alone."

accordingly she mounted her horse flew<sup>211</sup> though the neighborhood like a dark spirit from house to house making diligent enquiry at every house for miles where she had the least hope of gleaning anything that would subserve her purpose which was to prove that Joseph had not the record which he pretended to have that he pretended to be in possession of certain Gold plates for the express purpose of obtaining money from those who might be so credulous as to believe him after she had ascertained the strength of her adherents she entered a complaint before ~~grand~~ ~~before~~ a magistrate at Lyons<sup>212</sup> she then sent word to Lyman Cowdray requesting him to Come to Lyons prepared ~~to~~ with a good horse to travel post haste to Penn. after the descision was given in case ~~the suit went on~~ it was agains Joseph smith that he might go with the officers to assist them in securing him and confining him in prison. Lyman Cowdray was very obeidient to her suggestion and ~~it~~ seemed to be going on prosperously with her. She made affidavit to many things and directed the officers who to subpoena among the rest her husband was a principle witness.

To this end, she undertook to prove, that Joseph never had the Record which he professed to have, and that he pretended<sup>213</sup> to have in his possession certain gold plates, for the express purpose of obtaining money. Accordingly, she mounted her horse, flew from house to house through the neighbourhood, like a dark spirit, making diligent inquiry wherever she had the least hopes of gleaning anything, and stirring up every malicious feeling which would tend to subserve her wicked purpose. Having ascertained the number and strength of her adherents, she entered a complaint against Joseph, before a certain magistrate of Lyons. She then sent word to Lyman Cowdery,<sup>214</sup> requesting him to come thither, prepared to go post haste to Pennsylvania, (provided the decision should be given against Joseph,) to assist the officers in securing and confining him in prison. This call, Lyman Cowdery answered immediately, and all things seemed going on prosperously with Mrs. Harris. She made affidavit to many things herself, and directed the officers whom to subpoena. Among the number was her husband, who was a principal witness in the case.

211. Coray: "flew"; GAS on Coray: "rode"; RLDS: "flew"; IE and PN: "rode"

212. The seat of Wayne County since 1823, Lyons is about eight miles east of Palmyra (Vogel 1:383).

213. IE: typographical error "pretented"

214. Nibley note: "Brother of Oliver Cowdery. He may have been a county official."

When the day of trial came the neighbors who felt friendly to us informed us that the witnesses were gone to Lyons and were determined to obtain a verdict against Joseph if it could be done by swearing

Th This very naturally gave me great anxiety for my son Hyrum came in and asked him what could be done Why mother said he we can do nothing look to the Lord for in him is all help and strength and he can deliver from every trouble,—

I had never neglected this all important duty but seeing this confidence in my son ~~stre~~ strengthened me in this hour of trial for I was not then so much accostomed to such things as I was afterwards ~~fo~~ as this was the first time that a suit was ever brought before any court which affected any of my Children<sup>215</sup> and I trembled for the issue but I retired ~~by myself and bowed~~ to a secluded place and bowed myself before God and poured out my whole soul in impassioned entreaties for the safety of my son I continued my suplication for some time at length the spirit fell

When the day of trial came on, the neighbours came and informed us, that the witnesses had gone to Lyons with the declared intention to obtain a verdict against Joseph, if it could be done by swearing. Immediately after our friends left, Hyrum came in, and I asked him what could be done.

"Why, mother," said he, "we can do nothing, except to look to the Lord; in him is all help and strength; he can deliver from every trouble."

I had never neglected this important duty, yet, seeing such confidence in my son, strengthened me in this hour of trial. Not being accustomed to lawsuits of this character, I trembled for the issue, for this was the first time a suit had ever been preferred before a court against any of my family. I retired to a secluded place, and poured out my whole soul in entreaties to God, for the safety of my son, and continued my supplication for some time; at length the spirit fell upon me so powerfully, that every foreboding of ill was entirely removed from my mind, and a

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215. Lucy has omitted charges brought against Joseph Jr. at South Bainbridge, New York, on 20 March 1826 by Peter Bridgeman, Josiah Stowell's nephew, for being "disorderly" and an "imposter." It is not possible that Lucy did not know about this proceeding, even though it is unclear whether Joseph was exonerated or convicted but allowed to leave without sentencing, since Joseph Sr. was a witness. (Josiah Stowell also testified favorably.) See Robert Anderson, 76-85, for a discussion of what this public humiliation may have meant to Joseph Jr.; documents in Marquardt and Walters, 63-87, 222-30.

upon me so powerfully that every feeling of foreboding or distress was entirely removed ~~and~~ and a voice spoke to saying not one hair of his head shall be harmed. I was satisfied and rose up and went into the house I never had felt as happy in my life as I did then I sat down and began to read but my feelings were to intense to permit me to do so<sup>216</sup> My daughterinlaw Jerusha came into the room soon after as She turned her eyes upon me she stopped short saying why mother what is the matter I never saw you look so strange in my life

I told her I never had been so happy before ~~indeed~~ said <I> my heart was <is> so light and my mind so completely at rest that it did<oes> not seem to me as though I should ever have any more trouble while I lived ~~and~~ I have got a witness from the Lord that Josephs enemies ~~would~~ <will> have no power over him ~~for~~ I have received a promise that he shall be protected Overpowered by the strength of my feelings I burst into tears ~~and sobbed aloud~~

I will now relate the preceedings of the court after the setting of the same the witness were sworn The 1st Witness testified that Joseph Smith told him that the

voice spoke to me, saying, "not one hair of his head shall be harmed." I was satisfied. I arose, and repaired to the house. I had never before in my life experienced such happy moments. I sat down and began to read, but my feelings were too intense to allow me to do so. My daughter-in-law, Jerusha, came into the room soon after this, and when she turned her eyes upon me, she stopped short and exclaimed, "why! mother! what is the matter? I never saw you look so strangely in my life."

I told her, that I had never felt so happy before in my life, that my heart was so light, and my mind so completely at rest, that it did not appear possible to me that I should ever have any more trouble while I should exist. I then informed her in relation to the witness which I had received from the Lord.

In the evening the proceedings of the court were rehearsed to us, which were as follows:—

The witnesses, being duly sworn, the first arose and testified,

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216. Coray: "every feeling of foreboding ill was entirely removed from my mind, and a voice spoke to me, saying, 'not one hair of his head should be harmed'—I was satisfied; I arose and went to the house. Never before in my life had I experienced so happy moments. I sat down and began to read, but my feelings were too intense to continue any length of time."

box which he had contained nothing but sand and he only said it was gold plates to deceive the people

2nd Witness swore that Joseph Smith told upon a certain occasion that it was nothing but a box of lead and he was determined to use it as he saw fit

3rd Witness declared under oath that he enquired of Joseph Smith what he had in that box and Joseph to him that there was nothing in the box saying I have made fools of the whole of you and I all I want is to get Martin Harris's money away from him Witness also stated that Joseph had already got \$200 or \$300 from Martin by his persuasion

Next came Mrs Harris's affidavit in which she stated that she believed that Joseph Smith had but one principle object in view and that was to defraud her husband in such a way as to induce him to give up all his property into his (said Smith's) hands that she did not believe that Joseph Smith had ever been in possession of the Gold plates which he talked so much about and that his pretensions were altogether unreal—

The Esq.<sup>217</sup> then forbid the introduction of any more witnesses on untill he heard Mr Harris's testi-

that Joseph Smith told him that the box which he had, contained nothing but sand; and he, Joseph Smith, said it was gold, to deceive the people.

Second witness swore, that Joseph Smith had told him that it was nothing but a box of lead, and he was determined to use it as he saw fit.

Third witness declared, that he once inquired of Joseph Smith what he had in that box, and Joseph Smith told him that there was nothing at all in the box, saying, that he had made fools of the whole of them, and all he wanted was, to get Martin Harris's money away from him, and that he (witness) was knowing to the fact that Joseph Smith had, by his persuasion, already got two or three hundred dollars.

Next came Mrs. Harris's affidavit, in which she stated, that she believed the chief object which Joseph Smith had in view, was to defraud her husband out of all his property, and that she did not believe that Joseph Smith had ever been in possession of the gold plates which he talked so much about.

The magistrate then forbid<sup>218</sup> the introduction of any more witnesses, until Martin Harris should be

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217. GAS on Coray: "the magistrate"

[Note 218 appears on page 445.]



mony Mr Harris being duly sworn testified <with> boldness decision and energy to a few simple facts when he rose he raised his hand to Heaven and said I can swear,—that Joseph smith never got one dollar from me since God made I did once voluntarily of my own free will and accord put \$50 into his hands before many witness for the purpose of doing the work of the Lord. This I can pointedly prove and I can tell you furthermore that Joseph Smith has certainly ~~got~~ never shown any disposition to get any man's money and as to the plates which he professes to have and if you gentlemen do not believe it but continue to resist the truth it one day be the means of damning your souls.

The Judge then told them that they need not call any more of their witnesses but to bring that which had been recorded of the testimony that had been given. This he tore in pieces before their eyes and told them to go home about their business and trouble him no more with such ridiculous folly—They returned home abashed and confounded hanging down their heads with shame and confusion—<sup>220</sup>

sworn. Martin being called upon, testified with boldness, decision, and energy, to a few simple facts. When he arose, he raised his hand to heaven, and said, "I can swear, that Joseph Smith never has got one dollar from me by persuasion since God made me. I did once, of my own free will and accord, put fifty dollars into his hands, in the presence of many witnesses, for the purpose of doing the work of the Lord. This, I can pointedly prove; and I can tell you, furthermore, that I have never seen, in Joseph Smith, a disposition to take any man's money without giving him a reasonable compensation for the same in return. And as to the plates which he professes to have, gentlemen, if you do not believe it, but continue to resist the truth, it will one day be the means of damning your souls."<sup>219</sup>

After hearing this testimony the magistrate told them they need not call any more witnesses, but ordered them to bring him what had been written of the testimony already given. This he tore in pieces before their eyes, and told them to go home about their business, and trouble him no more with such ridiculous folly. And they did go home, perfectly discomfited.

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218. IE and Nibley: "forbade"

219. Nibley note: "The courage of Martin Harris in thus defending the Prophet is commendable."

220. Coray: "And they did go home, perfectly cap [sic: for *chapfallen*] fallen in consequence of their discomfiture."

## Chapter

In the mean time Joseph was 150 miles distant and knew naught of the matter except an intimation that was given through the urim and thumim for as he one morning applied the latter to his eyes to look upon the record instead of the words of the book being given him he was commanded to write a letter to one David Whitmore this man Joseph had never seen but he was instructed to say him that he must come with his team immediately in order to convey Joseph and his family <Oliver> back to His house which was 135 miles that they might remain with him there untill the translation should be completed for that an evil designing people were seeking to take away Joseph's life in order to prevent the work of God from going forth among the world

This was accordingly done and the letter received and Mr Whitmore showed it to his Father mother sisters and brothers and asked their advice as to what it would be best for him to do<sup>223</sup>

## CHAP. XXX.

JOSEPH AND OLIVER REMOVE TO WATERLOO—THEY FINISH THE TRANSLATION.

We will now return to Pennsylvania, where we left Joseph and Oliver busily engaged in translating the Book of Mormon.

After Samuel left them, they still continued the work as before, until about the time of the trial<sup>221</sup> that took place in New York. Near this time, as Joseph was translating by means of the Urim and Thumim, he received, instead of the words of the Book, a commandment to write a letter to a man by the name of David Whitmer, who lived in Waterloo,<sup>222</sup> requesting him to come immediately with his team, and convey himself and Oliver to his own residence, as an evil-designing people were seeking to take away his (Joseph's) life, in order to prevent the work of God from going forth to the world.

The letter was written and delivered, and was shown by Mr. Whitmer to his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, and their advice was asked in regard to the best course for him to take in relation to the matter.

221. IE and Nibley: "proceedings"

222. The Whitmer home was actually "situated between the villages of Fayette and Waterloo" but is usually assigned to Fayette because it "lies in the township of Fayette" (Vogel 1:392).

223. Coray: "The letter was written and received; and David Whitmer, after reading it himself, showed it to his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, and asked their advice in relation to the proper course for him to pursue in the matter."

his Father said why David know you have sowed as much wheat as you can harrow in tomorrow and next day and then you have a quantity of plaster<sup>224</sup> to spread that is much needed on your land and you cannot go unless you get an evidence from God that it is very necessary.

This suggestion pleased David and he asked the Lord for a testimony of the fact if it was his will that he should go he was told by the voice of the spirit to <har>row his <inn his wheat> his wheat and then go straightway to Penn In the morning he went to the field and found that he had 2 heavy days work before him. He then asked the lord to enable him to do this work sooner than the same work had ever been done on the farm before and he would receive it as an evidence that it was the will of God for him to engage in forwarding the work which was begun by Joseph smith. he then fastened his horses to the harrow and drove round the whole field he continued on till noon driving all the way round at every circuit but when it came to be time to eat dinner he discovered to his surprize that he had harrowed in full half the wheat.

His father reminded him that he had as much, wheat sown upon the ground as he could harrow in in two days, at least; besides this, he had a quantity of plaster of paris to spread, which must be done immediately, consequently he could not go, unless he could get a witness from God that it was absolutely necessary.

This suggestion pleased David, and he asked the Lord for a testimony concerning his going for Joseph, and was told by the voice of the Spirit to go as soon as his wheat was harrowed in. The next morning, David went to the field, and found that he had two heavy days' work before him. He then said to himself that, if he should be enabled, by any means to do this work sooner than the same had ever been done on the farm before, he would receive it as an evidence that it was the will of God, that he should do all in his power to assist Joseph Smith in the work in which he was engaged. He then fastened his horses to the harrow, and instead of dividing the field into what is, by farmers, usually termed bands,<sup>225</sup> he drove round the whole of it, continuing thus till noon, when, on stopping for dinner, he looked around, and discovered, to his surprise, that he had harrowed in full half the wheat. After dinner he went on as before, and by eve-

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224. Coray: "The old gentleman reminded David . . . he had a quantity of plaster-paris . . ." Benjamin Franklin had popularized the use of plaster of paris as a fertilizer for its lime content.

225. Coray: "what is usually termed lands by farmers, he drove round the whole of it, and continuing harrowing in this way till noon . . ."; RLDS, IE, and Nibley: "lands."

after dinner he again went on as before and by evening he finished the whole 2 days work

but <When he informed his father of the fact> but his Father could not believe it till he examined for himself and ascertained that it was actually the fact now Well said his Father There must be some overruling power in this thing and I think you had better go as soon as you get your plaster paris sown and bring up the man with his family <of God with his scribe> to this also David agreed and

The next morning as soon as breakfast was over he took the half bushel measure under his arm and went out to the place where he supposed the plaster to be as he knew exactly where he had left it 24 hours previous but when he came to look for it behold it had entirely disappeared every vestige of it was gone from the spot where he left it he ran to his sister's house a few yard distant and enquired if she knew anything of what had become of the plaster paris which had deposited near there

ning he finished the whole two days' work.<sup>226</sup>

His father, on going into the field the same evening, saw what had been done, and he exclaimed, "There must be an overruling hand in this, and I think you had better go down to Pennsylvania as soon as your plaster of paris is spread."<sup>227</sup>

The next morning David took a wooden measure under his arm, and went out to spread the plaster, which he had left, two days previous, in heaps near his sister's house, but, on coming to the place, he discovered that it was gone! He then ran to his sister, and inquired of her if she knew what had become of it. Being surprised, she said, "Why do you ask me? was it not all spread yesterday?"<sup>228</sup>

"Not to my knowledge," answered David.

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226. David Whitmer, interviewed repeatedly after 1850 by visiting Mormons, consistently told a slightly different story: Faced with two days' plowing (twenty acres) before he could plant his wheat when the letter came from Joseph Smith, he went to the field one morning and found that between five and seven acres had been plowed during the night "and the plow was left standing in the furrow" (Cook, *David*, 26, 41, 51, 191).

227. IE and Nibley: "sown" where Pratt has "spread" throughout this passage. They also add the missing quotation marks, also missing in Coray.

228. Coray: "The next morning David took a wooden measure under his arm, and went out to sow the plaster; which he had left two days previous in heaps, near one of his sister's dwelling; but on approaching the place, where he had left it he discovered that it was gone. He then ran to his sister and inquired of her, if she knew what had become of it. She said with some surprise, 'Why do you ask me? was it not all sown yesterday?'"

Why said she in surprise you sowed it all yesterday at it was all sown by some one for the the children came and begged me to go out and look at some men that were sowing plaster in the field for said they mother you never saw anybody sow plaster as fast as they do in your life I went and I did see three men to work in the field as the children said but supposing that you had employed some assistance and because of your hurry to get your work done I passed into the house without giving any further attention to the subject.

He David made considerable enquiry but not being able to ascertain who had done it he related the circumstance to his Father who was quite as much at a loss to determine how the thing was brought about as he was but there was not a doubt upon the mind of one of the family of there being an exertion of supernatural power connected with the operation and all hands went about preparing David for his Journey

he was soon on his way and in 2 days he arrived there without injuring his horses in the least although the distance was 135 miles

Joseph concluded to go himself with Oliver but leave Emma in Pennsylvania in order to set off more speedily than would be possible in case he took his wife along with him—

“I am astonished at that,” replied his sister; “for the children came to me in the forenoon, and begged of me to go out and see the men sow plaster in the field, saying, that they never saw anybody sow plaster so fast in their lives. I accordingly went, and saw three men at work in the field, as the children said, but, supposing that you had hired some help, on account of your hurry, I went immediately into the house, and gave the subject no further attention.”

David made considerable inquiry in regard to the matter, both among his relatives and neighbours, but was not able to learn who had done it. However, the family were convinced that there was an exertion of supernatural power connected with this strange occurrence.

David immediately set out for Pennsylvania, and arrived there in two days, without injuring his horses in the least, though the distance was one hundred and thirty-five miles. When he arrived, he was under the necessity of introducing himself to Joseph, as this was the first time that they had ever met.

I will observe, that the only acquaintance which existed between the Smith and Whitmer families, was that formed by Mr. Smith and my-

self, when on our way from Manchester to Pennsylvania to visit Joseph, at which time we stopped with David over night, and gave him a brief history of the Record.

When he commenced making preparations for his journey he enquired of the Lord in what manner the plates should be conveyed to their point of destination. His answer was that he should give himself no trouble about but hasten his to Waterloo and after he arrived a [sic] Mr. Whitmore's house if he would repair immediately to the garden he would receive the plates from the hand of an angel to whose charge they must be committed for their safety.<sup>229</sup>

The Trio viz Joseph, Oliver, and David Whitmore started for Waterloo where they arrived after a short and pleasant Journey in health and fine spirits for commencing anew on their labors here they continued translating untill the whole work was completed.

When Joseph commenced making preparations for the journey, he inquired of the Lord to know in what manner he should carry the plates. The answer was, that he should commit them into the hands of an angel, for safety, and after arriving at Mr. Whitmer's, the angel would meet him in the garden, and deliver them up again into his hands.

Joseph and Oliver set out without delay, leaving Emma to take charge of affairs during her husband's absence.<sup>230</sup> On arriving at Waterloo,<sup>231</sup> Joseph received the Record according to promise. The next day, he and Oliver resumed the work of translation, which they continued without further interruption until the whole work was accomplished.

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229. At this point appears an arrow pointing diagonally to the line above. According to Edward Stevenson, Journal, 23 December 1877, David Whitmer told him that he and Oliver rode on the seat with Joseph on the board bed during this journey. At one point, they encountered "an aged man about 5 feet 10, heavy set and on his back an old fashioned army knapsack strapped over his shoulders and something square in it, and he walked alongside of the wagon and wiped the sweat off his face, smiling very pleasant. David asked him to ride and he replied, 'I am going across to the Hill Cumorah.' Soon after they passed, they felt strangely and stopped but could see nothing of him . . . and they asked the Lord about it. He said that the Prophet looked as white as a sheet and said that it was one of the Nephites, and that he had the plates" (Anderson, *Investigating*, 30-31)).

230. Nibley note: "Emma soon joined Joseph at the Whitmer home. We know she was there with him."

231. Nibley note: "As stated before, according to David Whitmer it was late in May or early in June, 1829, that he arrived at Waterloo with Joseph and Oliver."

## CHAP. XXXI.

THE PLATES ARE SHOWN TO  
TWELVE WITNESSES—JOSEPH  
MAKES ARRANGEMENTS FOR  
PRINTING THE BOOK OF MORMON.

They then lost no time in informing us that is his Father's family of the accomplishment of this very important ~~undertaking~~ duty. We communicated this intelligence to Martin Harris the same evening for we loved the man although his weakness had cost us much unnecessary trouble still he seemed to have a heart that designed no evil and we felt a commiseration for their disappointment which ~~his misguided zeal had brought upon him~~ <he had brought upon himself in an evil hour>—

When we he heard that the translation was finally completed he seemed as greatly rejoiced as if he knew that it had effected his salvation and determined to go straightway to waterloo as ~~see~~ soon as he could get away the next morning—We accordingly set off together and before sunset we met Joseph and Oliver and at waterloo.

As soon as the Book of Mormon was translated, Joseph dispatched a messenger to Mr. Smith, bearing intelligence of the completion of the work, and a request that Mr. Smith and myself should come immediately to Waterloo.<sup>232</sup>

The same evening, we conveyed this intelligence to Martin Harris, for we loved the man, although his weakness had cost us much trouble.

Hearing this, he greatly rejoiced, and determined to go straightway to Waterloo, to congratulate Joseph upon his success. Accordingly, the next morning, we all set off together, and before sunset met Joseph and Oliver at Mr. Whitmer's.

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232. Nibley note: "According to David Whitmer the translation of the Book of Mormon was finished in the latter part of June, 1829."



the evening was spent in reading the manuscript and it would be superfluous for me to say to any one who has read these pages that we were greatly rejoiced for it then appeared to us who did not realize the magnitude of the work which ~~was~~ <could> hardly be said at that time to have begining, as though the greatest difficulty was then surmounted

But with Joseph it was not so for he ~~kew~~ knew that a dispensation of the Gospel was committed to him of which the starting bud had Scarsely yet made its appearance

The next morning after breakfast was over we repaired to the setting room and after attending to Morning service Joseph approached Martin with a solemnity which I thrill though [sic] my veins to this day whenever I it comes to my recollection. Martin Harris said he you have got to humble yourself before your God this day and obtain if possible a forgiveness of your sins ~~for~~ <and> if you will do this it is his will that you and Oliver Cowdray and David Whitmer should look upon the plates.

soon after this these ~~three~~ <four> left ~~the House~~ and went into a grove a short distance from the house—here they continued in earnest supplication to God untill he permitted an angel from his presence to bear to them a message declaring

The evening was spent in reading the manuscript, and it would be superfluous for me to say, to one who has read the foregoing pages, that we rejoiced exceedingly. It then appeared to those of us who did not realize the magnitude of the work, as if the greatest difficulty was then surmounted;

but Joseph better understood the nature of the dispensation of the Gospel which was committed unto him.<sup>233</sup>

The next morning, after attending to the usual services, namely, reading, singing, and praying, Joseph arose from his knees, and approaching Martin Harris with a solemnity that thrills through my veins to this day, when it occurs to my recollection, said, "Martin Harris, you have got to humble yourself before your God this day, that you may obtain a forgiveness of your sins. If you do, it is the will of God that you should look upon the plates, in company with Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer."

In a few minutes after this, Joseph, Martin, Oliver, and David, repaired to a grove, a short distance from the house, where they commenced calling upon the Lord, and continued in earnest supplication, until he permitted an angel to come

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233. RLDS: "committed to him . . ."

the truth ~~and verity~~ of the pretensions which Joseph made with regard to the plates which were at the same time shown to them by the angel.

They returned to the house ~~we~~ it was between 3 & 4 o'clock Mrs. Whitmer & Mr. Smith and myself were sitting in a bedroom I sat on the bed side when Joseph came in he threw himself <down> beside me father!—mother!—said he you do not know how happy I am the Lord has caused the plates to be shown to 3 more besides me who have also seen an angel and will have to testify to the truth of what I have said for they know for themselves that I do not go about to deceive the people and I do feel as though I was relieved of a dreadful burden which was almost too much for me to endure but they will now have to bear a part and it does rejoice my soul that I am not any longer to be entirely alone in the world. Martin Harris then came in he seemed almost overcome with excess of joy He then testified to what he had seen and heard as did also the others Oliver and David

a their testimony was the same <in substance as that> contained in the book of Mormon ~~which was~~ as follows

down from his presence, and declare to them, that all which Joseph had testified of concerning the plates was true.

When they returned to the house, it was between three and four o'clock P.M. Mrs. Whitmer, Mr. Smith, and myself, were sitting in a bedroom at the time. On coming in, Joseph threw himself down beside me, and exclaimed, "Father, mother, you do not know how happy I am; the Lord has now caused the plates to be shown to three more besides myself. They have seen an angel, who has testified to them, and they will have to bear witness to the truth of what I have said, for now they know for themselves, that I do not go about to deceive the people, and I feel as if I was relieved of a burden which was almost too heavy for me to bear, and it rejoices my soul, that I am not any longer to be entirely alone in the world." Upon this, Martin Harris came in: he seemed almost overcome with joy, and testified boldly to what he had both seen and heard. And so did David and Oliver, adding, that no tongue could express the joy of their hearts, and the greatness of the things which they had both seen and heard.

Their written testimony, which is contained in the Book of Mormon, is as follows:—

The Testimony of Three Witnesses<sup>234</sup>

Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, unto whom this work shall come, that we, through the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, have seen the plates which contain this record, which is the record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites, his brethren, and also of the people of Jared, which came from the tower of which hath been spoken; and we also know that they have been translated by the gift and power of God, for his voice hath declared it unto us; wherefore we know of a surety that the work is true. And we also testify that we have seen the engravings which are upon the plates; and they have been shewn unto us by the gift and power of God, and not of man: and we declare with words of truth and soberness, that an Angel of God came down out of <from> Heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates, and the engravings thereon; and we know that it is by the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we beheld and bear record that these things are true, and it is marvelous in our eyes: Nevertheless, the voice of the Lord commanded us that we should bear record of it; wherefore, to be

## THE TESTIMONY OF THREE WITNESSES.

"Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, unto whom this work shall come, that we, through the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, have seen the plates which contain this Record, which is a Record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites, their brethren, and also of the people of Jared, who came from the tower, of which hath been spoken; and we also know that they have been translated by the gift and power of God, for his voice hath declared it unto us; wherefore we know of a surety that the work is true. And we also testify that we have seen the engravings which are upon the plates; and they have been shown unto us by the power of God, and not of man. And we declare, with words of soberness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates, and the engravings thereon; and we know that it is by the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we beheld and bear record that these things are true; and it is marvellous in our eyes, nevertheless, the voice of the Lord commanded us that we should bear record of it; wherefore, to be obedient unto the commandments of God, we

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234. Coray: "THE TESTIMONY OF THE THREE WITNESSES"

obedient to the commandments of the ~~lord~~ God, we bear testimony of these things,— And we know that if we are faithful in Christ, we shall rid our garments of the blood of all men, and be found spotless before the judgement seat of Christ, and shall dwell with him eternally in the Heavens. And the honor be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, ~~Amen~~ which is one God. Amen.

Oliver Cowdrey

David Whitmer

Martin Harris

bear testimony of these things. And we know that if we are faithful in Christ, we shall rid our garments of the blood of all men, and be found spotless before the judgment-seat of Christ, and shall dwell with him eternally in the heavens. And the honor be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, which is one God. Amen.

"OLIVER COWDERY,

"DAVID WHITMER,

"MARTIN HARRIS."

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Martin Harris particularly seemed altogether unable to give vent to his feelings in words he said I have now seen an angel from Heaven who has of a surety testified of the truth of all that I have heard concerning the record and my eyes have beheld him I have also looked upon the plates and handled them with my hands and can testify of the same to the whole world. But I have received for myself a witness that words cannot express that no tongue can describe & I bless God in the sincerity of my soul that he has condescended to make me even me a witness of the greatness of his work and designs in behalf the children of men. Oliver and David also joined with him in solemn praises to God for his goodness and mercy.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

We returned home the next day a happy cheerful rejoicing little company In a few days we were followed by Joseph and Oliver and the whitmers who came to make us a visit and also to make some arrangements about getting the book printed soon after they came They all that is the male part of the company repaired to a little grove where

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

The following day, we returned, a cheerful, happy company. In a few days we were followed by Joseph, Oliver, and the Whitmers, who came to make us a visit, and make some arrangements about getting the book printed.<sup>235</sup> Soon after they came, all the male part of the company, with my husband, Samuel, and Hyrum, retired to a place where the

[Note 235 appears on page 456.]

it was customary for the family to offer up their secret prayers—as Joseph had been instructed that the plates would be carried there by one of the ancient Nephites. Here <it> was that those 8 witnesses recorded in the Book of Mormon looked upon the plates and handled them of which they bear witness in the following words.

Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, unto whom this work shall come that Joseph Smith, Jr. the translator of this work has shewn unto us the plates of which hath been spoken which have the appearance of Gold, and as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated we did handle with our hand and we also saw the engravings thereon all of which has the appearance of ancient work and of curious workmanship. And this we bear record with words of soberness, that the said Smith has shewn unto us for we have seen and hefted and know of a <a> surety that the said Smith has got the plates of which we have spoken and we give our names unto the world to witness

family were in the habit of offering up their secret devotions to God. They went to this place, because it had been revealed to Joseph that the plates would be carried thither by one of the ancient Nephites. Here it was, that those eight witnesses, whose names are recorded in the Book of Mormon, looked upon them and handled them. Of which they bear record in the following words:—

THE TESTIMONY OF EIGHT WITNESSES.

“Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, unto whom this work shall come, that Joseph Smith, Jr. the translator of this work, has shown unto us the plates of which hath been spoken, which have the appearance of gold; and as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated, we did handle with our hands; and we also saw the engravings thereon, all of which has the appearance of ancient work, and of curious workmanship. And this we bear record, with words of soberness, that the said Smith has shown unto us, for we have seen and hefted, and know of a surety, that the said Smith has got the plates<sup>236</sup> of which we have spoken. And we give our names unto the world, to

235. Nibley note: “It is probable, from this account, that the Eight Witnesses saw the plates during the week following the vision of the Three Witnesses. This would be the last week of June or the first week of July, 1829.”

236. Coray, in an obvious copying error, skipped from one occurrence of “said Smith” to the next, omitting the intervening material, here shown in bold: “. . . that the said Smith **has shown unto us, for we have seen and hefted, and know of a surety, that the said Smith** has got the

unto the world that which we have  
seen and we lie not God bearing wit-  
ness of it

Christian Whitmer

Jacob Whitmer

Peter Whitmer, Jr.

John Whitmer

Hyrum Page

Joseph Smith Sen

Hyrum Smith

Samuel H. Smith<sup>237</sup>

After the witnesses returned to the  
house the Angel again made his ap-  
pearance to Joseph and received the  
the plates from his hands. We com-  
menced holding meetings that night  
in the which we declared those facts  
that we knew to be true. ~~These  
meetings were continued from time  
to time ever afterwards it~~

witnesses [sic] unto the world<sup>238</sup> that  
which we have seen; and we lie not,  
God bearing witness of it.

"CHRISTIAN WHITMER,

"JACOB WHITMER,

"PETER WHITMER, JUN.,

"JOHN WHITMER,

"HIRAM PAGE,

"JOSEPH SMITH, SEN.

"HYRUM SMITH,

"SAMUEL H. SMITH."

After these witnesses returned  
to the house, the angel again made  
his appearance to Joseph, at which  
time Joseph delivered up the plates  
into the angel's hands. The ensuing  
evening, we held a meeting, in  
which all the witnesses bore testi-  
mony to the facts, as stated above;  
and all of our family, even to Don  
Carlos, who was but fourteen<sup>239</sup>  
years of age, testified of the truth of  
the Latter-day Dispensation—that it  
was then ushered in.<sup>240</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

This was thursday the ensueing Monday the company went to Palmira for the  
purpose of contracting with Mr E B. Grandin for printing of the book after  
they succeeded well and ~~expected to carry the work straight forward without  
further~~ But <here follows a long detail—see notes March 22 1845 pp><sup>241</sup>

plates . . ."

237. Coray: "Samuel Smith"

238. RLDS: "unto the world to witness unto the world"

239. Don Carlos had turned thirteen about three months earlier in March.

240. Coray: "it was then fully ushered in."

241. The notes referred to are not with the manuscript, which does not have dated parts. It suggests that Martha Jane simultaneously kept a notebook of instructions or aide-memoirs while creating the manuscript itself. This notation also establishes that the date of composition of at least this section was in March 1845.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

<sup>242</sup>In a few days, the whole company from Waterloo, went to Palmyra to make arrangements for getting the book printed; and they succeeded in making a contract with one E. B. Grandin, but did not draw the writings at that time. The next day the company from Waterloo returned home, excepting Joseph, and Peter Whitmer, Joseph remaining to draw writings in regard to the printing of the manuscript, which was to be done on the day following.

When Joseph was about starting for Palmyra, where the writings were to be executed, Doctor M'Intyre<sup>243</sup> came in and informed us, that forty men were collected in the capacity of a mob, with the view of waylaying Joseph on his way thither; that they requested him (Doctor M'Intyre) as they had done once before, to take command of the company, and, that upon his refusing to do so, one Mr. Huzzy, a hatter of Palmyra, proffered his services, and was chosen as their leader.

On hearing this I besought Joseph not to go; but he smiled at my fears, saying, "never mind, mother, just put your trust in God, and nothing will hurt me to day." In a short time he set out for Palmyra. On his way thither, lay a heavy strip of timber, about half a mile in width, and, beyond it, on the right side of the road, lay a field belonging to David Jacaway. When he came to this field, he found the mob seated on the string of fence running along the road. Coming to Mr. Huzzy first, he took off his hat, and good-naturedly saying,<sup>244</sup> "Good morning, Mr. Huzzy," passed on to the next, whom he saluted in like manner, and the next, and so on till he came to the last.

This struck them with confusion, and while they were pondering in amazement, he passed on, leaving them perched upon the fence, like so many roosting chickens, and arrived at Palmyra without being molested. Here he met Mr. Grandin, and writings were drawn up between them to this effect: That half of the price for printing was to be paid by Martin Harris, and the residue by my two sons, Joseph and Hyrum. These writings were afterwards signed by all the parties concerned.<sup>245</sup>

When Joseph returned from Palmyra, he said, "Well, mother, the Lord

242. Coray contains the passage that follows with only slight differences.

243. Coray: "... starting for Palmira to draw the wrings [sic] with Grandin, Dr. McIntyre ..."

244. Coray: "Coming to Capt. Huzzy first, he took off his hat, and bowed good-naturedly saying ..."

245. Nibley note: "This may have been a preliminary agreement. Martin Harris gave a mortgage for \$3,000 on 240 acres of his farm to pay for the publishing of the first edition of the Book of Mormon."



It has been on my side to-day, the devil has not overpowered me in any of my proceedings. Did I not tell you that I should be delivered from the hands of all my enemies! They thought they were going to perform great feats; they have done wonders to prevent me from getting the book printed; they mustered themselves together, and got upon the fence, made me a low bow, and went home, and I'll warrant you they wish they had stayed there in the first place. Mother, there is a God in heaven, and I know it."

Lucy: 1844-45

But A revelation came to Joseph commanding him to see that Oliver transcribed the whole work a second time and never take both transcripts to the office but leave one and carry the other so that in case one was destroyed the other would be left furthermore Peter ~~whi~~ Whitmer was commanded to remain at our house to assist in guarding the writings and also ~~for the purpose of~~ to accompany Oliver to the Office and back when no other person could be spared from the place to go and come with him as it was necessary that oliver should be accompanied by some one for the purpose of protecting him in case of danger, that if this <precaution> was not ~~the ease~~ taken his enemies would be likely to ~~to~~ waylay him in order to get the manuscript away from him—and also the house would be infested by intrusive persons who was willing to sacrifice their character for the sake of putting a stop the printing of the [sic]

Coray/Pratt: 1853

Soon after this, Joseph secured<sup>246</sup> the copyright; and before he returned to Pennsylvania, where he had left his wife, he received a commandment, which was, in substance, as follows:—

First, that Oliver Cowdery should transcribe the whole manuscript. Second, that he should take but one copy at a time to the office, so that if one copy should get destroyed, there would still be a copy remaining.<sup>247</sup> Third, that in going to and from the office, he should always have a guard to attend him, for the purpose of protecting the manuscript. Fourth, that a guard should be kept constantly on the watch, both night and day, about the house, to protect the manuscript from malicious persons, who would infest the house for the purpose of destroying the manuscript. All these things were strictly attended to, as the Lord commanded Joseph.<sup>248</sup> After giving these instructions, Joseph returned to Pennsylvania.

246. Coray: "procured"

247. RLDS (1912, 1969) note: "One of these copies, evidently the one used by the printer,

[Note 248 appears on page 460.]

*Lucy: 1844-45*

because they were exceeding mad against the truth and went about to establish their own kind of righteousness This astonished us very much—but we did gainsay the counsel of the mosthigh—~~but do~~ wherefore we did all things according to the pattern that was given—and accordingly they guarded Oliver to his work in the morning and went after him at night and kept a guard over the house all night long although we saw no enemy knew not that there was any one that designed evil against us

*Lucy: 1844-45*

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

CHAP. XXXII.

THE PRINTING IS BEGUN—A MEETING OF THE CITIZENS HELD IN REFERENCE TO THE BOOK.

<New Chap> the work went on very well and appearances were quite promising for a few days—

Oliver Cowdery commenced the work immediately after Joseph left, and the printing went on very well for a season, but the clouds of persecution again began to gather. The rabble, and a party of restless religionists, began to counsel together, as to the most efficient means of putting a stop to our proceedings.

After which a company of men gathered together ~~on~~ and held a council in a room adjoining the one where Oliver was a [sic] work with a young Mr. Robinson son of our friend Dr. Robinson they suspected that something was agitated among these men that was not right—and Oliver

About<sup>249</sup> the first council of this kind was held in a room adjoining that in which Oliver and a young man by the name of Robinson were printing. Mr. Robinson, being curious to know what they were doing in the next room, applied his ear to a hole in the partition wall, and by this

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is now in the hands of the Reorganized Church. It is said the other was placed in the corner-stone of the Nauvoo House at Nauvoo, Illinois, but as the building was not finished it was not protected from the weather, and when subsequently removed little if any of it was legible.

"There has been some controversy as to which was the original. It matters not which was written first. The manuscript from which the book was printed is the one now preserved, for it has the printer's marks upon it in many places. So when we speak of the printed volume there is no question but this is the *original* from which it was produced. —H.C.S."

248. Coray: "of destroying it. All these things were strictly attended to, according to the commandment, ~~and~~ after which a recording [~~?~~] commenced Joseph returned to Pennsylvania."

249. Page 160 begins at this point in the Coray copy. GAS has written at the head of the

proposed to Mr. Robinson that he should apply his ear to a hole that there was in the partition wall and ascertain why it was that they are <were> there—which he did <and> by this means overheard the following remarks and resolutions

Now gentlemen this Golden bible which the smiths have got is destined to bring down every thing before it if there is not a stop put to it or an end made of it—for this very thing is going on to be a serious injury to all religious denominations and in a little while many of our excellent minister good men who have no means of obtaining a respectable livelihood except by their ministerial labor will be deprived of their sallories which is their living. Shall we endure this gentlemen <cries of> No! No! well how shall we put a stop the printing of this thing

It was then moved an seconded and carried ~~be~~ without a dissenting voice that the best measure that could be adopted would be to appoint three of their company to come to our house on the tuesday or wednesday follow-

means overheard several persons expressing their fears in reference to the Book of Mormon.<sup>250</sup>

One said, "it was destined to break down every thing before it, if not put a stop to," and, "that it was likely to injure the prospects of their ministers," and then inquired, whether they should endure it. "No, no," was the unanimous reply. It was then asked, "how shall we prevent the printing of this book?"<sup>251</sup>

Upon which it was resolved by the meeting, that three of their company should be appointed to go to the house of Mr. Smith, on the following Tuesday or Wednesday, while the men were gone to their work, and

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page: "See mss."

250. Coray: "to a hole in the petition [sic] wall, and by this means overheard the following remarks and resolutions:"

251. The passage which follows is quoted from Coray with the original quotation marks, which would now be considered idiosyncratic: "'Now, gentlemen,' said the speaker, 'this gold Bible, which the Smiths are publishing, is destined to break down every thing before it if we do not put an end to it—yes, this very thing is calculated to prove a serious injury to all religious denominations; and, in a little while many of our excellent ministers, good men, who have no other means of obtaining a respectable livelihood than by preaching, will be deprived of their salaries, which is their living—Gentlemen, shall we endure this?' . . . 'How then shall we prevent the printing of this thing?'"

ing <when the men were not about the house> and request me to read to them [damaged] manuscript after and that after I had done and I an [damaged] two of the company should attract my attention towards something foreign from the manuscript and that while they were doing this the third should seize the writing from the drawer and throw the same in to the fire and burn them up—

Again said the speaker suppose that we were to fail to succeed in this or any other plan and the book should be published in defiance of all that we can do what is then to be done shall we buy their books and suffer our families to do so They all responded No! They then entered into a solemn oath <covenant> binding themselves by tremendous oaths that they would never one single volume nor would they permit one member of their families to do so and thus they would nip the dreadful calamity while it was in the bud—

Oliver came home and related the whole affair with great solemnity for he was greatly troubled by it—

request Mrs. Smith to read the manuscript to them; that, after she had done reading it, two of the company should endeavour to divert her attention from it to some other object, while the third, seizing the opportunity, should snatch it from the drawer, or wherever it should be kept, and commit it immediately to the flames.<sup>252</sup>

“Again,” said the speaker, “suppose we fail in this, and the book is printed in defiance of all that we can do to the contrary, what means shall we then adopt? Shall we buy their books and allow our families to read them?” They all responded, “No.” They then entered into a solemn covenant, never to purchase even a single copy<sup>253</sup> of the work, or permit one member of their families to buy or read one, that they might thus avert the awful calamity which threatened them.

Oliver Cowdery came home that evening, and, after relating the whole affair with much solemnity, he said, “Mother, what shall I do with the manuscript? where shall I put it to keep it away from them?”

252. RLDS: “and commit it to the flames.”

253. Coray: “. . . a single volume of the work, nor permit one member of their families to buy or read them . . .”; RLDS: “never to purchase a single copy”

I told him not to be anxious or uneasy about the manuscript but said I take the whole ~~<of the>~~ manuseri papers and put them into a large Chest which I provided for the purpose and I would find a place for them. when this was done I raised up the head of my bedstead and shoved the chest under it and then ~~<by>~~ letting the bedstead fall it was securely closed although it had neither lock or key.

~~They followed up their arrangement and on wednesday came just after the men had left their dinners~~ At night we all went rest at the usual hour except Peter whitmer who kept watch as he spent the night on guard.

~~after~~ As for myself soon after I laid down upon my bed I fell into a train of reflections which occupied my mind untill the day appeared

"Oliver," said I, "I do not think the matter so serious after all, for there is a watch kept constantly about the house, and I need not take out the manuscript to read it to them unless I choose, and for its present safety I can have it deposited in a chest, under the head of my bed, in such a way that it never will be disturbed." I then placed it in a chest, which was so high, that when placed under the bed,<sup>254</sup> the whole weight of the bedstead rested upon the lid.

Having made this arrangement, we felt quite at rest, and, that night, the family retired to rest at the usual hour, all save Peter Whitmer, who spent the night on guard.

But as for myself, soon after I went to bed I fell into a train of reflections which occupied my mind, and which caused sleep to forsake my eyelids till the day dawned,

*Lucy: 1844-45*

I called to my recollection the pasted history of my life and every interesting scene which I had witnessed from my earliest remembrance ~~<up>~~ to the present moment [damaged] Coles [....] king scene which I had witnessd durin [damaged] [.....] se of my life seemed to rise in succession before me ~~from the~~ time the early principles of early piety which were taught me when My Mother called me with my brothers and sisters around her knee and instructed to feel our constant dependance upon God. our liability to transgression and the necessity of prayer and also discoursed to of our accountability to

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254. Coray: "in a chest ~~under~~ which is under the head . . . I then put it in a chest which was so high, that when shoved under the bed . . ."

our father in Heaven—of death and a judgement to come—Then again I seemed to hear the voice of My brother Jason declaring to the people that true religion and the faith of the Church of Jesus Christ which he established on the earth was not now among the christian denominations of the day and ~~with tears streaming~~ beseeching them by the love of God to seek to obtain that faith which was once delivered to the saints.—<sup>255</sup> again I seemed to stand ~~by~~ <at> the bedside of my sister Lovisa and see <her> exemplify the power of God in answer to the prayer of faith by an almost entire resuscitation:—while her livid lips ~~a~~ moved but to express one sentiment which was ~~the knowledge of the power of God over that of disease and death~~—The next Moment I was conveyed to the ~~Scene~~ the coseing scene of My sister Lovin's life and heard her last admonition to her mates and myself reiterated in my ear and then my soul thrilled to <the high> clear and ~~beatiful~~ <plaintive> strains of ~~some favorite~~ notes of ~~some~~ <the> favorite hym which she repeated <in> the last moments of her existence on earth Oh! how often I had listened to the beautiful music of ~~my siste~~ the voices of those ~~te~~<wo> sisters and drank in thier tones <as> if I might hear again.—and After <that> I seemed live ~~over~~ again the season of gloominess ~~and~~ of prayers and tears that succeeded my sisters death ~~and~~ <when> my heart was burdened with anxiety ~~and~~ distress and fear lest I shoul by any means fail of that preparation which was needful in order meet ~~again~~ my sisters in that world for which they had taken their departure. Then I ~~first~~ began to feel most sensibly the want of a living instructor in matters of salvation. but how ~~much~~ intensely I felt this deficiency when a few years afterwards I found myself ~~at~~ <on> the very verge of the ternal world and although I had an intense desire for salvation yet I was totally devoid of any satisfactory Knowledge or understanding of the Laws or requirements of that being ~~to~~ before whom I expected shortly to appear but I labored faithfully in prayer to God struggling to be freed from the power of death.—when I recovered I sought unceasingly for some one ~~to~~ who could impart to my my some deffinite Idea of the requirements of Heaven with regard to mankind but like Esaw seeking his blessing I found them not though I saught the same with tears—<sup>256</sup> ~~In this for years~~ for days and months and years I continued asking God continually to reveal to me the hidden treasures of his will—~~but~~ although I was always trenghtened [sic] from time still I did not receive a direct to my prayers for the space 20 years I had always

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255. See Jude 1:3: "... ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints."

256. See Hebrews 12:17: "... he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears."

believed confidently that God would ~~a some time~~ raise up some one who would be able to effect a reconciliation among those who desired to do his will at the expense of all things else—But what was my joy and astonishment to hear my own son though a boy of 14 <years of age> declare that he had been visited by an angel from Heaven ~~and even now~~ at that time as I took a retrospective glance at former years when my mind rested upon the hours of deep delight with I had sat in the midst my children my oldest one Alvin by my side which I had spent <in> listening to the instructions ~~and~~ which Joseph had received and <which he faithfully> committed to us a <which> we received with infinite delight but none were more engaged than the one whom we were doomed part with for Alvin was never so happy as when he was contemplating the final success of his brother in obtaining the record—And now I fancied I could hear him with his parting breath conjuring his brother to continue faithful that he might obtain the prize which the Lord had promised him ~~ever~~ The But when I cast in my mind on the disappointment and trouble which we had suffered while the work was in progress ~~the~~ My heart beat quick and my pulse rose high <and> in spite of my best efforts to the contrary my mind was aggitated and I felt every nervous sensation which I experienced at the time ~~at~~ the circumstances took place & at last as if led by an invisalbe [sic] spirit I came to the time in the mesenger from Waterloo informed me that the translation actualy completed my Soul swelled with joy that could scarcely heightened

*Lucy: 1844-45*

except by the reflection that the record which had cost so much labor and suffering and anxiety were now <in reality> lieing beneath my own head that the identicle work had not only been the object which we as a family had pursued so eagerly but that Prophets of ancient days and angels even the Grate God had <had> his eye upon it. and said I to myself Shall I fear what man can do will not the angels watch over the precious relict of the worthy dead and the hope of the living and am I indeed the mother of a prophet of the God of Heaven—the honored

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

for, when I meditated upon the days of toil, and nights of anxiety, through which we had all passed for years previous, in order to obtain the treasure that then lay beneath my head; when I thought upon the hours of fearful apprehensions which we had all suffered on the same account, and that the object was at last accomplished, I could truly say that my soul did magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiced in God my Saviour. I felt that the heavens were moved in our behalf, and that the angels who had power to put down the mighty from their seats, and to



instrument in performing so great work—I felt ~~th~~ I was in the purview of angels and my bounded at the thought of the great condescension of the Amighty—thus I spent the night surrounded by enemies and yet in an extacy of happiness and truly I can say that “My soul did magnify and my spirit rejoiced in God my savior”—

On the fourth day the 3 men appointed ~~at~~ <delegated by> the council came to perform the work assigned them they began

exalt them<sup>257</sup> who were of low degree, were watching over us; that those would be filled who hungered and thirsted after righteousness, when the rich would be sent empty away;<sup>258</sup> that God had helped his servant Israel in remembrance of his promised mercy, and in bringing forth a Record, by which is made known the seed of Abraham, our father. Therefore, we could safely put our trust in him, as he was able to help in every time of need.<sup>259</sup>

On the fourth day subsequent to the afore-mentioned council, soon after my husband left the house to go to his work, those three delegates appointed by the council, came to accomplish the work assigned them.<sup>260</sup> Soon after they entered,

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257. IE and Nibley: “those”

258. RLDS: “would be sent away empty”

259. This extension of the one-sentence allusion to the Magnificat in Lucy's rough draft is a skillful reworking of the longer original with some additions. See Luke 1:46-47, 52-54 (“And Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord, And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. . . . He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away. He hath holpen his servant Israel, in remembrance of his mercy”), Matthew 5:6 (“Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled”), Psalms 68:8 (“The earth shook, the heavens also dropped . . . even Sinai itself was moved at the presence of God, the God of Israel”), Isaiah 14:9 (“Hell from beneath is moved for thee”), and Luke 1:72 (“the mercy promised to our fathers . . .”).

260. On 3 March 1830, a committee from Palmyra's Presbyterian church consisting of Elders George Beckwith, Henry Jessop, Pelatiah West, and Newton Foster was appointed to visit the three Smiths “and report at the next meeting.” Their purpose was to inquire into the previous eighteen months of nonattendance. George Beckwith is not mentioned as a member of the committee, although he was an elder like Jessup. They spoke with Lucy, Hyrum, and Samuel but not, apparently, Sophronia, the fourth Smith who was a member of the congregation. She had married Calvin Stoddard in December 1827 but was living in Palmyra. The church records do not mention anyone being assigned to visit her. Milton Backman and James B. Allen, who edited the records for publication, point out: “It is significant to note that they [the Smiths] were charged only with inactivity and that no accusation was made even hinting of any dishonesty, lack of integrity, or undesirable moral character.” The committee reported on 10 March 1830 that their visit had yielded “no satisfaction. They [the Smiths] acknowledged that they had entirely neglected the ordinances of the church for the last eighteen months and that they did not wish to unite with us anymore.” They

Mrs Smith we hear you have a gold bible and we came to see you <if> be so kind as to show it to us

No gentlemen said I we have got any <no> gold bible and ~~neither have we ever had anything of the kind~~. but we have a translation of some gold plates which was sent to the world to bring the plainness of the Gospel to the children of men and also to give a history of the people that used to inhabit this country and I then proceeded to give them the substance of what is contained in the book of Mormon as also particularly the principles of religion which it contains. But added I the Universalists come here wonderfully affraid that their religion will suffer loss—The Presbyterians are frightened least their sallery will come down The Methodists come and they rage for they worship a God without body or parts and the doctrine we advocate comes in contact with their views

one of them began thus:—

“Mrs. Smith, we hear that you have a gold bible; we have come to see if you will be so kind as to show it to us?”

“No, gentlemen,” said I, “we have no gold bible, but we have a translation of some gold plates, which have been brought forth for the purpose of making known to the world the plainness of the Gospel, and also to give a history of the people which formerly inhabited this continent.” I then proceeded to relate the substance of what is contained in the Book of Mormon, dwelling particularly upon the principles of religion therein contained. I endeavoured to show them the similarity between these principles, and the simplicity of the Gospel taught by Jesus Christ in the New Testament. “Notwithstanding all this,” said I, “the different denominations are very much opposed to us. The Universalists are alarmed lest their religion should suffer loss, the Presbyterians tremble for their salaries, the Methodists also come, and they rage, for they worship a God without body or parts, and they know that our faith comes in contact with this principle.”

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were “cited to appear before the Session” on 24 March to answer charges of “Neglect of public worship and the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper for the last eighteen months.” When they did not appear, they were given a second citation for 29 March; at this meeting, where they again did not appear, they were “suspended from the Sacrament of the Lords Supper” (Backman and Allen, 482; Anderson, “Confirmation,” 391; Vogel 1:408). IE and Nibley: “to them.”

Well said the foremost gentleman with whom I was acquainted can we see the Manuscript.

No sir you cannot see it we have done exhibiting the manuscript altogether I have told you what was in it and that must < suffice >

He did not reply to this but said Mrs smith you & Hyrum and sophronia and samuel have belonged to our church a whole year and we respect you very highly ~~but~~ you say a great deal < about the book which your son has found > and believe much of what he tells you but we ~~have regret~~ ~~less~~ we cannot beare thoughts of loosing you and they do wish—I wish that if you do believe those things ~~which your son~~ that never would ~~proclaim it or~~ say anything about it I do wish you would not—

Deacon Beckwith said even you should stick my body full of faggots and burn me at the stake I would declare that Joseph has that record and that I know it to be true as long as God gave me breath—

he then turned to his companions and said you see it is no use to say anything more to her we cannot chane he mind then addressing me Mrs smith I see that it is not possible to persuade you out of your

After hearing me through, the gentlemen said, “can we see the manuscript, then?”

“No, sir,” replied I, “you cannot see it. I have told you what it contains, and that must suffice.”

He made no reply to this, but said, “Mrs. Smith, you and the most of your children have belonged to our church for some length of time,<sup>261</sup> and we respect you very highly. You say a great deal about the Book of Mormon, which your son has found, and you believe much of what he tells you, yet we cannot bear the thoughts of losing you, and they do wish—I wish, that if you do believe those things, you would not say anything more upon the subject—I do wish you would not.”

“Deacon Beckwith,” said I, “if you should stick my flesh full of faggots, and even burn me at the stake, I would declare, as long as God should give me breath, that Joseph has got that Record,<sup>262</sup> and that I know it to be true.”

At this, he observed to his companions, “You see it is of no use to say anything more to her, for we cannot change her mind.” Then, turning to me, he said, “Mrs. Smith, I see that it is not possible to persuade you

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261. Coray: “belonged to our church, near a year . . .”; GAS on Coray: “belonged to our church, some length of time . . .”

262. RLDS: “has got the record . . .”

belief and I do not know that it is worth while to say any more about the matter—

No sir said I it is <of> no use you cannot effect any thing by all that you can say—

he then bid me farewell and went out to see Hyrum. they asked him if he really did believe that his brother had got the record which he pretended to have

Hyrum <testified boldly to the truth and> told him that if he would take the book of mormon when it was finished and read it asking God for a witness to the truth of he would receive what he desired and now said he Deacon Beckwith just try it and see if I do not tell you truth.—

out of your belief, therefore I deem it unnecessary to say anything more upon the subject.”

“No, sir,” said I, “it is not worth your while.”

He then bid me farewell, and went out to see Hyrum, when the following conversation took place between them.

*Deacon Beckwith.* “Mr. Smith, do you not think that you may be deceived about that Record, which your brother pretends to have found?”

*Hyrum.* “No, sir, I do not.”

*Deacon Beckwith.* “Well, now, Mr. Smith, if you find that you are deceived, and that he has not got the Record, will you confess the fact to me?”

*Hyrum.* “Will you, Deacon Beckwith, take one of the books, when they are printed, and read it, asking God to give you an evidence that you may know whether it is true?”

*Deacon Beckwith.* “I think it beneath me to take so much trouble, however, if you will promise that you will confess to me that Joseph never had the plates, I will ask for a witness whether the book is true.”

*Hyrum.* “I will tell you what I will do, Mr. Beckwith, if you do get a testimony from God, that the book is not true, I will confess to you that it is not true.”

they then went to samuel who  
quoted Isah—

Upon this they parted, and the  
Deacon next went to Samuel, who  
quoted to him, Isaiah, LVI, 9-11:

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

"All ye beasts of the field, come to devour; yea, all ye beasts in the forest. His watchman<sup>263</sup> are blind; they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber; yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter."

Here Samuel ended the quotation, and the three gentlemen<sup>264</sup> left without ceremony.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

# CHAP. XXXIII.

ESQUIRE COLE'S DOGBERRY PA-  
PER—SECOND MEETING OF THE  
CITIZENS<sup>265</sup>

The bargain which they made with  
E. B. Grandin entitled to use of the  
every day except sunday

~~There was one Esqr Cole who~~  
~~living in the village of Palmira who~~  
~~about this time became destitute of~~  
~~Money property and One soday <af-~~  
~~ternoon> Hyrum became very un-~~  
easy he told Oliver that his peculiar  
feellings led him to believe that  
something was <going> wrong at  
printing Office Oliver asked if he  
thought there would be any harm in  
going to the office notwithstanding  
it was sunday. They debated some

The work of printing still contin-  
ued with little or no interruption, un-  
til one Sunday afternoon, when  
Hyrum became very uneasy as to the  
security of the work left at the print-  
ing office, and requested Oliver to  
accompany him thither, to see if all  
was right. Oliver hesitated for a mo-  
ment, as to the propriety of going on  
Sunday, but finally consented, and  
they set off together.

263. Coray: "Isaiah 56 Chapter 9. 10. & 11 verses: 'All ye beasts of the field come to devour; yea, all ye beasts of [GAS: "in"] the forest. His watchmen are blind . . ."

264. Coray: "the gentlemen left"; GAS on Coray: "the three gentlemen left."

265. Coray: "ESQ COLE COMMENCES PRINTING HIS DOGBERRY PAPER. THE PRINTING OF THE BOOK OF MORMON INTERRUPTED BY A CONVENTION OF THE CITIZENS.—JOSEPH SETTLES THE DIFFICULTY AFTER WHICH THE PRINTING OF THE BOOK IS FINISHED."

time at last Hyrum said I shall not stop to consider the matter any longer for I am going you may suit yourself about the matter but I will not suffer such uneasiness any longer with out knowing the cause They were ~~out on a few~~ <in a few minutes> their way to the printing establishment

when ~~that~~ they arrived there they found an <individual by the name of Coles> very busy at work printing a paper which seemed to be a <weekly> periodie~~le~~<cal> of some description Hyrum\* [\* An asterisked note at the foot of the sheet reads: "said ~~How~~ why Mr Coles you seem to be busy at work how comes it that you work Sunday. Mr. Coles. ~~Bee~~ I cannot have the press during the week and I am obliged to print nights and sundays."]

took up some of them and discovered that the man was printing the book of Mormon by picmeal. ~~F~~ in the prospectus ~~he~~ Mr Cole agreed to publish one form of Joe smith's Gold bible each week and thereby furnish his subscribers with the ~~whole bee~~ principle portion of the book for a ~~very small~~ <comparatively small> sum his Paper was entitled Dogberry paper Winter Hill and ~~there~~ <here> he had thrown together the <most> disgusting and insignificant stuff that could be conceived of ~~jus~~ in juxtaposition with a ~~eeop~~ the form ~~which~~ of the Book of Mormon which he had pilfered.

On arriving at the printing establishment, they found it occupied by an individual by the name of Cole, an ex-justice of the peace, who was busily employed in printing a newspaper. Hyrum was much surprised at finding him there, and remarked, "How is it, Mr. Cole, that you are so hard at work on Sunday?"

Mr. Cole replied, that he could not have the press, in the day time during the week, and was obliged to do his printing at night, and on Sundays.

Upon reading the prospectus of his paper, they found that he had agreed with his subscribers to publish one form of "Joe Smith's Gold Bible" each week, and thereby furnish them with the principal<sup>266</sup> portion of the book in such a way that they would not be obliged to pay the Smiths for it. His paper was entitled, DOGBERRY PAPER ON WINTER HILL.<sup>267</sup> In this, he had thrown together a parcel of the most vulgar, disgusting prose, and the meanest, and most low-lived doggerel, in juxtaposition with a portion of the Book of Mormon, which he had pilfered.

[Notes 266 and 267 appear on page 472.]

thus Classing the beautiful <unaf-  
fected> simplicity of this inspired  
writing with the lowest and most  
contemtible doggerel that ever were  
<was> imposed upon any commu-  
nity whatever

Hyrum was ~~indignant~~ <shocked>  
at this perversion of common sense  
and moral feeling as well as indig-  
nant at the unfair and dishonest  
course he took to get possession of  
the work

Mr Cole said he what right  
have <you> to print the book of  
Mormon in this way. do you not  
know that we have secured a copy  
right—

It is none of your business sir  
said Mr cole I have hired the press  
and I will print what I please so help  
yourself

Mr Cole replied Hyrum I forbid  
you printing any more of that book  
in your paper for that is sacred and  
you must stop it

<Smith> I dont care a dam  
for what you say Mr. Smith I'm de-  
termined to that damned Gold bible  
is going into my paper

Hyrum and Oliver both con-  
tended with him a long time to dis-  
suade him from his purpose but find-  
ing all they could do nothing with  
him they returned home and Mr

At this perversion of common sense  
and moral feeling, Hyrum was  
shocked, as well as indignant at the  
dishonest course which Mr. Cole  
had taken, in order to possess him-  
self of the work.

"Mr. Cole," said he, "what right  
have you to print the Book of Mor-  
mon in this manner? Do you not  
know that we have secured the copy-  
right?"

"It is none of your business," an-  
swered Cole, "I have hired the press,  
and will print what I please, so help  
yourself."

"Mr. Cole," rejoined Hyrum,  
"that manuscript is sacred, and I for-  
bid your printing any more of it."

"Smith," exclaimed Cole, in a  
tone of anger, "I don't care a d—n  
for you: that d—d gold bible is going  
into my paper, in spite of all you can  
do."

Hyrum endeavoured to dissuade  
him from his purpose, but finding  
him inexorable, left him to issue his  
paper, as he had hitherto done; for  
when they found him at work, he

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266. IE: "principle"; Nibley: "principal"

267. Wintergreen Hill was a long, treeless hill northwest of Palmyra where residents picked wintergreen for its medicinal properties. Nathan Harris, Martin's father, owned land on the north end of the hill (Vogel 1:412).



cole issued his paper as he had done  
 <several other> numbers before  
 that of the same paper for their clandestinely publishing the book of mor-mon and before we could bring it to them in such order to gratify the curiosity <of the people> the whilst they also were more willing to pay <this> arrant knave for their information than to come in possession of it in a more honorable way and in a manner that would help <enable> the proprietors of the work to discharge the obligations they had entered into and its order to its publication we learned that he <had been> was circulating a prospectus of his paper all through the country beginning about 12 miles distant and had agreed to publish one form of the Gold bible every week and when we discovered him he had already issued some six or 8 numbers—

Hyrum <&> Oliver returned immediately home and after counciling with Mr. smith it was considered necessary that Joseph should be sent for. accordingly My husband set out as soon as possible for Penn. ‡ The day that set on which they were expected Home was one of the most blustering cold and disagreeable that I ever experinced But they breasted the storm all day long and when

had already issued six or eight numbers, and by taking them ten or twenty miles into the country, had managed to keep them out of our sight.<sup>268</sup>

On returning from the office, they asked my husband what course was best for them to pursue, relative to Mr. Cole. He told them that he considered it a matter with which Joseph ought to be made acquainted. Accordingly, he set out himself for Pennsylvania, and returned with Joseph the ensuing Sunday.<sup>269</sup> The weather was so extremely cold, that they came near

268. Coray: "he had already issued six or eight numbers, and by taking them ten or twenty miles into the country, had managed to keep them out of our sight." GAS on Coray: "he had already issued six or eight numbers, but, had managed to keep them out of our sight." IE and Nibley: "numbers, and had managed to keep them out of our sight."

269. Vogel notes that Oliver Cowdery wrote to Joseph Jr. on 28 December 1829 stating that

they arrived there they were ~~very~~  
nearly stiffened with the cold—  
however ~~they~~ Joseph made himself  
comfortable as soon as ~~pø~~ he could  
and went the same night to the  
<printing> office as it was sunday  
the day in which Mr. Cole publish-  
ed his Dogberry Paper. Joseph sa-  
luted him very good naturedly with  
How do you do Mr Coles you seem  
hard at work ~~and~~ How do you do  
Mr. Smith said Cole dry<i>ly—

Joseph then examined his paper and  
said to Mr. cole that book and the  
right [p]ublishing it belongs to me,  
and I forbid you meddling ~~in the~~  
least degree

Mr. Coles threw of [sic] his  
coat and rolling up his ~~sleeves~~ sleeves  
came towards my son in a great rage  
and roaring out ~~at the top of his~~  
~~voice~~ do you want to fight sir do you  
want to fight—I will publish just as  
what I'm a mind to and now if you  
want to fight just come on—

Well now Mr. Cole you had better  
keep on your cøø<oa>t for it's cold  
and I am not going to fight nor any-  
thing of that sort but you have got to

perishing before they arrived at  
home, nevertheless, as soon as  
Joseph made himself partially com-  
fortable, he went to the printing of-  
fice, where he found Cole employed,  
as on the Sunday previous. "How do  
you do, Mr. Cole," said Joseph, "You  
seem hard at work."

"How do you do, Mr. Smith,"  
answered Cole, dryly.

Joseph examined his DOGBERRY  
PAPER, and then said firmly, "Mr.  
Cole, that book, [the Book of Mor-  
mon]<sup>270</sup> and the right of publishing  
it, belongs to me, and I forbid you  
meddling with it any further."

At this Mr. Cole threw off his  
coat, rolled up his sleeves, and came  
towards Joseph, smacking his fists to-  
gether with vengeance, and roaring  
out, "do you want to fight, sir? do  
you want to fight? I will publish just  
what I please. Now, if you want to  
fight, just come on."

Joseph could not help smiling at his  
grotesque appearance, for his behav-  
iour was too ridiculous to excite in-  
dignation. "Now, Mr. Cole," said

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Joseph Sr. was planning to come immediately to get Joseph Jr. to stop Abner Cole's pirating. Because Cole continued to publish extracts until 22 January 1830, Vogel suggests that Joseph Sr.'s trip may have been delayed because of weather, because Joseph Sr. and Abraham Fish were summoned before Justice Nathan Pierce on 19 January by Lemuel Durfee Jr. over an unpaid debt to the recently deceased Lemuel Durfee Sr., or because Joseph Jr. may have written "requesting a delay for his own reasons" (2:407-8). Another possibility is that the bellicose Cole, who was obviously willing to resort to physical violence over the matter, may have simply refused to stop printing the extracts while the matter was in negotiation and thus managed to get out a few more issues.

270. Brackets in Pratt, IE, and Nibley.

stop printing my book sir I assure you for I know my rights and shall maintain them

Sir bawled out Cole if you think you are the best man just take off your coat and try it

Mr Cole said Joseph in a low significant tone there is Law—and you will find that out if you did not know it before but I shall not fight you for that would do no good and there is another way of disposing <of> the affair that will answer my purpose better than ~~to~~ fighting

Mr Cole began to cool off a little and finally concluded to submit to an arbitration ~~withou~~ and stop his proceedings without making further trouble

and Joseph returned to Penn.<sup>271</sup> Notes continued after oliver got to printing he went to penn and commenced building and preaching—went home after he settled the affair with eli Cole—Sectarians held another meeting said that the smith family could not pay the printer ~~had~~ who stopped work and we had <to> send to Joseph he came up But it was not long till another difficulty arose. The inhabitants of the surrounding country perceiving that the work still went on were ~~un~~ became uneasy again

he, “you had better keep your coat on—it is cold, and I am not going to fight you, nevertheless, I assure you, sir, that you have got to stop printing my book, for I know my rights, and shall maintain them.”

“Sir,” bawled out the wrathful gentleman, “if you think you are the best man, just pull off your coat and try it.”

“Mr. Cole,” said Joseph, in a low, significant tone, “there is law, and you will find that out, if you do not understand it, but I shall not fight you, sir.”

At this, the ex-justice began to cool off a little, and finally concluded to submit to an arbitration, which decided that he should stop his proceedings forthwith, so that he made us no further trouble.

Joseph, after disposing of this affair, returned to Pennsylvania, but not long to remain there, for when the inhabitants of the surrounding country perceived that the work still progressed, they became uneasy, and again called a large meeting. At this time, they gathered their forces together, far and near, and organizing themselves into a committee of the whole, they resolved, as before, never to purchase one of our books, when they should be printed. They then appointed a committee to wait upon

271. The next few sentences, down to “Cole,” were written on the bottom of another sheet.

and called a large meeting and ~~they passed a resolution that they would~~ not <to> purchase the book suffer their families to do so—as they had done in former meeting. but not content with this they sent a deputation to E. B. Grandin who informed him of their resolution ~~of~~ passed by the meeting ~~and~~ <who> also stated <to him> that the smith family having lost all [damaged] property must eventually be altogether unable [damaged] sum agreed upon in consequence [damaged] ale for their books This caus [damaged] printing and we were again compelled to send to Penn. for Joseph before we could proceed any farther these trips back and forth from New York to Penn cost every thing that we could raise to ~~and we continued to toil and labor~~ but they seemed unavoidable—When Joseph came he and Martin Harris went to Grandin again and succeeded in making satisfactory arrangements with him and the <work> went on as before and did not meet with any other impediment untill the book was finnisied

E. B. Grandin and inform him of the resolutions which they had passed, and also to explain to him the evil consequences which would result to him therefrom. The men who were appointed to do this errand, fulfilled their mission to the letter, and urged upon Mr. Grandin the necessity of his putting a stop to the printing, as the Smiths had lost all their property, and consequently would be unable to pay him for his work, except by the sale of the books. And this they would never be able to do, for the people would not purchase them. This information caused Mr. Grandin to stop printing, and we were again compelled to send for Joseph. These trips back, and forth, exhausted nearly all our means, yet they seemed unavoidable.

When Joseph came, he went immediately with Martin Harris to Grandin, and succeeded in removing his fears,<sup>272</sup> so that he went on with the work, until the books were printed, which was in the spring of eighteen hundred and thirty.

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272. Martin Harris mortgaged his farm on 25 August 1829 to pay for the entire cost of \$3,000. John H. Gilbert, typesetter, interviewed many years later, recalled that the typesetting was never interrupted by financial concerns, while William Stafford in 1833 denied that anyone tried to suppress its publication (Vogel 1:416). Lucy, in her October 1845 general conference address, adds a supplementary detail about financing the publication of the Book of Mormon: "Joseph went to Pennsylvania Hiram & Samuel had to go to work in the woods all day & then <at night> had to go <haul the wood> and get means to help Joseph to publish the book—2 of them guarded the house— . . . My family made out to get the Book printed the Angel of the Lord told them what to do" (Lucy Smith, *Minutes*, Bolton version, p. 9).

## New Chap

during the fall and winter we held no meetings because of the plotting schemes of the people against us but in the spring Joseph came up <and preached to us> after ~~the books were~~ <Oliver got throuh> with the Book <My Husband and> and Martin Harris was batized

Joseph stood on the shore when his father came out of the water and as he took him by the hand he cried out Oh! my God I have lived to see my father baptized into the true church of Jesus christ and <he> covered his face ~~with and wept like and infant sobbed upon his father's bosom like an infant~~ <in his fathers bosom and wept aloud like for joy as did> Joseph of old when he beheld his father coming up into the land of Egypt this took pla<ace> on the sixth of April 1830. the d[a]y on which the church was organized

## CHAP. XXXIV.

THE CHURCH ORGANIZED.<sup>273</sup>

About the first of April<sup>274</sup> of the same year in which the Book of Mormon was published, Joseph came again from Pennsylvania, and preached to us several times. On the morning of the sixth day of the same month, my husband and Martin Harris were baptized.<sup>275</sup>

When Mr. Smith came out of the water, Joseph stood upon the shore, and taking his father by the hand, he exclaimed, with tears of joy, "Oh, my God! have I lived to see my own father baptized into the true Church of Jesus Christ!" On the same day, April 6, 1830, the church was organized.<sup>276</sup>

273. Coray: "THE CHURCH ORGANIZED.—JOSEPH ORDAINS HIS FATHER AND BROTHERS.—SAMUEL GOES ON A MISSION TO LIVONIA.—RETURNS.—GOES AGAIN."

274. Nibley note: "The printing of the Book of Mormon was completed during the last week of March, 1830."

275. GAS on Pratt and Coray: "... times: And on the morning of the 6th day of the same month, my husband and Martin Harris were <were> baptized." IE and Nibley: "times. My husband and Martin Harris were baptized."

276. GAS has edited Coray's rendition of this passage thus: "... in tears of joy, 'Oh, <praise to> my God! <that I> have I lived to see my own father baptized into the true Church of Jesus Christ.' On the same day, the church was organized, (on April 6- 1830)." IE and Nibley: "'Praise to my God! that I have lived to see my own father . . . Christ.' On the same day, April 6. . . ." Nibley adds a note: "From the evidence it appears that both Joseph Smith, Sr., and his wife, Lucy Smith, were baptized on the day the Church was organized." Joseph Knight remembered Joseph Smith Jr. baptizing Joseph Smith Sr. a member of the church and "bast out with greaf and joy and seamed as tho the world Could not hold him. He went out into the Lot and appeared to want to git out of site of every Body and would sob and Crie and seamed to Be so full that he could not

*Lucy: 1844-45*

As they then returned to Pensylvania and remained <to Penn> untill the ensuing spring when P-David <John> Whitmer and Oliver Cowdray went to Pennsylvania Joseph was then preaching to the people and was pleased to see the young men for the opposition which he had to contend with was so strong that the hope prospect of assistance ~~aboe~~ was very encouraging. but they were not much benefit to him in this respect for they only had Sufficient <time> to preach a few discourses and baptize some 8 or 9 persons <among whom was our old friend Newel Knight>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Shortly after this, my sons were all ordained to the ministry, even Don Carlos, who was but fourteen years of age. Samuel was directed to take a number of the Books of Mormon, and go on a mission to Livonia, to preach, and make sale of the books, if possible.<sup>277</sup> Whilst he was making preparations to go on this mission, Miss Almira<sup>278</sup> Mack arrived in Manchester from Pontiac. This young woman was a daughter of my brother, Stephen Mack, whose history I have already given. She received the Gospel as soon as she heard it, and was baptized immediately, and has ever since remained a faithful member of the Church.

On the thirtieth of June, Samuel started on the mission to which he had been set apart by Joseph,<sup>279</sup> and in travelling twenty-five miles, which was his first day's journey, he stopped at a number of places in or-

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live" (qtd. Bushman, *Joseph*, 144).

Interestingly, Lucy does not mention either the fact or the date of her own baptism. The *History of the Church* says that Oliver Cowdery baptized her, Joseph Sr., Martin Harris, and Sarah Rockwell on 6 April, but the manuscript draft includes a note saying they were baptized one or two days later (Vogel 2:197). Cornelius R. Stafford, who claimed to be an eyewitness, said that Joseph Jr. performed her baptism (Vogel 2:197). She could also have been baptized on 9 June at the first conference, held at Fayette, (as were Katharine, William, Don Carlos, and possibly Sophronia), or at some other point during the month of June as were Hyrum and Jerusha. For an appraisal of the evidence that the church was organized at Manchester, rather than the traditional site of Fayette, New York, see Marquardt, "An Appraisal."

277. Nibley note: "Samuel H. Smith is credited with having been the first missionary of the Church." In Lucy's October 1845 conference address, she states that Samuel "had to sell them [copies of the Book of Mormon] to buy us victuals I want to speak of this that you may not complain of hard times" (Lucy Smith, *Minutes*, Bolton version, p. 11).

278. Coray: "Almera". The "e" is written over "i." Martha Jane Coray notebook: "1830-June[.] Almira Mack came to Manchester and was baptized soon after she came[.]" "Copy of an Old Notebook," 37.

279. Martha Jane Coray notebook: "Saml. performed the <or his> 1st mission Joseph sent him to Livonia to take some books" (24).

der to sell his books, but was turned out of doors as soon as he declared his principles.<sup>280</sup> When evening came on, he was faint and almost discouraged, but coming to an inn, which was surrounded with every appearance of plenty, he called to see if the landlord would buy one of his books. On going in, Samuel inquired of him, if he did not wish to purchase a history of the origin of the Indians.

"I do not know," replied the host, "how did you get hold of it?"

"It was translated," rejoined Samuel, "by my brother, from some gold plates that he found buried in the earth."

"You d—d liar!" cried the landlord, "get out of my house—you shan't stay one minute with your books."

Samuel was sick at heart, for this was the fifth time he had been turned out of doors that day. He left the house, and travelled a short distance, and washed his feet in a small brook, as a testimony against the man. He then proceeded five miles further on his journey, and seeing an apple-tree a short distance from the road, he concluded to pass the night under it; and here he lay all night upon the cold, damp ground. In the morning, he arose from his comfortless bed, and observing a small cottage at no great distance,<sup>281</sup> he drew near, hoping to get a little refreshment. The only inmate was a widow, who seemed very poor. He asked her for food, relating the story of his former treatment. She prepared him some victuals, and, after eating, he explained to her the history of the Book of Mormon.<sup>282</sup> She listened attentively, and believed all that he told her, but, in consequence of her poverty, she was unable to purchase one of the books. He presented her with one,<sup>283</sup> and proceeded to Bloomington, which was eight miles further. Here he stopped at the house of one John P. Green,<sup>284</sup> who was a Methodist preacher,<sup>285</sup> and was at that time about starting on a preaching mission. He, like the others, did not wish to make a purchase of what he considered at that time to be a nonsensical fable, however, he said that he would take a subscription paper, and if he found any

280. Martha Jane Coray notebook: "as soon as he named the the books" (24).

281. Martha Jane Coray notebook: "he saw at a distance a small cottage" (26).

282. Martha Jane Coray notebook: "some victuals after which he sat down and explained the history of his coming into possession of the Book of Mormon" (27).

283. Martha Jane Coray notebook, "she said she could not purchase his book for she had not the means although she would be glad ~~to do~~ to have one he presented her with ~~one~~ a book" (27).

284. GAS on Pratt has corrected this name to "Greene" consistently for the first few times but not later; he does not make this correction on Coray. IE and Nibley use "Greene" consistently and add the note: "John P. Greene was a brother-in-law of Brigham Young."

285. RLDS: "minister"



one on his route who was disposed to purchase, he would take his name, and in two weeks Samuel might call again, and he would let him know what the prospect was of selling.<sup>286</sup> After making this arrangement, Samuel left one of his books with him, and returned home. At the time appointed, Samuel started again for the Rev. John P. Green's, in order to learn the success which this gentleman had met with in finding sale for the Book of Mormon. This time, Mr. Smith, and myself<sup>287</sup> accompanied him, and it was our intention to have passed near the tavern where Samuel was so abusively treated a fortnight previous, but just before we came to the house, a sign of small-pox intercepted us. We turned aside, and meeting a citizen of the place, we inquired of him, to what extent this disease prevailed. He answered, that the tavernkeeper and two of his family had died with it not long since, but he did not know that any one else had caught the distemper,<sup>288</sup> and that it was brought into the neighbourhood by a traveller, who stopped at the tavern over night.

This is a specimen of the peculiar disposition of some individuals, who would purchase their death for a few shillings, but sacrifice<sup>289</sup> their soul's salvation rather than give a Saint of God a meal of victuals. According to the Word of God, it shall<sup>290</sup> be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah, in the day of judgment, than for such persons.<sup>291</sup>

We arrived at Esquire Beaman's, in Livonia, that night. The next morning Samuel took the road<sup>292</sup> to Mr. Green's, and finding that he had made no sale of the books, we returned home the following day.

286. Martha Jane Coray notebook: "he like the others did not wish to buy but said he would a subscription paper and try to sell some of them as he was about starting on a preaching tour and he was willing to do any one a kindness" (28).

287. GAS, evidently desiring, for some reason, to render this passage in third person, has edited it incompletely: "This time, his Father & mother Smith accompanied him, and it was our intention to have passed near the tavern . . . but just before we came to the house, a sign of small-pox intercepted us. They turned aside, and meeting a citizen of the place, we inquired of him . . ." IE and Nibley follow Pratt.

288. GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley: "disease"

289. IE and Nibley: "individuals, who would sacrifice . . ."

290. IE and Nibley: "will"

291. Martha Jane Coray notebook: "This is a strange specimen of the peculiar disposition of some individuals whom we sometimes meet with he purchased his death for a few shillings but sacrificed his souls salvation rather than give a saint of God the Church of God a meals victuals for according to the word of God it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for that man[.]" "Copy of an Old Notebook," 30-31. GAS has edited Coray thus: ". . . who would purchase their death for a few shillings, but sacrifice their souls salvation rather than give a saint of God a meals victuals. . . it will be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah, in the day of judgement, than for ~~that man~~ <such persons>."

292. Coray: "took the horse and rode to . . ."

## CHAP. XXXV.

JOSEPH SMITH, SENIOR, AND DON CARLOS, VISIT STOCKHOLM.<sup>293</sup>

Soon<sup>294</sup> after the Church was organized, my husband set out, with Don Carlos, to visit his father, Asael Smith. After a tedious journey, they arrived at the house of John Smith, my husband's brother. His wife Clarissa,<sup>295</sup> had never before seen my husband, but as soon as he entered, she exclaimed, "There, Mr. Smith, is your brother Joseph." John, turning suddenly, cried out, "Joseph, is this you!"

"It is I," said Joseph, "is my father yet alive? I have come to see him once more, before he dies."

For a particular account of this visit, I shall give my readers an extract from brother John Smith's journal. He writes as follows:—

"The next morning after brother Joseph arrived,<sup>296</sup> we set out together for Stockholm to see our father, who was living at that place with our brother Silas. We arrived about dark at the house of my brother Jesse, who was absent with his wife. The children<sup>297</sup> informed us, that their parents were with our father, who was supposed to be dying. We hastened without delay to the house of brother Silas, and upon arriving there were told, that father was just recovering from a severe fit, and, as it was not considered advisable to let him or mother know that Joseph was there, we went to spend the night with brother Jesse.

"As soon as we were settled, brothers Jesse and Joseph entered into conversation respecting their families. Joseph briefly related the history of his family, the death of Alvin, &c. He then began to speak of the discovery and translation of the Book of Mormon. At this, Jesse grew very angry, and exclaimed, 'If you say another word about that Book of Mormon, you shall not stay a minute longer in my house, and if I can't get you out any other way, I will hew you down with my broad axe.'<sup>298</sup>

"We had always been accustomed to being treated with much harshness by our brother, but he had never carried it to so great an extent before. However, we spent the night with him, and the next morning visited our aged parents. They

293. Coray: "STOCKHOLM.—AN EXTRACT FROM JOHN SMITH'S JOURNAL.—"

294. GAS on Coray: "Soon <In the Summer> after the Church was organized"; IE and Nibley follow GAS. Nibley adds a note: "This would be the summer of 1830."

295. Coray: "His wife, sister Clarissa . . ."

296. RLDS: "after Joseph arrived . . ."

297. Coray: "his wife from home; and the children . . ."

298. GAS has edited Coray: "get you out any other <way,> I . . ." In Martha Jane's notebook, this passage differs slightly: "[Joseph] began to speak of the discovery and translation of the book of Mormon Jesse fiercely exclaimed if you mention one word about the book of Mormon you shall not stay a minute in my house if I cant get you out any other way I will hew you down with my broad ax—" (13-14).

were overjoyed to see Joseph, for he had been absent from them so long that they had been fearful of never beholding his face again in the flesh.

"After the usual salutations, enquiries, and explanations, the subject of the Book of Mormon was introduced. Father received with gladness, that which Joseph communicated; and remarked, that he had always expected that something would appear to make known the true Gospel.<sup>299</sup>

"In a few minutes brother Jesse came in, and on hearing that the subject of our conversation was the Book of Mormon, his wrath rose as high as it did the night before. 'My father's mind,' said Jesse, 'is weak, and I will not have it corrupted with such blasphemous stuff, so just shut up your heads.'<sup>300</sup> Brother Joseph reasoned mildly with him, but to no purpose. Brother Silas then said, 'Jesse, our brother has come to make us a visit, and I am glad to see him, and am willing he should talk as he pleases in my house.' Jesse replied in so insulting a manner, and continued to talk so abusively, that Silas was under the necessity of requesting him to leave the house.

"After this, brother Joseph proceeded in conversation, and father seemed to be pleased with every word which he said. But I must confess that I was too pious, at that time, to believe one word of it.

"I returned home the next day, leaving Joseph with my father. Soon after which, Jesse came to my house and informed me, that all my brothers were coming to make me a visit, 'and as true as you live,' said he, 'they all believe that cursed Mormon book, every word of it, and they are setting a trap for you, to make you believe it.'

"I thanked him for taking so much trouble upon himself, to inform me that my brothers were coming to see me, but told him, that I considered myself amply able to judge for myself in matters of religion. 'I know,' he replied, 'that you are a pretty good judge of such things, but I tell you, that they are as wary as the devil. And I want you to go with me and see our sisters, Susan and Fanny,<sup>301</sup> and we will bar their minds against Joseph's influence.'

299. Grandson George A. Smith recalled that, when his father John and Joseph Sr. visited their father, Asael "firmly withstood the opposition of his sons, who at first 'ridiculed Joseph's visions' [because] 'the old gentleman said that he always knew that God was going to raise up some branch of his family to be a great benefit to mankind. . . . My grandfather Asael fully believed the Book of Mormon, which he read nearly through, although in his eighty-eighth year, without the aid of glasses.'" Summarizes Anderson: "He died that fall, confident that a new religious age was upon the world" (Richard Anderson, *New England*, 112-13). In Martha Jane's notebook, this passage from John's journal reads: "after the usual salutation the subject of the Book of Mormon was agitated My father received it with gladness Said he had always known that something would appear to make known the true religion—" (14).

300. IE and Nibley: "head"

301. GAS on Coray: "see our sister, Susan and <our sister-in-law> Fanny . . ." IE and Nibley

"We accordingly visited them, and conversed upon the subject as we thought proper, and requested them to be at my house the next day.

"My brothers arrived according to previous arrangement, and Jesse, who came also, was very careful to hear every word which passed among us, and would not allow one word to be said about the Book of Mormon.<sup>302</sup> They agreed that night to visit our sisters the following day, and as we were about leaving, brother Asael took me aside and said, 'Now, John, I want you to have some conversation<sup>303</sup> with Joseph, but if you do, you must cheat it out of Jesse. And if you wish, I can work the card for you.'

"I told him that I would be glad to talk with Joseph alone, if I could get an opportunity.

"Well,' replied Asael, 'I will take a certain number in my carriage, and Silas will take the rest, and you may bring out a horse for Joseph to ride, but when we are out of sight, take the horse back to the stable again, and keep Joseph over night.'

"I did as Asael advised, and that evening Joseph explained to me the principles of 'Mormonism,' the truth of which I have never since denied.

"The next morning, we (Joseph and myself) went to our sisters, where we met our brothers, who censured me very sharply for keeping Joseph over night—Jesse, because he was really displeased; the others, to make a show of disappointment.<sup>304</sup>

"In the evening, when we were about to separate, I agreed to take Joseph in my waggon twenty miles on his journey the next day. Jesse rode home with me that evening, leaving Joseph with our sisters. As Joseph did not expect to see Jesse again, when we were about starting, Joseph gave Jesse his hand in a pleasant, affectionate manner, and said, 'Farewell, brother Jesse!' 'Farewell, Jo, for ever,' replied Jesse, in a surly tone.

"I am afraid,' returned Joseph in a kind, but solemn manner, 'it will be for ever, unless you repent.'

"This was too much for even Jesse's obdurate heart. He melted into tears, however, he made no reply, nor ever mentioned the circumstance afterwards.<sup>305</sup>

follow this correction.

302. GAS on Coray: "about the Book of Mormon <in his presence>."

303. Coray: "I want you to leave you have some conversation . . ."

304. GAS on Coray: ". . . our brothers, <& Jesse> who censured me very sharply for keeping Joseph over night, ~~Jesse, because he was really displeased, the others, to make a show of disappointment.~~" In Martha Jane's notebook, this passage reads: "that night I learned the principles of Mormonism the next Morning we visited with our brothers and sisters and I was very much censured by the whole parted Brother Asael not excepted" (19). IE and Nibley follow GAS.

305. Martha Jane's notebook: "this touched even the almost invulnerable Jesse Smith and he

"I took my brother twenty miles on his journey the next day, as I had agreed. Before he left me, he requested me to promise him, that I would read a Book of Mormon, which he had given me, and even should I not believe it, that I would not condemn it; 'for,' said he, 'if you do not condemn it, you shall have a testimony of its truth.' I fulfilled my promise, and thus proved his testimony to be true."<sup>306</sup>

Just before my husband's return, as Joseph was about commencing a discourse one Sunday morning, Parley P. Pratt<sup>307</sup> came in, very much fatigued. He had heard of us at some considerable distance, and had travelled very fast, in order to get there by meeting time, as he wished to hear what we had to say, that he might be prepared to show us our error. But when Joseph had finished his discourse, Mr. Pratt arose, and expressed his hearty concurrence in every sentiment advanced. The following day, he was baptized and ordained.<sup>308</sup> In a few days he set off for Canaan, N. Y. where his brother Orson resided, whom he baptized on the nineteenth of September, 1830.

After Joseph ordained Parley, he went home again to Pennsylvania, for he was only in Manchester on business.<sup>309</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

when the presbyterian part of the  
community grew very wroth and in  
the plentitude of their <evil>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

About this time, his trouble com-  
menced at Colesville, with the mob,  
who served a writ upon him, and

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wept like a child all the while we were riding 4 miles" (20).

306. Coray adds: "I shall now drop brother John Smith's journal, and again pursue my story."

307. In 1856 Parley P. Pratt, recalling his introduction to Mormonism, told of meeting Hyrum Smith driving cows in Manchester. When he inquired about Joseph Smith, Hyrum took him home where he met Lucy Smith, Jerusha Barden Smith, and Sarah Rockwell. "We sat up talking nearly all night," he said, "for I . . . had to return the next morning, and we conversed during most of the night, without being either sleepy or weary" (Vogel 3:344).

308. GAS on Coray: ". . . Just before my husband's return, as ~~Joseph was about commencing a discourse~~ one Sunday morning, Parly P. Pratt came in <to our meeting>, very much fatigued. He had heard of us at some considerable distance, and had travelled very fast, in order <to get> there . . . Joseph <he> had <heard> finished [sic] his <the> discourse, Mr. Pratt arose, and expressed his hearty concurrence in every sentiment advanced; and ~~the following day~~, he was <soon after> baptized and ordained. In a few <days> he . . ." Lucy is probably mistaken in saying Joseph Jr. ordained Parley in Manchester, since Parley says that he was ordained an elder the same day he was baptized—on 1 September 1830 at Fayette by Oliver Cowdery (Vogel 1:423).

309. GAS on Coray marks out this sentence. IE and Nibley drop this sentence and change "his" to "Joseph's" in the next line.

fanciful imaginations they got up a scheme which they flattered [damaged] selves ~~that~~ they should succeed in closing Joseph's mouth [damaged] t for a season They discovered by reading the Book [damaged] that in the title page it claimed to be a revela [damaged] lared Joseph smith author [damaged] ted a suit against

[Fragment, much damaged. Twenty-five lines remain; the top and left margin are damaged. The speaker in this fragment is John Reed/Reid, who defended Joseph Smith 28-30 June 1830 in suits in both Chenango and Broome counties] felt a striking [damaged] ded my immedia [damaged] middle of the afternoon [damaged] soon warmly engaged in [damaged] ating the Case of the defendant and a feeling came over [damaged] e which I can never description <be> My soul <was> swelled with [damaged] tions which which I had never before experienced. and the inspiration to which I was subject at that time gave me an eloquence which was overpowering ~~my brain was on fire~~ I felt that I was irresistable and was not disappointed in the result

dragged him from the desk as he was about taking his text to preach. But as a relation of this affair is given in his history,\*<sup>310</sup> I shall mention only one circumstance pertaining to it, for which I am dependant upon Esquire Reid, Joseph's counsel in the case, and I shall relate it as near in his own words as my memory will admit:—

"I was so busy at that time,<sup>311</sup> when Mr. Smith sent for me, that it was almost impossible for me to attend the case, and never having seen Mr. Smith, I determined to decline going. But soon after coming to this conclusion, I thought I heard some one say,<sup>312</sup> 'You *must* go, and deliver the Lord's Anointed!' Supposing that it was the man who came after me, I replied, 'the Lord's Anointed? What do you mean by the Lord's Anointed?' He was surprised at being accosted in this manner, and replied, 'what do *you* mean, sir? I said nothing about the Lord's Anointed.' I was convinced that he told the truth, for these few words filled my mind with peculiar feelings, such as I had never before experienced; and I immediately hastened to the place of trial. Whilst I was engaged in the case, these emotions increased, and when I came to speak upon it, I was

310. Coray: "See Times and Seasons vol. 4th Pges 40. & 61"; Pratt 1853 note: "See *Times and Seasons*, vol. IV., Pp. 40 and 61 *Supp. to Mil. Star*, vol. xiv., p. 31." The RLDS editions reproduce this note but without the inconsistencies in capitalization.

311. Coray: "I was said Esq. Reid, so busy at the time . . ."

312. Coray: "heard some one say to me . . ."

the prisoners was discharged and but the wrath of the accusers was increased I took Mr Smith with Mr Whitmer <and Mr Cowdray> now immediately into another room and discovering that their situation even here was unsafe (as there was about 500 of the opposite party) I advised them to a notice at the window [damaged] ter I went out the men disappeared they had better [damaged] sson as possible I then went out and asked them [damaged] and take something to drink and as many of them [damaged] fond of liquor I succeeded in attracting the at- tent [damaged] the whole so that Mr. Smith and Mr Whitmer made [damaged] out of their reach entirely before they were aware of any [damaged] h intention."

~~After they left~~ They had eat nothing since morning but they travelled all night without food and [damaged] was after day light when they succeeded in getting a [damaged] an- tity of [damaged] h was a grat bene- fit to them

inspired to an eloquence which was altogether new to me, and which was overpowering and irresistible.

I succeeded, as I expected, in obtain- ing the prisoner's discharge. This the more enraged the adverse party, and I soon discovered that Mr. Smith was liable to abuse from them, should he not make his escape. The most of them being fond of liquor, I invited them into another room to drink, and thus succeeded in attract- ing their attention, until Mr. Smith was beyond their reach. I knew not where he went, but I was satisfied that he was out of their hands."

Since this circumstance oc- curred, until this day, Mr. Reid has been a faithful friend to Joseph, al- though he has never attached him- self to the Church.

After escaping the hands of the mob, Joseph travelled till day-break the next morning, before he ven- tured to ask for victuals, although he had taken nothing, save a small crust of bread, for two days. About day-break he arrived at the house of one of his wife's sisters, where he found Emma, who had suffered great anxiety about him, since his first ar- rest. They returned home together, and immediately afterwards Joseph received a commandment by revela- tion, to move his family to Waterloo.



*Lucy: 1844-45*

[Fragment: the verso of the previous page] father to [damaged] abode Hyrum esp [damaged] wife <family> and one bed and [damaged] \*for he did not know what [damaged] go immediately to Colesville\* [damaged] <chambers> [damaged] I'd go to waterloo straightway and prepare a place for [damaged] family that the Lord would soften the hearts of the people at <in> th [damaged] and he should find favor in their eyes—for his enemies w [damaged] also seeking his destruction. <Now see samuels first mission book> Hyrum set off the next [damaged] <scrip revises> at ten o'clock—Joseph went to macedon with his wife and commenced preaching <which he continued for some time>—making appointments alternately in Macedon Manchester and Palmira—after which he ~~returned~~ <went> to waterloo—William and samuel were also gone from home

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

We had at this time just completed a house, which Joseph had built on a small farm, that he had purchased of his father-in law;<sup>313</sup> however, he locked up his house with his furniture in it, and repaired with Emma, immediately to Manchester. About the time of his arrival at our house, Hyrum had settled up his business, for the purpose of being at liberty to do whatever the Lord required of him: and he requested Joseph to ask the Lord for a revelation concerning the matter. The answer given was, that he should take a bed, his family, and what clothing he needed for them, and go straightway to Colesville, for his enemies were combining in secret chambers to take away his life. At the same time Mr. Smith received a commandment to go forthwith to Waterloo, and prepare a place for our<sup>314</sup> family, as our enemies also sought his destruction in the neighbourhood in which we then resided, but in Waterloo he should find favour in the eyes of the people. The next day, by ten o'clock, Hyrum was on his journey. Joseph and Emma left for Macedon, and William went away from home in another direction, on business. Samuel was absent on a third mission to Livonia, for which he had set out on the 1st of October, soon after the arrival of my husband and Don Carlos from their visit to father Smith. Catherine and Don Carlos were also away from home. Calvin Sto-

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313. IE and Nibley: "Joseph had at this time just completed a house which Joseph had built . . ."; on 6 April 1829, Joseph bought 13.5 acres from Isaac Hale, securing title on 25/26 August 1830, and moving onto the property a cabin in which Jesse Hale had lived (Vogel 1:426; Newell and Avery, 3).

314. IE and Nibley: "his"

dard<sup>315</sup> and his wife, Sophronia, had moved several miles distant some time previous. This left no one but Mr. Smith, myself, and our little girl, Lucy, at home.<sup>316</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

New Chap

Hyrum had not been long b absent when one the people neighbors called one after another and enquired where Hyrum was gone

I told each one that he was in colesville—I was much concerned to see the <unusually> remarkably<e> inquisitiveness of the disposition whi [damaged] ple manifested and wondered greatly what the cau [damaged]—ny the ocurances of the 3 succeeding days made me [damaged] I had felt any uneasiness at this—on Thursday abou [damaged] an old man who was a Quaker came to the hou [damaged] requested to see my Husband immediately upon comeing into his presence he said

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

CHAP. XXXVI.

JOSEPH SMITH, SENIOR, IMPRISONED—AN ATTEMPT TO TAKE HYRUM.

On the same day that Hyrum left for Colesville, which was Wednesday, the neighbours began to call, one after another, and inquire very particularly for Hyrum.

This gave me great anxiety, for I knew that they had no business with him. The same night, my husband was taken rather ill, and, continuing unwell the next day, he was unable to take breakfast with me. About ten o'clock I commenced preparing him some milk porridge, but, before it was ready for him a Quaker gentleman called to see him, and the following is the substance of their conversation:—

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315. RLDS, IE, and Nibley: "Calvin Stoddard"

316. In October 1830, Hyrum and Jerusha were the parents of two daughters, Lovina, who was almost three, and Mary, who was sixteen months old. Sophronia and Calvin Stoddard had been married for almost three years and their first daughter was almost seven months old. Joseph and Emma, who had left Harmony permanently in late August and were shifting their residence among several New York sites where Joseph had supporters, had no living children although Emma became pregnant about this time with twins. Samuel, age twenty-two, was unmarried as were twenty-year-old William and eighteen-year-old Katharine. Don Carlos was fourteen and Lucy was nine.

"Friend Smith I have hold a note a [damaged] thee Which I have lately purchased of \$14 and came to see if thee had the money for me—"

My Husband asked him wh [damaged] he purchased the note (how [damaged] an to be [damaged]) [The top part of this page is torn away on both the left margin (six lines) and the right (seven lines).] [damaged] ady cash and of course in no strait for <the> [damaged] replied the Quaker is buisness of my own [damaged]

Mr. Smith I can pay you \$6 now the [damaged] it for as I have not got it for you [damaged] answered "the Quaker I will not wait one [damaged] does not pay me the money immediately thee shall go [damaged] to the Jail unless" (going to the fire and shaking his hand viol [damaged] up and down over the fire) "thee will burn <up> the books of Mormon for if thee will throw them into the fire and burn them up I will forgive thee the debt."

My husband said ~~but~~ <very> little to this ~~he~~ merely ridiculous proposition but merely answered in a cool decided manner No sir I shall not do that." ~~very~~

Quaker. "Friend Smith, I have a note against thee of <sup>317</sup>fourteen dollars, which I have lately bought, and I have come to see if thou<sup>318</sup> hast the money for me."

Mr. Smith. "Why, sir, did you purchase that note? You certainly was in no want of the money?"

Quaker. "That is business of my own; I want the money, and must have it."

Mr. Smith. "I can pay you six dollars now,—the rest you will have to wait for, as I cannot get it for you."

Quaker. "No, I will not wait one hour; and if thou dost not pay me immediately, thou shalt go forthwith to the jail, unless (running to the fire place, and making violent gestures with his hands towards the fire) thou wilt burn up those Books of Mormon; but if thou wilt burn them up, then I will forgive thee the whole debt."

Mr. Smith (*decidedly*). "That I shall not do."

317. IE and Nibley: "for"

318. Coray, like Lucy, uses Quaker plain speech throughout in which "thee" occupies both nominative and objective cases; Pratt, in contrast, has standardized these passages to correspond to King James English in which "thou" is nominative and "thee" is objective, and the verbs take now archaic forms.

"Very well" said the Quaker "thee shall go to jail then."

Sir interrupted I taking my gold beads <from my neck> and holding them towards him These beads are the full value of the remaind [damaged] of the debt—and we do not wish to owe any man I beg of you to take these and be satisfied to give up the note I

No indeed ejaculated he in a tone of triumph Nothing will do but the money down or thy husband goes straightway to Jail—

Now here said I just look at it the thing be as it is because God has raised up my son to bring forth a book which was written for the salvation of the souls of people and for the salvation of your soul as well mine you have come here to distress my family and me by taking my husband away to jail and you think by this to compel us to deny the work of God and to destroy a book which has we know has been brought forth<sup>319</sup> by the gift of the Holy Ghost but sir we shall not burn the book of Mormon nor deny the inspiration of the Almighty

He then went to the door and called a constable whom he had directed to be close at his heels ready to take my husband in case it was possible to get any advantage of him the constable was not slack to <for

Quaker. "Then, thou shalt go to jail."

"Sir," I interrupted (*taking my gold beads from my neck, and holding them towards him*), "these beads are the full value of the remainder of the debt. I beseech you to take them, and give up the note."

Quaker. "No, I will not. Thou must pay the money, or thy husband shall go straightway to jail."

"Now, here, sir," I replied, "just look at yourself as you are. Because God has raised up my son to bring forth a book, which was written for the salvation of the souls of men, for the salvation of your soul as well as mine, you have come here to distress me, by taking my husband to jail; and you think, by this, that you will compel us to deny the work of God, and destroy a book which was translated by the gift and power of God. But, sir, we shall not burn the Book of Mormon, nor deny the inspiration of the Almighty."

The Quaker then stepped to the door, and called a constable, who was waiting there for the signal. The constable came forward, and, laying his hand on Mr. Smith's shoulder, said, "You are my prisoner."<sup>320</sup>

319. Coray: "a book which was written by the gift and power of God"

320. Nibley note: "At this time, in the state of New York, people could be imprisoned for

the> performing<ance of> what  
the circumstances gave <him> the  
circumstances gave power to do) for  
I will not say his duty.) clapping his  
hand on My husband's shoulder he  
said you ar [sic] my prisoner.

I entreated the [verso of the preced-  
ing page has corresponding damage  
to the left and right top margins.]  
[damaged] to get some one to go my  
husband's secu [damaged] my

the privilege I then requested perm  
[damaged] some food that he might  
be allo [damaged] left as he had taken  
very little nour [damaged] night be-  
fore being unwell. A This I was [dam-  
aged] Quaker commanding him get  
immediately [damaged] the waggon  
that stood waiting after they got him  
into the it the <constable> sheriff  
came back and ate his dinner in the t  
same food that I had prepared com-  
menced preparing for my husband  
who sat in the burning sun faint and  
sick as he was whilst the I was serving  
up his dinner to the constable—

I entreated the officer to allow  
me time to get some one to be-  
come<sup>321</sup> my husband's security, but  
he refused. I then requested that he  
might be permitted to eat the por-  
ridge which I had been preparing, as  
he had taken no nourishment since  
the night before. This was also de-  
nied, and the Quaker ordered my  
husband to get immediately into a  
waggon which stood waiting to con-  
vey him to prison.

After they had taken him to the  
waggon, the Quaker stood over him  
as guard, and the officer came back  
and eat<sup>322</sup> up the food which I had  
prepared for my husband, who sat in  
the burning sun, faint and sick.<sup>323</sup>

debt."

321. Coray: "to go my husband's security . . ."

322. IE and Nibley: "eat"

323. Coray: "... who sat in the sun, faint and sick, while I was serving up his dinner to the constable."

Wives! who love your husbands and would sacrifice your lives for their's, how think I felt at that moment I will leave you to imagine.

Sufice it for the present to say ~~they~~ ~~dre~~ that after devouring the last mouthful <of provisions> which we had in the house they drove away with My husband and I left alone again with Lucy my youngest child—I spent the remainder of the day in making arrangements for provision for my children when they returned—The next morning I went on foot several miles to see friend<sup>324</sup> <from> whom I hoped for assistance and was not disapointed he went to the magistrates office and had my papers prepared and I returned home somewhat releived ~~that~~ with the reflection that I could get my husband out of the prison cell although he must still be confined in the yard.

~~at~~ but in a short time after my entrance I was enquired of by a pert young gentleman if Mr Hyrum Smith was at home I told as I had ~~done~~ others that he was in colesville the young man said that Mr H Smith was owing Dr Mackintire who was then absent a small sum of money and the Dr wished him to

I shall make no remarks in regard to my feelings on this occasion. Any human heart can imagine how I felt. But verily, verily, those men will have their reward.

They drove off with my husband, leaving me alone with my little girl. The next morning, I went on foot several miles to see a friend by the name of Abner Lackey, who, I hoped, would assist me. I was not disappointed. He went without delay to the magistrate's office, and had my papers prepared, so that I could get my husband out of the prison cell, although he would still be confined in the jail yard.<sup>325</sup>

Shortly after I returned home, a pert young gentleman came in, and asked if Mr. Hyrum Smith was at home. I told him, as I had others, that he was in Colesville. The young man said that Hyrum was owing a small debt to Doctor M'Intyre, and that he had come to collect it by the doctor's orders, as he (M'Intyre) was

324. Coray: "a friend by the name of Abner Lackey . . ."

325. RLDS (1969 edition only) note: "Imprisonment for debt was at this time not an uncommon occurrence, the country not yet having passed statutory enactments disannulling the laws that had obtained under the old dominion."

call at my house ~~for it~~ to see if it be convenient for him to settle the debt. I told the man that all my son's buisness was left in order—and that the agreement with Dr M was that the debt was to be paid in corn and beans a which I would send to him the next day. When the young man left I w hired a man to go the next morning to Dr Mackintire office <house> with the promised produce the man whom I hired to haule the prod

from home. I told the young man that this debt was to be paid in corn and beans, which should be sent to him the next day. I then hired a man to take the produce the following day to the doctor's house, which was accordingly done, and, when the man returned, he informed me that the clerk agreed to erase the account. It was now too late in the day to set out for Canandaigua, where my husband was confined in prison, and I concluded to defer going, till the next morning, in hopes that some of my sons would return during the interval.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

The night came on, but neither of my sons made their appearance. When the night closed in, the darkness was hideous, scarcely any object was discernible.<sup>326</sup> I sat down and began to contemplate the situation of myself and family. My husband, an affectionate companion and tender father, as ever blessed the confidence of a family, was an imprisoned debtor, torn from his family and immured in a dungeon, where he had already lain two dismal nights, and now another must be added to the number, before I could reach him to render him any assistance. And where were his children? Alvin was murdered by a quack physician; but still he lay at peace.<sup>327</sup> Hyrum was flying from his home, and why I knew not; the secret combinations of his enemies were not yet fully developed.<sup>328</sup> Joseph had but recently escaped from his persecutors, who sought to accomplish his destruction. Samuel was gone, without purse or

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326. Coray: "no object was discernable at the distance of two feet. I set down . . ."

327. Coray: "he lay in peace."

328. In a letter from Joseph Smith to the Colesville Saints on 2 December 1830, a postscript warned Hyrum, then at Colesville, to "beware of the freemasons, McIntyre heard that you were in Manchester and he got out a warrant and went to your father's to distress the family but [Samuell] Harrison overheard their talk and they said that they carred not for the debt, if they only could obtain your body. They were there with carriages." McIntyre had obtained an order for a debt that Hyrum owed him; on 26 October 1830, "justice Nathan Pierce's execution order was returned stating that neither Hyrum's property nor his 'body' could be found" (Vogel 1:22).



scrip, to preach the Gospel, for which he was as much despised and hated as were the ancient disciples. William was also gone, and I had not, unlike Naomi,<sup>329</sup> even my daughters-in-law to comfort my heart in this the hour of my affliction. While I was thus meditating, a heavy rap at the door brought me suddenly to my feet. I bid<sup>330</sup> the stranger enter. He asked me, in a hurried manner, where Hyrum was. I answered the question, as usual. Just then a second person came in, and the first observed to a second, "Mrs. Smith says her son is not at home." The person addressed looked suspiciously around, and remarked, "he is at home, for your neighbours have seen him here to-day." "Then, sir," I replied, "they have seen what I have not." "We have a search warrant," rejoined he, "and, if you do not give him up, we shall be under the necessity of taking whatever we find that belongs to him." Finding some corn, stored in the chamber<sup>331</sup> above the room where Hyrum had lived, they declared their intention of taking it, but I forbade their meddling with it. At this instant, a third stranger entered, and then a fourth. The last observed, "I do not know, but you will think strange of so many of us coming in, but my candle was out, and I came in to re-light it by your fire." I told him I did not know what to think, I had but little reason to consider myself safe either day or night,<sup>332</sup> and that I would like to know what their business was, and for what cause they were seizing upon our property. The foremost replied that it was wanted to settle a debt which Hyrum was owing to Doctor M'Intyre. I told him that it was paid. He disputed my word, and ordered his men to take the corn. As they were going up stairs, I looked out of the window, and one glance almost turned my head giddy. As far as I could see by the light of two candles and a pair of carriage lamps, the heads of men appeared in every direction, some on foot, some on horseback, and the rest in waggons. I saw that there was no way but for me to sit quietly down, and see my house pillaged by a banditti of blacklegs, religious bigots, and cut-throats, who were united in one purpose, namely, that of destroying us from the face of the earth. However, there was one resource, and to that I applied. I went aside and kneeled before the Lord, and begged that he would not let my children fall into their hands, and that they might be satisfied with plunder without taking life.

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329. Coray: "I had not, even like Ruth . . ."; GAS: "I had not, even like Naomi . . ."

330. IE and Nibley: "bade"

331. Coray: "in a chamber . . ."

332. Coray: "either night or day . . ."

Just at this instant, William bounded into the house. "Mother," he cried, "in the name of God, what is this host of men doing here? Are they robbing or murdering?"<sup>333</sup> What are they about?"

I told him, in short, that they had taken his father to prison, and had now come after Hyrum, but, not finding him, they were plundering the house. Hereupon William seized a large handspike, sprang up stairs, and, in one instant, cleared the scoundrels out of the chamber. They scampered down stairs; he flew after them, and, bounding into the very midst of the crowd, he brandished his handspike in every direction, exclaiming, "Away from here, you cut-throats, instantly, or I will be the death of every one of you."

The lights were immediately extinguished, yet he continued to harangue them boisterously until he discovered that his audience had left him. They seemed to believe what he said, and fled in every direction, leaving us again to ourselves.

Between twelve and one o'clock, Calvin Stodard and his wife, Sophronia, arrived at our house. Calvin said he had been troubled about us all the afternoon,<sup>334</sup> and, finally, about the setting of the sun, he told Sophronia that he would even then start for her father's if she felt inclined to go with him.

Within an hour after their arrival, Samuel came. He was much fatigued, for he had travelled twenty-one miles after sunset. I told him our situation, and that I wished him to go early the next morning to Canandaigua, and procure his father's release from the dungeon. "Well, mother," said he, "I am sick; fix me a bed, that I may lie<sup>335</sup> down and rest myself, or I shall not be able to go, for I have taken a heavy cold, and my bones ache dreadfully."

However, by a little nursing and some rest, he was able to set off by sunrise, and arrived in Canandaigua at ten o'clock. After informing the jailor of his business, he requested that his father might be immediately liberated from the cell. The jailor refused,<sup>336</sup> because it was Sunday, but permitted Samuel to go into the cell, where he found my husband confined in the same dungeon with a man committed for murder.<sup>337</sup> Upon

333. Coray: "stealing, robbing, or murdering?" IE and Nibley: "robbing or stealing?"

334. Nibley: "all afternoon . . ."

335. IE and Nibley: "may lay"

336. Coray: "from the cell; but the jailor . . ."

337. Vogel hypothesizes that this fellow prisoner may have been Eli Bruce, who was sentenced for two years and four months at Canandaigua "for conspiracy to kidnap anti-Masonic writer William

Samuel inquiring what his treatment had been, Mr. Smith replied as follows:—

“Immediately after I left your mother, the men by whom I was taken commenced using every possible argument to induce me to renounce the Book of Mormon, saying, ‘how much better it would be for you to deny that silly thing, than to be disgraced and imprisoned, when you might not only escape this, but also have the note back, as well as the money which you have paid on it.’ To this I made no reply.<sup>338</sup> They still went on in the same manner till we arrived at the jail, when they hurried me into this dismal dungeon. I shuddered when I first heard these heavy doors creaking upon their hinges; but then, I thought to myself, I was not the first man who had been imprisoned for the truth’s sake; and when I should meet Paul in the Paradise of God, I could tell him that I, too, had been in bonds for the Gospel which he had preached.<sup>339</sup> And this has been my only consolation.

“From the time that I entered until now, and this is the fourth day, I have had nothing to eat, save a pint basin full of very weak broth; and there (*pointing to the opposite side of the cell*) lies the basin yet.”

Samuel was very much wounded by this, and, having obtained permission of the jailor, he immediately went out and brought his father some comfortable food. After which he remained with him until the next morning, when the business was attended to, and Mr. Smith went out into the jail yard to a cooper’s shop, where he obtained employment at coopering,

*Lucy: 1844-45*

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

[damaged] time — here follows

and followed the same until he was

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Morgan.” Bruce’s diary for 5 November 1830 skeptically summarizes Joseph Sr.’s preaching. The exact dating of Joseph Sr.’s arrest is not clear. Lucy says that Hyrum left for Colesville on a Wednesday and that Joseph Sr. was arrested the next day. Since Hyrum had reached Colesville by 14 October 1830, he must have left either 29 September or 6 October, both Wednesdays. However, if Joseph Sr. was still in jail on 5 November serving a thirty-day term, then he could not have been arrested before 7 October 1830. As additional complications, Newel Knight’s journal says that Hyrum reached Colesville by 4 October; furthermore, if Joseph Sr. had been arrested on 7 October, his sentence would have been completed by 6 November. However, he did not reach Waterloo until about 14 December 1830, if Lucy is correct in saying that he came a week after Sidney Rigdon arrived. Vogel suggests that the sentence may have been for sixty days or that she was mistaken in dating his arrest in October (Vogel 1:427, 436-37, 445; Vogel 3:4).

338. Coray: “To this continued my husband, I made no reply.”

339. Paul’s epistles, written during his Roman imprisonment, refer frequently to his being “in bonds.” See, for example, Eph. 6:20, Phil. 1:7, 14, Col. 4:3, 2 Tim. 2:9, Heb. 10:34.

2 revelations to be [damaged] nd in the 4 vol of the Times and seasons 320-321 [damaged] ages—The next week after this Mr Smith returned from prison and brought with him a quantity of <some> clothing and other articles which he had earned while [i]mprisoned by that religious old man who was so [damaged] lously engaged to bring about the destruction of the book of mormon—I wish I could remmember his named I would give it to the people for the benefit of future generations—<sup>340</sup>

released, which was thirty days. He preached during<sup>341</sup> his confinement here every Sunday, and when he was released he baptized two persons whom he had thus converted.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

#### CHAP. XXXVII.

THE FAMILY OF JOSEPH SMITH, SENIOR, REMOVE TO WATERLOO.

Samuel returned from Canandaigua the same day that my husband was liberated from the cell. After relating to us the success he had met with at Canandaigua, he gave us an account of his third mission<sup>342</sup> to Livonia:—

*Martha Jane Coray Notebook*  
(“Copy of an Old Notebook,” 31-36)

near the last of October Samuel sent again to Mr greens but Mrs green told him that there was no hopes of his of selling his books and said she I shall you will have to take the book for Mr Green does not seem to feel like buying it but I have read it and I like it am very much

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*  
(corresponds closely to Coray 1845)

“When I arrived at Mr. Green’s,”<sup>343</sup> said he, “Mrs. Green informed me that her husband was absent from home, that there was no prospect of selling my books, and even the one which I had left with them, she expected I would have to take away, as Mr. Green had no disposition to

340. This paragraph begins a new page and continues immediately, without even a paragraph break, in chap. 38, beginning with, in Lucy’s rough draft, “*Shortly* In this same [damaged] onth viz dec 1830” and, in Pratt, “The latter part of the same month Joseph received . . .”

341. Coray: “He ~~purchased~~ preached during . . .”

342. RLDS: “visit”

343. IE uses “Green” throughout; Nibley uses “Greene.”

pleased with it—

Samuel talked with her a short time and then binding his knapsack upon his Shoulders he rose to leave the house but ~~when~~ as he crossed the doo~~rsel~~ a strong impres~~ion~~ was mde upon his mind that he must not take the book away ~~from the~~ with him and s~~o~~ he turned round and handing the book to Mrs Green said I will give you this book for the spirit of God forbids my taking it away

She was so overcome with gratitude that she burst into tears and ex-claimed Mr Smith will (you) stop & pray with me he did as she desired and lefte his blessing upon <the> home and she afterwards told me that she never saw a man that had such an appearance nor ever heard such a prayer in her life—My God said she it seemed asthoug the very Heavens were rent and the spirit of God was poured down upon us—

after this he explained to her the most-profitable maner of reading the book which he had put into her hands which was this that she

purchase it, although she had read it herself, and was much pleased with it.<sup>344</sup>

I then talked with her a short time, and, binding my knapsack upon my shoulders, rose to depart; but, as I bade her farewell, it was impressed upon my mind to leave the book with her. I made her a present of it, and told her that the Spirit forbade my taking it away.<sup>345</sup>

She burst into tears, and requested me to pray with her. I did so,

and afterwards explained to her the most profitable manner of reading the book which I had left with her; which was, to ask God, when she

344. Coray: "no disposition to purchase it. I then talked with her . . ."

345. Lucy tells this story in her October 1845 conference address: "He went into a house and asked to have a breakfast & he would give a book for it he again went to sister Green She said he must take the book again—Sam<l> took the book & looked & looked—She afterwards told me she never saw a man look so She knew that he had the Spirit of God—He said the spirit forbids me taking this books—he knelt & asked him to pray with her—she read the Book & became a Mormon & thus the work begun—& then it spread like a mustard seed" (Lucy Smith, Minutes, Bolton version, p. 11).

should take it with the Bible and ask God to give you a testimony of the truth of the work and you will have feel a burning sensation in your breast which is the Spirit of God—

She promised that She would and he left her

soon after this her husband came in and she told all that Samuel had said to her her [sic] and requested him to read the book also he said she should not read it nor any such thing Now Mr Green said you certainly ought to do so and I will tell you how Mr Smith says you must ~~you~~ read as she then repeated samuels testimony to her and added I do know that he would not tell an untruth for any inducement I know he must be a good man if there ever was one Mr Green finally concluded to Seek for ~~the~~ a testimony from God of the work and was fully satisfied

the result was that he and his wife were baptized when he had done reading the book he gave it to Phineas Young Mr. Greens brother who read it and commenced preaching it forthwith

read it, for a testimony of the truth of what she had read, and she would receive the Spirit of God, which would enable her to discern the things of God.

I then left her,<sup>346</sup> and returned home."

I shall now turn aside from my narrative, and give a history of the above book.

When Mr. Green returned home, his wife requested him to read it, informing him very particularly, with regard to what Samuel had said to her, relative to obtaining a testimony of the truth of it. This, he, for a while refused to do, but finally yielded to her persuasions, and took the book, and commenced perusing the same, calling upon God for the testimony of his Spirit.

The result of which was, that he and Mrs. Green were in a short time baptized. They gave the book to Phineas Young, Mrs. Green's brother,<sup>347</sup> who read it, and commenced preaching it forthwith.

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346. Coray: "receive the Spirit of God. After which I left her . . ."

347. Coray: "was, they were in a short time both baptized. They gave the book to Phineas Young, Mr. Green's brother . . ."; GAS: ". . . Young, Mrs. Green's brother . . .". Vogel (1:439) cites Phineas's account of getting a copy of the Book of Mormon from Samuel Smith in April 1830; this copy would therefore have been different from that which converted Rhoda Young Greene,

~~soon-a-soon~~ it came into the hands of Brigham his Brother and his sister Mrs Murry, who is also the Mother in Law of Heber C Kimball when Brigham received the work his brother Joseph was in Canada preaching Methodism but his brothers Brigham and Phineas went straightway to him and persuaded him to stop preaching that doctrine and receive the Gospel

thus was Samuels sufferings in this instance the means of converting some of the ~~most Noble hearted~~ ~~greatest~~ Most Substantial and the greatest men who have ever subscribed their names to the truth Men who have never faltered nor slacked their zeal through every scene of trouble and privation for the truths sake

It was next handed to Brigham Young, and from him to Mrs. Murray, his sister, who is also the mother of Heber C. Kimball's wife.<sup>348</sup> They all received the work without hesitancy, and rejoiced in the truth thereof. Joseph Young was at this time in Canada, preaching the Methodist doctrine; but, as soon as Brigham became convinced of the truth of the Gospel, as contained in the Book of Mormon, he went straightway to his brother Joseph, and persuaded him to cease preaching Methodism, and embrace the truth, as set forth in the Book of Mormon, which he carried with him.

Thus was this book the means of convincing this whole family, and bringing them into the Church, where they have continued faithful members from the commencement of their career until now. And, through their faithfulness and zeal, some of them have become as great and honorable men as ever stood upon the earth.<sup>349</sup>

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John P. Greene, Brigham Young, and Susanna Young Murray. Samuel Smith gave Rhoda Green that copy in July 1830; however, since that event occurred on what Lucy describes as the second day of his first mission, it is not clear how Phineas had contact with Samuel three months earlier.

348. Brigham Young's sister, Fanny Young Carr Murray, was Vilate Murray Kimball's stepmother, not her mother. (See Biographical Summaries, Young Family.) Vilate Murray Kimball's father was Roswell Murray, born in 1770 at Florida, Orange County, New York. He had three wives successively: Mary Wilson, married on 24 November 1792, Susannah Fitch, married about 1798 (Vilate was their fifth and youngest child, born 1 June 1806), and Fanny Young, whom he married on 2 February 1832. Fanny became Joseph Smith's thirty-third (and possibly last) plural wife in November 1843 (Black, *Early*; Compton, 609-722).

349. RLDS note: "The course that Brigham Young and the Twelve with him took after the death of her sons Joseph and Hyrum, was not approved by Grandmother Smith. She always spoke in kindly terms of the men, but steadily and persistently refused to give credence to the doctrine and policy adopted by them. In this she did not waver to the end of her life."



*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

I shall now resume my subject. The first business which Samuel set himself about after he returned home, was preparing to move the family to Waterloo, according to the revelation given to Joseph. And after much fatigue and perplexities of various kinds, he succeeded in getting us there.<sup>350</sup> We moved into a house belonging to an individual by the name of Kellogg.<sup>351</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

[Fragment: thirteen lines]  
had scarcely taken our goods out of the waggon when a Mr. Osgood came in and ~~we~~ bade us welcome and invited us to drive the stock and teams into his barn yard and made us welcome to what feed we needed for them Mr. Hooper also came with his Lady and expressed great joy that we had arrived there in safety Mr Kellogg and his Lady paid us a visit early the next day these all were remarkably kind and frequently brought to me dishes of delicate or rare victuals that they supposed would please our taste I appreciated most heartily those kind attentions for I had felt the contrast so severely that I was in a situation to realize an office of friendship more than was commonly the case.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Shortly after arriving there, we were made to realize that the hearts of the people were in the hands of the Lord; for we had scarcely<sup>352</sup> unpacked our goods when one of our new neighbours, a Mr. Osgood, came in and invited us to drive our stock and teams to his barn-yard, and feed them from his barn, free of cost, until we could make further arrangements. Many of our neighbours came in, and welcomed us to Waterloo. Among whom was Mr. Hooper, a tavern-keeper, whose wife came with him, and brought us a present of some delicate eatables. Such manifestations of kindness as these were shown to us from day to day, during our continuance in the place. And they were duly appreciated, for we had experienced the opposite so severely,<sup>353</sup> that the least show of good feeling gave rise to the liveliest sensations of gratitude.

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350. Apparently before Joseph Sr. was released from prison, Samuel Smith moved Lucy and the younger children out of Palmyra. They were not in Waterloo proper but in "the Kingdom," a "small unincorporated village . . . situated along the Seneca River between Waterloo and Seneca Falls" (Porter, "A Study," 270). Bushman (*Joseph*, 173) locates it as "between Waterloo and Seneca Falls, although actually within the boundaries of Seneca Falls."

351. RLDS: "name of Kellogg . . ."

352. IE: "scarely"; Nibley replicates this typographical error.

353. IE: "severely"; Nibley: "severly"

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Having settled ourselves in this place, we established the practice of spending the evenings in singing and praying. The neighbours soon became aware of this, and it caused our house to become a place of evening resort, for some dozen or twenty persons. One evening, soon after we commenced singing, a couple of little boys came in, and one of them, stepping softly up to Samuel, whispered, "Mr. Smith, won't you pray pretty soon? Our mother said, we must be home by eight o'clock, and we would like to hear you pray before we go."

Samuel told them, that prayer should be attended to immediately. Accordingly, when we had finished the hymn, which we were then singing, we closed the evening services with prayer, in order that the little boys might be gratified. After this, they were never absent during our evening's devotions, while we remained in the neighbourhood.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE FIRST WESTERN MISSION—JOSEPH SMITH, JUNIOR, MOVES TO KIRTLAND.

I mentioned, in a foregoing chapter, that when Joseph and Emma left Manchester, they went to Macedon. Here, he commenced his ministerial labors, and continued, for some time, to preach successively, in this place, Colesville, Waterloo, Palmyra, and Manchester, till, finally, he sent to Pennsylvania for his goods,<sup>354</sup> and settled himself in Waterloo. Soon after which, a revelation was given, commanding Parley P. Pratt, Ziba Peterson, Peter Whitmer, and Oliver Cowdery, to take a mission to Missouri, preaching by the way.<sup>355</sup> As soon as this revelation was received, Emma Smith, and several other sisters, began to make arrangements to furnish those who were set apart for this mission, with the necessary clothing, which was no easy task, as the most of it had to be manufactured out of the raw material.

Emma's health at this time was quite delicate, yet she did not favor herself on this account, but whatever her hands found to do, she did with her might,<sup>356</sup> until she went so far<sup>357</sup> beyond her strength, that she brought upon herself a heavy fit of sickness, which lasted four weeks.<sup>358</sup> And, although her

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354. Coray: "to preach alternately in this place, Colesville, Waterloo, and Palmira, and Manchester, till, finally, he sent for his goods . . ."

355. Nibley note: "See Section 30, Doctrine and Covenants."

356. See Ecclesiastes 9:10: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might . . ."

357. IE identical to Pratt; Nibley: "did with her might, until so far beyond . . ."

358. Coray: "which lasted for weeks . . ."

strength was exhausted, still her spirits were the same, which, in fact, was always the case with her, even under the most trying circumstances. I have never seen a woman in my life, who would endure every species of fatigue and hardship, from month to month, and from year to year, with that unflinching courage, zeal, and patience, which she has ever done;<sup>359</sup> for I know that which she has had to endure—she has been tossed upon the ocean of uncertainty—she has breasted the storms of persecution, and buffeted the rage of men and devils,<sup>360</sup> which would have borne down almost any other woman. It may be, that many may yet have to encounter the same—I pray God, that this may not be the case; but, should it be, may they have grace given them according to their day, even as has been the case with her.<sup>361</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

[This page is a full sheet with damage to the upper right corner.] This reference is for the writer of the revise [damaged] Soon after they left they ~~comm~~ began to preach and baptize and in the town of Kirtland they baptized 20 or 30 persons besides many others by the way when they were about leaving they se [damaged] <word> to Joseph that they wanted to some Elder sent to preside over the branch at Kirlland [sic] he called upon John Whitmer who went to Ohio and took charge of the church Those appointed to go to Jackson then proceeded on their journey and still preached as they travelled

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

As soon as those men designated in the Revelation, were prepared to leave home, they started on their mission, preaching and baptizing on their way, wherever an opportunity afforded. wherever an opportunity offered. On their route they passed through Kirtland, where they preached a short time, and raised up a branch of twenty or thirty members. Before leaving this place, they addressed a letter to Joseph, desiring him to send an Elder to preside over the branch which they had raised up.

Accordingly, Joseph despatched John Whitmer to take the presidency of the Church at Kirtland; and when he arrived there, those ap-

359. Coray: "which she has always done . . ."

360. Coray: "men and devils, untill she has been swallowed up in a sea of trouble which have borne down . . ."

361. Coray: "the case with her. But to return."

on the following december Joseph came with his wife again to Waterloo and appointed a Meeting at our house while he was preaching Sydney Rigdon and Edward Partridge came in a after the sermon a request was made that any who felt to speak should Make ~~any~~ <such> remarks as ocured to their minds Mr Partridge arose and stated that he had been to Manchester in search of [damaged] s to ascertain the truth of what we preached that he had visit some of our neighbors in that place and enquired the character of the family ~~some~~ they said that the smith family were very [damaged] espectable people and no one could say ought against them untill Joseph deceived them about [damaged] plates He had also walked over our farm ~~and~~ seen the neatness ~~and~~ order of ~~the whole~~ <and industry> exhibited in every-thing arround he had seen what we had sacraficed for the truth's sake and yet our enemies did not dispute our veracity upon any ~~in~~ point but that of religion— And now said he I am ready to be baptized Brother Joseph will you baptize me—

pointed to go to Missouri proceeded on their mission, preaching and baptizing as before.

In December of the same year,<sup>362</sup> Joseph appointed a meeting at our house. While he was preaching, Sidney Rigdon and Edward Partridge came in, and seated themselves in the congregation. When Joseph had finished his discourse, he gave all who had any remarks to make, the privilege of speaking. Upon this, Mr. Partridge arose, and stated that he had been to Manchester, with the view of obtaining further information respecting the doctrine which we preached; but, not finding us, he had made some inquiry of our neighbours concerning our characters, which they stated had been unimpeachable, until Joseph deceived us relative<sup>363</sup> to the Book of Mormon. He also said, that he had walked over our farm, and observed the good order and industry which it exhibited; and, having seen what we had sacrificed for the sake of our faith, and having heard that our veracity was not questioned upon any other point than that of our religion, he believed our testimony, and was ready to be baptized, "if," said he, "brother Joseph will baptize me."

362. RLDS: "the same year (1830)"; Nibley: "1830"

363. Nibley (but not IE): "deceived us then relative . . ."

Brother Partridge said Joseph you have traveled a long way this morning and you are ~~the~~ Much fatigued and I think you had better rest and take some refreshment and tomorrow morning be baptized—

Just as you think proper replied Mr Partridge I am ready<sup>364</sup>

“You are now,” replied Joseph, “much fatigued, brother Partridge, and you had better rest to-day, and be baptized to-morrow.”

“Just as brother Joseph thinks best,” replied Mr. Partridge, “I am ready at any time.”

He was accordingly baptized the next day.<sup>365</sup> Before he left, my husband returned home from prison, bringing along with him considerable clothing, which he had earned at coopering in the jail yard.

<sup>366</sup> ~~Shortly~~ In this same [damaged] month viz dec 1830 word came to Joseph from John Whitmer that the church much needed his presence and he would be glad of his assistance as ~~church~~ was in setting the in order the affairs of the branch where he presided ~~wh~~ upon the receipt of this intelligence he inquired of the Lord and recived the following revelation— Times and Seasons Page 352 to Joseph and Sydney rev 2nd<sup>367</sup>

The latter part of the same month Joseph received a letter from John Whitmer, desiring his immediate assistance at Kirtland in regulating the affairs of the Church there. Joseph inquired of the Lord, and received a commandment to go straightway to Kirtland with his family and effects; also to send a message to Hyrum to have him to take that branch of the Church, over which he presided, and start immediately for the same place.<sup>368</sup> And my husband was commanded, in the same revelation,<sup>369</sup> to meet Hyrum

364. New page: “10” is handwritten at the top right margin.

365. Nibley note: “Edward Partridge was baptized on December 11, 1830.”

366. In Lucy’s rough draft, this material immediately follows her lament that she cannot remember the name of the Quaker who imprisoned Joseph Sr.

367. Here is written: “Life on Ill book / ref to”. A rectangle has been drawn around the words.

368. Nibley note: “the Colesville branch”

369. This installment of Joseph Smith’s history includes D&C 37, instructing Joseph and Sidney Rigdon to stop work on their Bible translation until they move to Ohio (*Times and Seasons* 4 [15 October 1843]: 352). Vogel (1:446) suggests that Lucy is describing “an apparently unpublished revelation.”

at the most convenient point, and accompany him to Kirtland. Samuel was sent on a mission, into the same region of country, while I, and my two sons, William and Carlos, were to be left till the ensuing spring, when we were to take the remainder of the branch at Waterloo, and move also to Kirtland.

again ~~They~~ Joseph and Emma Sydney Rigdon ~~Edwa~~ E Partridge Ezra <B> Thayer and Newel night set out for Kirtland Ohio when on their way thither they preached at our house on Seneca river—and in Macedon at the house of Calvin Stoddard Sopronia's husband and preached again ~~they~~ at the house of preserved Haris they ~~then~~ baptized some in both places after which he proceeded on his journey [rectangle drawn around words: "see --y book"] [?]

When he came to Kirtland he found nearly 100 members in the A church they were fine brethren in general but they had imbibed some very strange Ideas which it cost some pains to rid them of & as the Devil had been deceiving them with a specious appearance of power manifested by strange contortions of the visage and unnatural Motions

It was but a short time till Joseph and Emma were on their way,<sup>370</sup> accompanied by Sidney Rigdon, Edward Partridge, Ezra Thayre, and Newel Knight.<sup>371</sup> When they were about starting, they preached at our house on Seneca River; and on their way, they preached at the house of Calvin Stodard, and likewise at the house of Preserved Harris.<sup>372</sup> At each of these places, they baptized several individuals into the Church.

On Joseph's arrival at Kirtland, he found a Church consisting of nearly one hundred members, who were, in general, good brethren, though a few of them had imbibed some very erroneous ideas, being greatly deceived by a singular power, which manifested itself among them in strange contortions of the visage, and sudden unnatural exertions of

370. Nibley note: "Joseph and Emma left Waterloo in the latter part of January, 1831, on their journey to Ohio."

371. According to Larry Porter, it was Joseph Knight Sr., not Newel Knight, who accompanied Joseph's party. Newel Knight would not leave New York until the spring of 1831 ("Ye," 3).

372. Nibley note: "Brother of Martin Harris."

which they supposed as being occasioned by an operation of the power of God—

Joseph called them together and told them that he could easily show them this difference between the spirit of God and the spirit of the Devil or that they could try the spirits in a measure themselves. Now said when a man gets up to speak and draws his face or limbs into an unnatural shape or position and ~~seems to be~~ <sup><is></sup> convulsed in a manner that makes him appear to be in pain when there is no perceptible cause you may rely upon it that he has the Spirit of the Devil—But on the contrary when a man has the Spirit of God he is calm when he speaks ~~and~~ except he is animated by ~~wh~~ the subject he speaks upon and that does not cause him to do anything ridiculous or unseemly you can also perceive that his Mind is filled with intelligence and Speaks from the abundance of his heart—

He ~~then~~ called upon one of the brethren who had been deceived by an evil spirit to speak when he arose he <sup><was></sup> immediately ~~began to be drawn his in the~~ convulsed in the most singular manner his face his arms and his fingers being drawn like a person in af [sic] spasm Joseph turned to Hyrum and said will you go and lay hands on that brother when Hyrum did so the man fell

the body. This they supposed to be a display of the power of God.

Shortly after Joseph arrived, he called the Church together, in order to show them the difference between the Spirit of God, and the spirit of the devil. He said, if a man arose in meeting to speak, and was seized with a kind of paroxysm, that drew his face and limbs, in a violent and unnatural manner, which made him appear to be in pain; and if he gave utterance to strange sounds, which were incomprehensible to his audience, they might rely upon it that he had the spirit of the devil. But, on the contrary, when a man speaks by the Spirit of God, he speaks from the abundance of his heart—his mind is filled with intelligence, and even should he be excited, it does not cause him to do anything ridiculous or unseemly.<sup>373</sup>

He then called upon one of the brethren to speak, who arose and made the attempt, but was immediately seized with a kind of spasm, which drew his face, arms, and fingers in a most astonishing manner.

Hyrum, by Joseph's request, laid hands on the man, whereupon he sunk back in a state of complete exhaustion.

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373. Coray: "to do any thing unseemly or ridiculous."



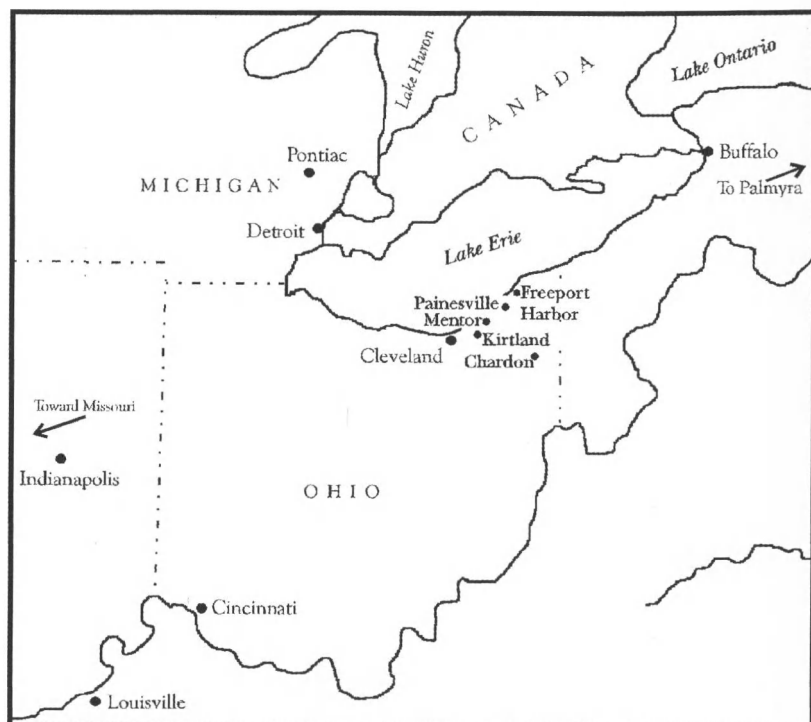
back into his chair as weak as though he had exhausted himself by excessive <hard> labor he then called upon another who was standing ~~look in~~ on the outside of the house leaning in the window this man fell pitched forward into the house and after trying sometime to speak without being able to do so was administered to by the laing on of hands which affected him ~~in~~ the same as the one who had preceeded him this showed the brethren clearly the mistake under which they had been laboring and they all rejoiced together in the goodness of God in that he condescended to lead the children of Men once more by revelation and the gift of the Holy Ghost as in former days—

Joseph then called upon another man to speak, who stood leaning in an open window. This man also attempted to speak, but was thrown forward into the house, prostrate, unable to utter a syllable. He was administered to, and the same effects followed as in the first instance.

These, together with a few other examples of the same kind, convinced the brethren of the mistake under which they had been labouring; and they all rejoiced in the goodness of God, in once more condescending to lead the children of men by revelation, and the gift of the Holy Ghost.

*Part 4.*

*The Kirtland Years*



Map 3. The Smith Family in Ohio

Lucy: 1844-45

I will now return to Waterloo after Joseph and His father left; William being one of the teachers<sup>1</sup> visited the church calling on every family (as our custom is) he prayed with them and did not leave the house untill every member of the family prayed vocally that was over eight years old—

Coray/Pratt: 1853

### CHAP. XXXIX.

THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF  
THE CHURCH REMOVE TO KIRTLAND—MIRACLE AT BUFFALO.

Soon after my husband and Joseph left for Kirtland, William, being one of the teachers, visited the Church; and calling upon each family, he remained with them until each individual belonging to the house had prayed in his hearing.

When the brethren considered the spring sufficiently open for traveling on the water, we all began to prepare for our removal to Kirtland.<sup>2</sup> We hired a boat of a certain Methodist preacher, and appointed a time to meet at our house, for the purpose of setting off together; and when we were thus collected, we numbered eighty souls.<sup>3</sup>

A time was set when the church were to meet at my house and

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1. William had not yet been ordained a teacher. He miscopied the date on his certificate of ordination as 5 October 1830 in his book, *On Mormonism* . . . (1883); according to the original at the RLDS Church Archives, Joseph Jr. ordained him a teacher on 5 October 1831, a year later, at Hiram, Ohio (Vogel 1:447-48, 501-2).

2. Nibley note: "This would be in February or March, 1831."

3. Nibley note: "The first part of the journey was made on a flat boat on the Erie Canal to Buffalo." According to Larry Porter ("Ye," 11), the party embarked on two barges, approximately fifty on one barge under Lucy's direction, the remaining thirty on the second under Thomas B. Marsh. They left from Waterloo, traveled by the Cayuga and Seneca Canal into the Erie Canal, then to Buffalo, and from there around the southern shore of Lake Erie until they reached Fairport, Ohio, about eleven miles from Kirtland. He dates their departure at about 3-4 May 1831; the Erie Canal had opened for navigation that year on 16 April, and Lake Erie opened at Buffalo on 8 May 1831 (*ibid.*, 14-15).

Set off for Kirtland in the same boat. When they were collected together we numbered 80 including the children We went on board a boat which was owned by a man who was a methodist preacher and his wife generally went on board the boat with him ~~and cooked for her husband~~ and did his work but when she found that he was going to take a company of mormons on his boat she refused to go and sent a hired girl in her stead ~~but the~~

When we were ready to start the people from all the surrounding country came in droves to bid us farewell which they did univerrally invoking the blessing of Heaven upon our heads.

Just before we shoved off from shore an Old Brother by the name of Humfry came from Potsdam. He was brought into the church by Don C's preaching when he went with his father to Potsdam which circumstance I have before related

The people of the surrounding country came and bade us farewell, invoking the blessing of heaven upon our heads.

A few minutes before we started, an old brother by the name of Humphry, arrived from Potsdam. This man was brought into the Church by Don Carlos, at the time that he visited his grandfather in company with my husband. At this time, brother Humphry was the oldest Elder in the Church, and Don Carlos the youngest.<sup>4</sup>

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4. GAS on Coray: "arrived from ~~Potsdam~~ <Stockholm>. This man was <convinced of the truth> by Don Carlos, at the time that he visited his grandfather in company with ~~my husband~~ <his father>; and at this time, he was the oldest elder in the church and Don Carlos was the youngest." GAS on Pratt also replaced "Stockholm" with "Potsdam," then struck out the next sentence so that the paragraph ends with "with my husband." RLDS: "... the oldest man who was an elder in the Church ..." IE and Nibley: "... arrived from Stockholm. This man was convinced by Don Carlos, at the time that he visited his grandfather in company with my husband."

This brother was the oldest man in the church and I would have been glad if ~~he to have~~ if he had taken the management of the affairs of ~~th~~ the company but he as well as Brother Hyrum Page who was also with us entirely refused to do so saying that everything should be done just as Mother smith said and that I with my sons William and Carlos should have the entire dictation <yes responded they all together just as mother smith says so we will do>

—Just then Esquire Chamberlain came to and enquired if I had what money I needed to make my family comfortable I told him I had abundance of everything for myself and children but it was possible that he might find some who had not been able to provide means sufficient to take them through Well here is a little cash said he (and handed me \$17) you may spend it as you like I again told him I did not need it ~~then~~ you can deal it [Fragment:] out to such as do then said he I took the money and [corner bent on microfilm copy] had reason to rejoice that I did After bidding him [corner bent] our other acquaintances an affectionate farewell the boat was shoved from shore and we were soon under fine head way

On account of brother Humphry's age, I wished him to take charge of the company, but he refused, saying, that everything should be done, just as mother Smith said; and to this the whole company responded, "yes."

At that instant, one Esquire Chamberlain came on board, and asked me, if I had what money I wanted to make my family comfortable. I replied, that I had an abundance for myself and children, but he might, perhaps, find some on board, who stood in need of assistance. "Well," said he, "here is a little money, and you can deal it out as you like," and, handing me seventeen dollars, he left the boat. Soon after this we were pushed off and under fine headway.<sup>5</sup>

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5. Coray: "We were soon after this we were shoved <off> . . ."

I then began to think how it was best to set about the task which was laid upon me I called them all round me Now said I brothers and sisters we have set out just as father Lehigh did to travel by the commandment of the Lord to a Land that the Lord will show unto us if we are faithful and I want you all to be solemn and lift your hearts to God in prayer continually that we may be prospered And for the present let the ~~women~~ <sisters> take seats on one side of the boat and the brethren on the other and we will sing a hymn they accordingly did as I desired

but when we struck <into> the second hymn ~~and~~ the capt cried out to his mate do for God's sake <come here and> take the helm and let me go for I must hear that singing when we finished the hymn he expressed his surprize and pleasure in the warmest terms and mentioned that his wife had left the boat because that he had taken a Mormon company on board which he regreted for he thought she would have enjoyed our society very much—All evening Brother Page Humfry and Brother Page asked me I thought it was best to have prayers twice a day This pleased me for it was what I intended before

I then called the brethren and sisters together, and reminded them that we were travelling by the commandment of the Lord, as much as father Lehi<sup>6</sup> was, when he left Jerusalem; and, if faithful, we had the same reason<sup>7</sup> to expect the blessings of God. I then desired them to be solemn, and to lift their hearts to God continually in prayer, that we might be prospered. We then seated ourselves and sang a hymn.

The captain was so delighted with the music, that he called to the mate, saying, "Do, for God's sake,<sup>8</sup> come here, and steer the boat; for I must hear that singing." He afterwards expressed his pleasure and surprise at seeing such an appearance of devotion among us, stating that his wife had refused to accompany him, on account of her prejudice against us, which he very much regretted.

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6. Coray: "Lehigh"

7. RLDS: "reason"

8. IE: "Do, for God's sake"; Nibley: "Do, come here"



We seated ourselves and sang a hymn and the solemn music rose in such sweet and melancholy on the clear air and and died away so beautifully upon the water that it melted every heart that heard it And when we bowed down before the Lord in prayer ~~the sun was just sinking~~ our souls burned within us <with love> and we felt most sensibly that God Indeed bestowed his spirit upon his creature man even as in <these last days as in> former days.

When the evenings service was ended I went round among the brethren to ascertain how many of them had prepared themselves with food for the journey and to my surprise I discovered that there was not less than 20 who had not more than two meals victuals on hand. These all I supported entirely as well as 30 children <by feeding them from meal to meal> ~~from this~~ clear to the end of the journey or they would have been obliged to <have> turned back ~~or~~ have suffered or else suffer for the want of ~~food~~ proper sustenance for More who had provided for themselves [written over "theirselves"] had done no more although some of them might have ~~don~~ supplied others and themselves also

At the approach of sunset, we seated ourselves, and sang another hymn. The music sounded beautifully<sup>9</sup> upon the water, and had a salutary effect upon every heart, filling our souls with love and gratitude to God, for his manifold goodness towards us.

The services of the evening being ended, I inquired of the brethren concerning the amount of provisions which they had on hands<sup>10</sup> for the journey; and, to my surprise, I ascertained that we had on board, besides twenty grown persons, thirty children, who were almost destitute of food. This was unaccountable to me at first, but I afterwards learned that they had converted their substance into clothing, expecting that those who were in better circumstances would support them, as well as defray their travelling expenses;<sup>11</sup> those, however, from whom they expected the most assistance, disappointed them, consequently, the burthen was thrown entirely upon my shoulders. From this time forward I furnished the whole fifty persons with food from day to day.

9. RLDS: "The music sounded beautiful . . ."

10. Coray: "They had on ~~hands~~ <board>"; RLDS: "they had on hand"; IE and Nibley: "on hand"

11. IE and Nibley: "expense"

*Lucy: 1844-45*

but they did not seem to consider that the revelation<sup>12</sup> that they should help each other was binding upon them. Brethrer [sic] and sisters ~~are still learning~~ ~~that~~ <you who were with me do ~~you~~ you recollect those circumstances which I am relating I know> ~~that~~ you remmember this journey well for I am not speaking of that which took place in a former century but what your eyes have seen and your ears have heard—

*Lucy: 1844-45*

I soon discovered a carlessness among the Mothers who were in our company which gave me great anxiety for many of them did neglect their children even when thier especial care was necessary to the preservation of their lives. As for instance at a time when passing under a bridge if children were on deck they would be thrown over board or bruised in such a maner as was terrible to think of I Called the sisters together an talked withe and tried to make them realize their childrens danger and their own responsibility.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

I soon discovered among the mothers, a kind of carelessness with regard to their children, even when their lives were in danger. So I called them together, and endeavoured to impress upon their minds the importance of doing their duty to their children; that in such a place as this, especially, they ought to keep them constantly by their side; that they should consider, that children were given to them for a blessing, and if they did not treat them as such, they would be taken from them. Still they were negligent, and excused themselves by saying, that their children were disobedient.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Sisters said I God has given you children to be a blessing to you and it is your duty to take care of them to keep them out of every possible danger and in such a place as this especially to have them always by your side and I warn you now to attend better to your duty in this respect or your children will by some unforeseen accident be taken from you—Then after this we received news by another boat of the death of a small child which occurred the day be-

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12. Possibly Lucy is here referring to D&C 38:34-35, which repeats the command for the Saints to gather at the Ohio, and then instructs: "And now, I give unto the church in these parts a commandment, that certain men among them shall be appointed, and they shall be appointed by the voice of the church; And they shall look to the poor and the needy, and administer to their relief that they shall not suffer; and send them forth to the place which I have commanded them."

fore ~~and was occasioned~~ on the same river it was killed by a bridge being on deck when the boat was passing under ~~the child~~ I thought that what I had said and this accident together would rouse the sisters to greater attention but in this I was mistaken for they took not thought of either and their excuse for their neglecting their children was that they could not make them mind

*Lucy: 1844-45*

I told them that I could make them mind me easy enough and as they would not controll them I should

I then got the children together round me and said now mark what I say to you. When I come up the stairs and raise my hand you must every one of you run to me as fast as you can and you must not stop a minute will you do so. They all answered heartily yes Maam we will, and to their crdit I would say that they kept their faith better that [sic] some very great folks do in these days—for they never failed to do just as I told not only in that but every thing else while I was with them

When we got half way to Buffalo the canal broke and we were stopped from travelling this circumstance gave rise to many evil forebodings ~~and~~ and much murmuring and discontentment “We here we are” said they “~~and what are we going~~ the canal is broke and we can go no farther and what next we have left our houses and good homes and now we have no means of getting a living and here we must starve

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

I told the sisters, that I could manage their children, and if they were not better controlled by their mothers, I should take the control of them.

I then called the children around me, and said to them, “Now, children, mark what I say to you. When I come up stairs, and raise my hand, you must, every one of you, run to me as fast as you can. Will you do as I tell you?”

“Yes,” they replied, with one unanimous voice. And they strictly kept their faith to the end of the journey.

On getting about half way to Buffalo, the canal broke.<sup>13</sup> This gave rise to much murmuring and discontentment, which was expressed in terms like the following:—

“Well, the canal is broke now, and here we are, and here we are likely to be, for we can go no further. We have left our homes, and here we have no means of getting a living, consequently<sup>14</sup> we shall have to starve.”

[Notes 13 and 14 appear on page 518.]

No said I you will not starve ~~neither~~ nor any such thing<sup>15</sup> only do stop murmuring and be patient for I have not doubt that the hand of the Lord is over us for good and after all it is quite likely that the steam boats cannot leave Buffaloe harbor and the town is crowded with families who are waiting for the Ice which blockades the Harbor to break away so that the boatts to start—and are we not more comfortable here in habitation which is paid for and we have not the ~~trouble~~ <expense> of hunting <renting> a house

Well said the sisters I suppose you know best but it does seem to me that we would have done better to have remained at home for there we might set in our rocking chairs and take as much comfort as we were a mind to and here we are tired out and no place to rest ourselves. I could not help reflecting upon the contrast between their care and fatigue and cause for complaint and my own.

While I was talking a ~~man~~ ~~came citizen of the~~ a citizen of the place where we had landed came into the boat and enquired what proffession we were. I told him that we were mormons or latter day saints Ah! said he that is a denomin-

"No, no," said I, "you will not starve, brethren, nor anything of that sort; only do be patient and stop your murmuring. I have no doubt but the hand of the Lord is over us for good; perhaps it is best for us to be here a short time. It is quite probable that the boats cannot leave Buffalo harbour on account of the ice; if so, the town must inevitably be crowded with families, in which case it would be next to impossible for us to get into a comfortable house. Are we not in far better circumstances in our present situation?"

"Well, well," returned the sisters, "I suppose you know best; but it does seem as if it would have been better for us to have staid where we were, for there we could sit in our rocking chairs, and take as much comfort as we pleased, but here we are tired out, and have no place to rest ourselves."

Whilst this was passing, a citizen of the place came on board, and after inquiring what denomination we belonged to, he requested that, if there were any preachers on board, a meeting might<sup>16</sup> be appointed in the neighbourhood. I introduced him to

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13. Larry Porter hypothesizes that this break may have occurred near Pittsford, New York, since it was on their route and the section called the "Irondequoit embankment" was experiencing "frequent breaks" ("Ye," 16).

14. Coray: "are like to be, for we can go no further. We have left our homes, and here we have no means getting a living, and consequently . . ."

15. Coray: "of the kind . . ."

[Note 16 appears on page 519.]

ation which I never heard of before. Do they ever preach? They do ~~said~~ <replied> I. Have you any preachers on board Said he that would preach for us while you are stopping here—I told him that there were some elders ~~now~~ in our company and I would speak to them about the matter and ~~then~~ went immediatly to Brothers Humfry and Page ~~to~~ and asked them if they would preach that day ~~the~~ They were glad of an opportunity of addressing the People and gave out an appointment for meeting at one O'clock P.M.

We were grounded on the edge of a beautiful green where a congregation collected at the appointed hour of 100 persons we had a very pleasant meeting and our faint hearted brethren and sisters were much strengthened ~~by~~ The people were anxious to have ~~us~~ the elders preach again but the canal was repaired by 11 o'clock the next morning we proceeded on our journey—we arrived at Bufaloe on Friday about an hour and a half before sunset it was the 5th day ~~from~~ after we set out from Waterloo—

Here we met the brethren from Colesville who had been detained ~~in~~ <a week.> This place ~~as was~~

Elders Humphry and Page, who appointed a meeting for the next day,

which was held<sup>17</sup> on a beautiful green, bordering on the canal, and of sufficient size to accommodate a hundred persons. They listened with attention, and requested<sup>18</sup> that another meeting might be appointed for the succeeding day, but, as the canal was repaired by eleven o'clock, we proceeded on our journey, and arrived at Buffalo on the fifth day after leaving Waterloo.<sup>19</sup>

Here we found the brethren from Colesville, who informed us that they had been detained one

16. IE and Nibley: "would"

17. Coray: "to be held . . ."

18. Coray: "The congregation collected in good season—listened with great attention and afterwards requested . . ."

19. Coray: "we pursued our journey; and arrived at Buffaloe, the fifth day after we left Waterloo." Porter ("Ye," 16) dates their arrival at about 7-8 May 1831; the Colesville Saints would have reached Buffalo about 1 May.

customary in this season of the year to await for the opening of Navigation to open—and as Mr. Smith and Hyrum were directed to be in Kirtland in april they went the remainder of the journey by land—

I enquired of the colesville brethren ~~how long they had~~ if they told the people that they were Mormons They seemed surprized at the qustion and replied No by no means and do not you do it for the World for if you <do> you will not get a boat nor a house and here you must stay or go back.

I told them I would let the people know exactly who I was and what I professed and if you said I are ashamed of christ you not be prospered as much as I shall and we will get to kirtland before you

Now While we were yet talking with the colesville brethren another boat came up which had on board about 30 Mormon brethren—and brother Thomas Marsh was one of the company he came to me and ~~said~~ perceiving the drift of our conversation said Now Mother Smith if you do sing and have prayers and acknowledge that you are Mormons here in this place as you have done

week in this place, waiting for the navigation to open. Also, that Mr. Smith and Hyrum had gone through to Kirtland by land, in order to be there by the first of April.

I asked them if they confessed to the people that they were "Mormons." "No, indeed," they replied, "neither must you mention a word about your religion, for if you do you will never be able to get a house, or a boat either."

I told them I should tell the people precisely who I was; "and," continued I, "if you are ashamed of Christ,<sup>20</sup> you must not expect to be prospered; and I shall wonder if we do not get to Kirtland before you."

While we were talking with the Colesville brethren, another boat landed, having on board about thirty brethren, among whom was Thomas B. Marsh, who immediately joined us, and, like the Colesville brethren, he was decidedly opposed to our attending to prayer, or making known that we were professors of religion. He said that if our company persisted in singing and praying, as we had

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20. See Mark 8:38 ("Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation; of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed . . ."); Romans 1:16 ("For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ . . ."); 1 Peter 4:16 ("If any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed . . ."); and 1 John 2:28 (" . . . abide in him; that, when he shall appear, we may . . . not be ashamed before him at his coming").

all along you will be mobbed before morning —

Well Mob it is then said I for we shall sing and attend to prayers before sunset mob or no mob— They ~~then went to~~ Then said Marsh I shall go into my own boat.

I then called William and told him to ask <tell> Elder Humphrey and Elder Page that I would like to see them and speak with when they came in we counsilled together and concluding that it was best to make what dilligence we could to get on to Kirtland our journey's end. I requested them to go round among the boats and enquire for capt. Blake for he was the captain of a boat that formerly belonged to General Mack My brother of Detroit— and if they found him to bargain with him ~~for~~ to take us to fair-port<sup>23</sup>—They soon found the person in question and agreed with him to take us all on board the next morning—but he said that he would not be able to furnish us with fresh water and also he was uncertain about starting as the ice might not be out in a fortnight from that time—

hitherto done, we should be<sup>21</sup> mobbed before the next morning.

“Mob it is, then,” said I, “we shall attend to prayer before sunset, mob or no mob.” Mr. Marsh, at this, left considerably irritated.<sup>22</sup>

I then requested brothers Humphry and Page to go around among the boatmen, and inquire for one Captain Blake, who was formerly captain of a boat belonging to my brother, General Mack, and who, upon my brother's decease, purchased the boat, and still commanded the same. They went in search of the man, and soon found him, and learned from him that his boat was already laden with the usual amount of passengers and freight. He said, however, that he thought he could make room for us if we would take a deck passage.

21. Coray: “would be . . .”

22. RLDS: “felt considerably irritated.”

23. Here appears a drawing of a rectangle divided once horizontally and four times vertically to form ten boxes. A note related to Captain Blake, much of it illegible, is written on the bottom of the sheet containing Joseph Smith Sr.'s first vision (see chap. 14): “— and enquire for a man by the name of Blake who <was formerly> had ~~been~~ Capt of a boat which belonged to <my brother> Gen mack and upon my brothers decease he purchased the buisness and <was> still plying the lakes under his own command [three words marked out]”



the morning after however we  
 <commenced> moving [written  
 over "moved"] our goods on board  
 capt. Blakes boat and by 2 hours be-  
 fore sunset we had all our goods  
 moved—The captain of the boat  
 which brought us to Buffaloe ~~eam~~  
 went with us and said he would stay  
 with us as long as we were there let  
 it be what time it might for the sake  
 of religious instruction.

When we were fairly settled it com-  
 menced raining and then a few of  
 the sisters and those persons who  
 did not belong to the church ~~com~~  
 began to murmur saying I wish we  
 had hired a house for here we are in  
 the rain and cold (for we were un-  
 der the necessity of taking a deck  
 passage) and we shall take cold and  
 our children will be sick for likely as  
 not we will have to be here these 2  
 weeks.

I told them that I did not believe it  
 would be an easy matter to get a  
 house for the other brethren had in-  
 formed me that it was almost impos-  
 sible for them to get any accomoda-  
 tions at all—but if they ~~were so un-~~  
~~comfortable~~ they could not content  
 themselves I would get a Brother  
 Hyrum Page to try to get a room for  
 them—

He did so and after a tiresome  
 search he returned and informed  
 them that there was no vacant  
 house to be found in the whole  
 place. N and then they grumbled

As this was our only opportunity, we  
 moved our goods on board the next  
 day,

and by the time that we had fairly  
 settled ourselves, it began to rain.  
 This rendered our situation very un-  
 comfortable, and some of the sisters  
 complained bitterly because we had  
 not hired a house till the boat was  
 ready to start. In fact, their case was  
 rather a trying one, for some of them  
 had sick children;

in consequence of which, brother  
 Page went out for the purpose of get-  
 ting a room for the women and sick  
 children, but returned unsuccessful.  
 At this the sisters renewed their

again—At last they declared that they would not stay a room they would have Let the case go<sup>as it would</sup>—

Well Well said if I will go myself and see what I can do for you and a room you shall have if there is a possibility of getting one on any terms whatever—

The rain was still falling in torrents  
But William went with me and held  
an umbrella over my head

I went to the <nearest> tavern and asked the Landlord if he could let me have a room for some women to bring their beds into and sleep that their children were unwell and ~~she~~ they were so much exposed that I was fearful for their health. Yes Said he I can easily make room for them. at this a woman who was ironing in the room turned upon him very sharply saying I have put up here myself and I am not going to be encumbered with anybody's things in my way. I'll warrant the children have got the whooping cough or measles<sup>25</sup> or some other ketchin disease ~~and~~ and if they come I'll go some where else to board—

Why Maddon [sic] said the landlord that is not necessary you can still have one large room.

complaints, and declared that they would have a house, let the consequences be what they might.

In order to satisfy them, I set out myself, with my son William, although it was still raining very fast, to see if it were possible to procure a shelter<sup>24</sup> for them and their children.

I stopped at the first tavern, and inquired of the landlord if he could let me have a room for some women and children who were sick. The landlord replied that he could easily make room for them. At this, a woman, who was present, turned upon him very sharply, saying, "I have put up here myself, and I am not a-going to have anybody's things in my way. I'll warrant the children have got the whooping cough or measles, or some other contagious disease, and, if *they* come, I will go somewhere else."

"Why, madam," said the landlord, "that is not necessary, you can still have one large room."

24. Coray: "to procure that which they so much stood in need of—a shelter . . ."

25. See "The Textual History of Lucy's Book" for three versions of this episode: Lucy's rough draft, a page from the intermediate manuscript, and Pratt's 1853 published version, which corresponds closely to the Coray 1845 fair or finished copy.

Well I don't care said she I want them both and if I can't have them I won't stay.

Never mind said its no matter I will go some where else I presume I can get Some other room just as well.

No you can't though avowed the lady for we hunted all over the town and could'nt find one single one till we came here—

This instance of human nature carries its own moral therefore it needs no remarks.

I left immediately and soon came to a long row of rooms and as one of them seemed to be almost at liberty I ventured to call and enquire of the owner if I could not rent it a few days I found the proprietr to be a fine cheerful old lady <probably near 70 years of age> A when I requested asked her if She had a roon [sic] which she could spare me at any price Well I stating the circumstances as I had don to the Land lord before—

Well I don't know said She where did are you going to Kirtlang [sic] said I What are <be> you said she. be you baptists no said I we are Mormons. Mormons! said she in a quick but low and good natured tone. Why I never heard of them before what be they—I told her that we did not acknowledge the name but the world called us so but <and> I said so that she might know who we were but our proper name was Latter-day Saints—

"I don't care," said she, "I want 'em both, and if I cant have 'em, I won't stay—that's it."

"Never mind," said I, "it is no matter; I suppose I can get a room somewhere else, just as well."

"No, you can't though," rejoined the lady, "for we hunted all over the town, and we could not find one single one till we got here."

I left immediately, and went on my way. Presently I came to a long row of rooms, one of which appeared to be almost vacant. I inquired if it could be rented for a few days. The owner of the buildings, I found to be a cheerful old lady, near seventy years of age. I mentioned the circumstances to her, as I before had done to the landlord.

"Well, I don't know," said she; "where be you going?"

"To Kirtland," I replied.

"What be you?" said she. "Be you Baptists?"

I told her that we were "Mormons."

"Mormons!" ejaculated she, in a quick, good-natured tone. "What be they? I never heard of them before."

"I told you that we were 'Mor-

Latter day saints said she I never heard of ~~such a thing~~ them before. I am said I the Mother of the Prophet who ~~bra~~ brought forth the work and translated the book of Mormon <with increased surprize.> What! said she, a prophet in these why I never heard the like in my life ~~Well~~ ~~I will~~ Will you come if I let you have a room. I told her that I wanted ~~the~~ ~~more~~ <the room> for the sisters who were with me ~~Well~~ now you will come any way won't you

I told her I would come with them and stay that day withe her ~~well~~ you will come in and set with me and tell me all about it. I don't know why twas but just as soon as I saw I felt as though I wanted you to stay with I- and I could not bear to have you go away—.

I returned to the boat and ~~went~~ and told the sisters what the prospects were ~~and who~~ pursuant to which they made haste to the room ~~and~~ ~~earri~~ having their beds taken also. The old lady was very prompt in removing the furniture from the room and as soon as this was done she came to me and said now come and set down ~~and~~ with me and tell me all about what you was talking

mons,” I replied, “because that is what the world call us, but the only name we acknowledge is Latter-Day Saints.”<sup>26</sup>

“Latter-Day Saints!” rejoined she, “I never heard of them either.”

I then informed her that this Church was brought forth through the instrumentality of a Prophet, and that I was the mother of this Prophet.

“What!” said she, “a Prophet in these days! I never heard of the like in my life; and if you will come and sit with me, you shall have a room for your sisters and their children, but you yourself must come and stay with me, and tell me all about it.”

This I promised to do, and then returned to the boat, and had the sisters, and their sick children, removed to the old lady's house; and after making them comfortable, I went into her room. We soon fell into conversation, in which I explained to her, as clearly as I could, the principles of the Gospel. On speaking of the laying on of hands for the reception of the Holy Ghost,

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26. RLDS: “what the world calls us . . . Latter Day Saints.”

about. I went in and ~~explained~~  
~~<I sat down and we>~~ com-  
 menced conversation and I ex-  
 plained to her how it was that  
 the Lord ~~had caus had~~ was per-  
 forming a work which was de-  
 signed for the salvation of the  
 people and in order that they  
 might be saved it is necessary for  
 them to repent of all their sins  
 and be baptized for the remission  
 of their sins and have hands laid  
 on them that they may receive  
 the ~~gift of the~~ Holy Ghost The  
 gift ~~<received>~~ of the Holy  
 Ghost said

Receive the holy Ghost said  
 she what do you mean by that—  
~~I then explai~~ I gave her an expla-  
 nation in full of this and many  
 other Matters and she was so in-  
 quisitive and anxious to hear that  
~~we I had~~ ~~<she kept>~~ me up un-  
 till 2 oclock in the morning ~~and~~

she was as much surprised as  
 those disciples were whom Paul  
 found at Ephesus,<sup>27</sup> and she asked  
 me, "What do you mean by the  
 Holy Ghost?" I continued my ex-  
 planations until after two o'clock  
 the next morning, when we re-  
 moved to the boat again.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

the next day I with my sisters were up by times— ~~the~~ and the old Lady  
 was not at all behind us and she ~~offer~~ offered us every assistance possible  
 about our cooking and arrangements for the comfort of those that lodged  
 with her. ~~It~~ when breakfast was over and I was about starting back to  
 the boat—she urged me to stay ~~last~~ say I felt as soon as I saw you that t  
 there was something more than common and I would not have let my  
 room go to any person in the world but you for I have now eight fami-  
 lies in my house besides your company

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27. See Acts 19:1-2: "And it came to pass, that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul havinging passed through the upper coasts came to Ephesus: and finding certain disciples, He said unto them, Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost."

Lucy: 1844-45

When I ~~went~~ got back to the boat Capt. Blake said that he would rather the passengers would all stay on board as the ice might break away in the night and then he wanted them to be ready to ~~make a sudden~~ start at a moments warning. He sent a man out that morning to measure the depth of the ice which was constantly coming down the ~~river~~ lake and piling up cake upon cake and when the man returned he informed the capt. that the ice was 20 feet deep and observed captain, you'll stay here this long while yet.

As he said so Porter Rockwell turned to his mother and said Now mother I am going on shore to see my uncle I can just as well go as not she insisted upon his staying but he payed no attention to what she said and she appealed to me saying— Mother smith wont you get Porter back he is going ashore and I can't stop him for he won't mind any body but you.

I looked round and sure enough he was about leaving us without leave from any one. I called ~~to~~ him back but he still insisted that there was time enough for him to visit ~~the man~~ his uncle and get back before the Ice could break any way well said do as you like but if you do you

Coray/Pratt: 1853

On arriving there, Captain Blake requested the passengers to remain on board, as he wished, from that time, to be ready to start at a moment's warning; at the same time he sent out a man to measure the depth of the ice, who, when he returned, reported that it was piled up to the height of twenty feet, and that it was his opinion that we would remain in the harbour at least two weeks longer.

At this, Porter Rockwell started on shore to see his uncle. His mother endeavoured to prevent him, but he paid no attention to her, and she then appealed to me, saying, "Mother Smith, do get Porter back, for he won't mind any body but you."<sup>28</sup>

I told him that, if he went, we should leave him on shore, but he could do as he liked. He left the boat,

28. Coray: "do get Porter back." This truncated sentence is another example of probable omissions as Coray copied this second volume from the first fair copy, which ended up in Pratt's hands.

will p run the risk of being left in  
Buffaloe he went

and as I turned from him another woman entered a complaint that her 2 sons <who> were young men were leaving and she could not keep them from going vincent was the oldest.<sup>29</sup> I spoke to him now said I Porter is going on shore and we shall leave him for you all said that you would do as I told you and he has refused to ~~min~~ mind me but do you come back for I tell you we are not going to stay here as long as you imagine We will come Mother if you say so Replied he respectfully but we thought that ~~the~~ we might go on shore as the ~~snow~~ Ice was so thick that a boat would have to stay here a good while any way

Mother said <my son> William just then in whisper<sup>30</sup> do see the confusion yonder w'ont you go and settle stop it. I looked ~~round~~ and saw a number of the brethren and sisters engaged in warm debating and others grumbling and murmuring Some young ladies flirting with gentlemen passengers who were strangers to them and not members of the church whilst I might safely say hundreds of spectators were on

and several others were about following him; but when I spoke to them, they replied, "We will do just as you say, Mother Smith," and returned immediately.

Just then William whispered in my ear, "Mother, do see the confusion yonder; won't you go and put a stop to it!"

I went to that part of the boat where the principal portion of our company were.<sup>31</sup> There I found several of the brethren and sisters engaged in a warm debate, others murmuring and grumbling, and a number of young ladies were flirting, giggling, and laughing with gentle-

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29. This individual was probably Vincent Jolly (1804-66). He was baptized at age twenty-one with his parents, William and Elizabeth Jolly, in Seneca Lake by Oliver Cowdery on 18 April 1830 and is known to have come to Kirtland, although I lack information on a younger brother and whether the family traveled in Lucy's company. He reportedly married Betsy Curtis in 1834 and disaffiliated from the church in Kirtland. He died at Parkman, Geauga County, Ohio (Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology*; Jessee, *Papers*, 1:494).

30. Coray: "Just at this time William whispered . . ."

31. RLDS: "of our company was . . ."



tl the shore and on other boats gazing  
 u upon the exhibition of clamor and  
 v vanity among the Mormon com-  
 p pany with great interest

I I was ashamed mortified at their im-  
 p pudence and inconsideration and  
 ir impudence and that they should in  
 tl their folly expose the church and  
 c: cause of christ to ridicule I stepped  
 ir into their midst Brethren and sis-  
 te ters, said I all I we call ourselves lat-  
 te ter day saints and proffes to have  
 cc come out from among the world for  
 th the purpose of serving God with de-  
 te termination to serve him with our  
 w whole might mind and strength at  
 th the expense of all earthly things and  
 w will you suffer yourselves to begin at  
 th the very first sacrafice of comfort to  
 cc complain and Murmur<sup>32</sup> like the  
 cl children of Israel and even worse<sup>33</sup>

fo for here are my sisters fretting for  
 th the want of their rocking chairs and  
 br brethren from you I expected assis-  
 ta tance and looked for some firmness  
 in in you but instead of that you are  
 cc complaining that you have left a  
 gc good house and now you have no  
 hc home to go to and do not know as

men passengers, who were entire  
 strangers to them, whilst hundreds  
 of people on shore and on other  
 boats were witnessing this scene of  
 clamour and vanity among our  
 brethren with great interest.

I stepped into their midst. "Brethren  
 and sisters," said I, "we call ourselves  
 Saints, and profess to have come out  
 from the world for the purpose of  
 serving God at the expense of all  
 earthly things; and will you, at the  
 very onset, subject the cause of  
 Christ to ridicule by your own un-  
 wise and improper conduct? You pro-  
 fess to put your trust in God, then  
 how can you feel to murmur and  
 complain as you do! You are even  
 more unreasonable than the chil-  
 dren of Israel were;

for here are my sisters pining for  
 their rocking chairs, and brethren  
 from whom I expected firmness and  
 energy, declare that they positively  
 believe they shall starve to death be-  
 fore they get to the end of the jour-  
 ney.

32. Coray: "feel to murmur as you do?"

33. See Ephesians 3:14 ("For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ"); 1 Corinthians 5:10 ("then must ye needs go out of the world"); D&C 20:37 ("... having a c a determination to serve him to the end . . ."); 2 Nephi 25:29 ("... and worship him with all your mi might, mind, and strength, and your whole soul"); Mark 12:30 ("... love the Lord thy God with all all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength . . ."); John 3:12 ("... I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not . . ."); and Numbers 14:27 ("I have heard the the murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against me").

you shall have when you get to  
 <the end of> your journey And  
 more than all you do not know but  
 you will all starve to death before  
 you get away from Buffaloe

~~where is your faith where is your~~  
~~confidence in God and I would~~  
 Who in the company has been  
 hungry who has lacked any thing  
~~which they~~ to make them comfort-  
 able as our circumstances would  
 admit of. have I not ~~until~~ set food  
 before every day and made you all  
 as welcome as my own children so  
 that ~~if you have~~ <those> who  
 had not provided for yourselves  
 might lack nothing [blank] att.

And why is it so? Have any of  
 you lacked? Have not I set food  
 before you every day, and made  
 you, who had not provided for  
 yourselves, as welcome as my own  
 children?

<sup>34</sup>And even if this were not the  
 case where is your faith Where is  
 your confidence in God do you  
 know that all things are in his He  
 made all things and still over rules  
 them and how easy a ~~matter it~~  
 thing it could be with God if every  
 saint here would just <lift> their  
 desires<sup>35</sup> to him in prayer that the  
 way might be opened before us  
 how easy would it be for God to  
 cause the Ice to break away and  
~~we be~~ in a moments time we could  
 be off on our journey but how can  
 you expect the Lord to prosper  
 you when you are continually mur-  
 muring against him—

Where is your faith? Where is  
 your confidence in God? Can you  
 not realize that all things were  
 made by him, and that he rules  
 over the works of his own hands?  
 And suppose that all the Saints  
 here should lift their hearts in  
 prayer to God, that the way  
 might be opened before us, how  
 easy it would be for him to cause  
 the ice to break away, so that in  
 a moment<sup>36</sup> we could be on our  
 journey!"

34. New page: "12" is written at both the left and right upper margins.

35. Coray: "should raise their hearts . . ."

36. Coray: "in a moments time. . . ."

Just then a man cried out from the shore is the Book of Mormon true ~~yes that~~ That book said I is was brought forth by the power of God and translated by the same power And if I could make my voice to sound as loud as the trumpet of Micheal the Arck Angel I would declare the ~~truth the~~ truth from land to land and from sea to sea And it echo from Isle to Isle untill not one should remain of the whole family of man <but> that ~~should~~ was left without excuse for all could hear the truth of Gospel of the son of God and I would sound it in every ear that he has again revealed himself to man in these last days and set his hand to gather his people together upon a goodly land and if they will fear him and walk uprightly before him it shall be unto them for an inheritance but if they rebel against his law his hand will be against them to scatter them abroad and cut them off from the face of the Earth for God is now going to do a work upon the Earth and man cannot hinder a work which is for the salvation of all who will believe it ~~from to~~ <unto> the uttermost ~~parts of~~ even all who call on him and it will prove unto every one who stands here this day a savior of life unto life or of death unto death a saviour of life unto life if ye will receive it but of death unto Death if

Just then a man on shore cried, "Is the Book of Mormon true?"

"That book," replied I, "was brought forth by the power of God, and translated by the gift of the Holy Ghost; and, if I could make my voice sound as loud as the trumpet of Michael, the Archangel, I would declare the truth<sup>37</sup> from land to land, and from sea to sea, and the echo should reach to every isle, until every member of the family of Adam should be left without excuse. For I do testify that God has revealed himself to man again in these last days, and set his hand to gather his people upon a goodly land, and, if they obey his commandments, it shall be unto them for an inheritance; whereas, if they rebel against his law, his hand will be against them to scatter them abroad, and cut them off from the face of the earth; and that he has commenced a work which will prove a savour of life unto life, or of death unto death, to every one that stands here this day—of life unto life, if you will receive it, or of death unto death, if you reject the counsel of God, for every man shall have the desires of his heart; if he desires the truth, he may hear and live, but if he tramples upon the simplicity of the word of God, he will shut the gate of heaven against himself."

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37. Coray: "my voice to sound as loud as the trumpet of Michael, the Arch Angel, I would declare the truth of the same . . ."

ye reject the counsel of God unto your own condemnation for every man shall have the desires of his heart if he desires the truth the way is open to all and < if he will > he may hear and live whereas < if > treat they < the > truth with contempt and trample upon the ~~divin~~ simplicity of the word of God they will shut the gate of Heaven against themselves.—<sup>38</sup>

And now brethren and sisters if you will all of you raise your desires to Heaven that the Ice may give way<sup>39</sup> before us and we be set at liberty to go on our way as sure as the Lord lives it shall be done.

I and at that moment a noise was heard like bursting thunder and the captain cried out every man to his

Then, turning to our own company, I said, "Now, brethren and sisters, if you will all of you raise your desires to heaven, that the ice may be broken up, and we be set at liberty, as sure as the Lord lives it will be done."

At that instant a noise was heard, like bursting thunder. The captain cried, "Every man to his post." The

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38. Compare 1 Thessalonians 4:16 ("For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God . . ."); Jude 1:9 ("Michael the archangel . . ."); D&C 29:26 ("Michael, mine archangel, shall sound his trump . . ."); Exodus 19:19 ("the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder . . ."); 3 Nephi 6:8 (" . . . which led from city to city, and from land to land . . ."); D&C 66:5 (" . . . proclaim my gospel from land to land, and from city to city . . ."); Psalms 72:8 (" . . . dominion also from sea to sea . . ."); Amos 8:12 ("they shall wander from sea to sea . . ."); Romans 1:9 (" . . . in the gospel of his Son . . ."); Joel 2:16 ("Gather the people . . ."); Psalms 89:25 ("I will set his hand . . ."); Isaiah 11:11 (" . . . the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people . . ."); Jeremiah 3:19 (" . . . and give thee a pleasant land, a goodly heritage . . ."); cf. D&C 97:9 (" . . . as a very fruitful tree which is planted in a goodly land . . ."); Genesis 42:18 ("This do, and live; for I fear God"); Psalms 84:11 (" . . . them that walk uprightly"); 1 Nephi 16:3 (" . . . that ye might walk uprightly before God"); e.g., Deuteronomy 4:38 (" . . . to give thee their land for an inheritance . . ."); Deuteronomy 4:27 ("And the LORD shall scatter you . . ."); Exodus 9:15 (" . . . and thou shalt be cut off . . ."); Genesis 1:29 (" . . . upon the face of all the earth . . ."); Psalms 2:8 (" . . . and the uttermost parts of the earth . . ."); 2 Corinthians 2:16 ("we are the savour of death unto death; and to the other the savour of life unto life . . ."); Luke 7:30 ("the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God . . ."); D&C 20:15 ("it shall turn to their own condemnation"); Psalms 37:4 (" . . . give thee the desires of thine heart"); Psalms 119:30 ("I have chosen the way of truth"); John 5:25 (" . . . and they that hear shall live"); 1 Nephi 19:7 ("even the very God of Israel do men trample under their feet"); Matthew 7:6 ("lest they trample them under their feet . . ."); Ezekiel 44:2 ("This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened . . .").

39. Coray: "the ice may be broke up . . ."

post and the ice parted leaving barely a pathway for the boat and that was so narrow that as it passed through the buckets were torn from the water wheel ~~with~~—a this with the noise of the ice the confusion of the spectators the word of command from the capt. <and> the hoarse answering of the sailors was truly dreadful<sup>40</sup>—<and our boat and one other had just time enough to get through and the the ice closed again and remained 3 weeks longer>

I heard one Man on shore say there goes the Mormon company and that Boat is sunk in the water 9 inches deeper than it ever was before and Mark it she sinks there is <we> nothing surer—(and here let me remark that it was done and the publication overtook us shortly after) we got to Fairport) after we left the wharf and got through the passage into the Lake

I spoke to brother Humfry and requested him to call the brethren and sisters together that we had seen a great manifestation of the power of God in our behalf and <as> it was near time for prayers I thought it would be well to sing a little and then have a kind of prayer

ice parted, leaving barely a passage for the boat, and so narrow, that, as the boat passed through, the buckets of the water-wheel were torn off with a crash, which, joined to the word of command from the captain, the hoarse answering of the sailors, the noise of the ice, and the cries and confusion of the spectators, presented a scene truly terrible. We had barely passed through the avenue, when the ice closed together again, and the Colesville brethren were left in Buffalo, unable to follow us.

As we were leaving the harbour, one of the bystanders exclaimed, "There goes the Mormon company! That boat is sunk in the water nine inches deeper than ever it was before, and, mark it, she will sink—there is nothing surer." In fact, they were so sure of it, that they went straight to the office and had it published that we were sunk,<sup>41</sup> so that when we arrived at Fairport, we read in the papers the news of our own death.

After our miraculous escape from the wharf at Buffalo, we called our company together, and had a prayer<sup>42</sup> meeting, in which we offered up our thanks to God for his mercy, which he had manifested towards us in our deliverance;

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40. Coray: "sailors, together the noise of the ice, and the cries and confusion of the spectators, presented a scene truly sublime and terrible."

41. Coray: "that we had sunk . . ."

[Note 42 appears on page 534.]

meeting so that all could pray that  
felt disposed to do—We then  
sang and ~~when~~ commenced praying

but by the time we had got half  
through when I received a message  
from the Capt. Who sent his mate  
to request ~~the Saints~~ on to have the  
saints stop praying for says he if you  
do not we shall all go to hell to-  
gether for we cannot keep one ~~un-~~  
~~der~~ single hand to his post if we  
went to the Devil they are so taken  
up with the praying of your chil-  
dren—He said my children because  
they all called me mother—

We soon however had a formida-  
ble difficulty to encounter We began  
to feel the effects of the motion of the  
boat which brought many of our num-  
ber down upon their backs<sup>43</sup> and then  
there was a cry for water and the cap-  
tain had told the cook not to furnish  
~~all the last set~~ passengers with water  
except where there was engaged-  
ments made—And the saints espe-  
cially those ~~to~~ who were sick were in  
great anxiety—

I went to the cook and <handed  
him 25 cts &> asked him if he  
could not let me have some hot  
water occasionally for the sick folks  
he complied very readily with my re-  
quest and I was furnished with the  
means to make them comfortable  
for a season—

but before our meeting was broken  
up, the captain's mate came to me  
and said, "Mrs. Smith, do, for God's  
sake, have your children stop pray-  
ing, or we shall all go to hell to-  
gether; we cannot keep one single  
man to his post, if we should go to  
the devil, for they are so taken up  
with your praying." Therefore our  
meeting was broken up.

Soon after leaving Buffalo, some  
of our company began to feel the ef-  
fects of the motion of the boat, and  
were overcome with sea-sickness.

I went to the cook, and, handing  
him twenty-five cents, asked him if  
he could let me have some hot water  
for the sick folks. He complied with  
my request, and I was thus furnished  
with the means of making them com-  
fortable.

42. Coray: "had a kind of prayer meeting . . ."

43. Coray: "were thrown upon their backs with sea-sickness. Not having engaged water for the voyage, they suffered great anxiety on this acc<sup>t</sup> [sic] But I went . . ."

We had not been on board long until it was discovered ~~th~~ who I was and from the time that the capt. found me to be the sister of Gen. Mack until I left his boat I never lacked for anything—I never was treated with greater respect than ~~at~~ ~~that~~ <on> this boat <and> when we were approaching the landing where we were to go ashore the passengers and sailors even the cooks came round and took me by the hand and wept as they bade me farewell.

Previous to this however Brother Humfry and myself went on shore and I bought a quantity of Bread and some melasses for the little children for there was 30 on board that I suplied myself after we went back brother H. called me one side Mother smith said he you must stop this slavish work or you will kill yourself and now from this out let those women wait upon their own children and do the work for themselves [written over "theirselves"] and their husbands as for myself I shall not stay on board much longer—I told him I thought there was no danger of my injuring myself but thanking him for his kindness went on as before they told me afterwards that he left us the next landing but I did not observe it at the time ~~when~~

Upon further acquaintance with the captain, I made myself known to him as the sister of General Mack. He seemed highly pleased to find in me a relative of his old friend; and I was treated with great attention and respect, both by himself and crew, while I remained on the boat.

A short time before we arrived at Fairport, brother Humphry and myself went on shore to do some trading for the company. While on shore, this brother told me that I was making a slave of myself unnecessarily; that those sisters whose families I had the care of<sup>44</sup> could as well wait upon their own husbands and children, as for me to do it; that, as for himself, he was not going to stay on board much longer. I thanked him for his kindness, but told him that I thought I could get along with the work, without injuring myself. Nothing further passed between us upon the subject. At the next landing he left,<sup>45</sup> and whither he went I did not know.

44. Coray: "I had taken care of . . ."

45. Coray: "he left us . . ."



but to return when we came into Fairport and our things were put on shore<sup>46</sup> The company were more disheartened than ever Several of the men came round me to asking what in the was to be done here we are said they our goods <and our> without any shelter and no hopes of houses here and no means of conveying to Kirtland and even if we could get there it is Cap one to not at all probable that we should have a shelter for our heads Now wont you set our wives to work to and have them sew up some blankets into tents and we will camp out here by our goods and watch them

I looked for <round at> the sisters and found them setting about some crying others pouting others attending to their business but the last was the fewest number. I told them I should not set their wives to work, they might do as they liked but yonder said I raising my eyes sits a man that <and> I shall enquire of him for information and see what can be done by the way of settling ourselves I went up to him and asked <him> how far it was to Kirtland he started up and exclaimed is this mother Smith—Yes sir said I we would like to know whether there is any chance of teams and is it possible that this is mother smith said he I have sat here 3 day and

On drawing near Fairport, where we were to land, the captain, passengers, and crew, bade me farewell in tears. After landing, our company were more disheartened than ever, and the brethren came around me and requested that I should set their wives to sewing blankets together, and making tents of them, that the men might camp by their goods and watch them, for they had no hopes of getting any further.

I told them I should do nothing of the kind. As for the sisters, some of them were crying, some pouting, and a few of them were attending to the care<sup>47</sup> of their families. As I passed among them, my attention was attracted by a stranger, who sat a short distance from us on the shore of the lake. I inquired of him the distance to Kirtland. He, starting up, exclaimed, "Is it possible that this is mother Smith? I have sat here looking for you these three days."

46. Porter ("Ye," 18) dates their departure from Buffalo at about 9 May and their arrival at Fairport about 11-12 May 1831.

47. RLDS: "a few of them attending to the care . . ."

nights for no other purpos but to see  
you

and do not give yourself any uneasiness. brother Joseph is expected here every hour and in less than 24 hours there will be 20 teams on hand to take the goods from here to houses that are waiting to receive them;

at his mentioning Joseph by name I started for I just began to realize that I was so soon to see my Husband and 3 oldest sons ~~for~~ for [blank] samuel too was with them and so I turned from the stranger the first object that met my eyes was samuel coming towards me we met in tears of joy

but before I could speak to him Joseph came up and caught hold of my other hand ~~th~~ Mother said samuel I was warned of God in a dream to come immediatly to this place to meet the company from Waterloo and I was afraid that some dreadful thing had befallen you indeed I feared that you was dead and that I should only meet your corpse ~~Joseph also seemed overjoyed to find me in so good health~~ And was myself in great fear for your life for brother Humfry came to Kirtland 3

Replying to his question in the affirmative, I asked him if it would be possible to procure teams to take our goods to Kirtland. He told me to give myself <sup>48</sup> no uneasiness about the matter, that Joseph was expected every hour, and in less than twenty-four hours there would be teams sufficient to take all our company to houses that were waiting to receive them.

When he mentioned Joseph's name, I started, for I just began to realize that I was so soon to see both my husband and my sons. I turned from the stranger, and met Samuel, who was coming towards me, closely followed by Joseph. I extended my right hand to Samuel and my left to Joseph.

They wept for joy upon seeing me—Samuel, because he had been warned of God in a dream to meet the company from Waterloo, and feared that some disaster had befallen me; and Joseph, because of the information which he had received from brother Humphry; who had arrived at Kirtland a short time before this, he having informed Joseph that he apprehended, from the fatigue I was undergoing, that my life was in danger.<sup>49</sup>

48. Coray: "He told to give myself . . ."

49. Coray: "he having signified . . ."; GAS on Coray: "which he had received from brother Humphry, who had arrived at Kirtland a short time before this, he having informed Joseph that he apprehended . . ."; IE and Nibley: "which he had received that he apprehended, from the fatigue I was undergoing, my life . . ."

days since and told me he thought that there was great danger of your wearing yourself out before you got here and he said that you had become a perfect servant to the company all the way along—but mother I shall now take you away from them and you shall have no more to do with

as soon as this was spoken they <women> gathered round me Oh Mother smith what shall we do you must not leave us cannot we go with you Joseph told them that they could go as far as Painsville and your husbands and the other brethren will remain untill the teams come for the goods but tomorrow I shall take her away from the whole of you for she has done enough—

I with the other women got into the waggons and were taken to Brother Partridge's when we arrived there we found an excellent supper prepared for us

after <this brother Kingsbury came and took me in his carriage \* and> a good <nights> rest the which I had taken since left waterloo. I <and Bro Kingsbury in> set out with my sons for Kirtland in a handsome and comfortable carriage which Joseph <belonged to Brother Kingsbury and Joseph> had provided for the purpose before my arrival—Joseph and the brethren had also engaged houses in Kirtland and

After they informed me of these things, Joseph said he should take me from the company.

As the sisters begged to go with me, he took them as far as Painsville,<sup>50</sup>

where we stopped at the house of brother Partridge. Here we found a fine supper prepared for the whole company.

Soon after partaking of this refreshment, I was taken to brother Kingsbury's, in his own carriage, where I was treated with great kindness and respect. From this place I went with Joseph to Kirtland. The first house that I entered was brother Morley's. Here I met my beloved husband, and great was our joy.

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50. RLDS: "Painesville"

painsville and Hyrum for the rest of the company so that in a little while they were well situated and ready to commence buisness for the future support of their families. The first house that I entered was Bro Morely's here I met my ~~to~~ Beloved husband and Joseph joy Brother and great was my joy<sup>51</sup>

many of my readers know my prent [sic] situation these can imagine perhaps ~~what~~ with what feelings I rehearse these recitals ~~Also~~ but no how can you no woman lives upon the Earth that could tell an experience like mine and

Many of my readers may know my present situation. These can imagine with what feelings I recite such scenes as that which followed the re-union of our family; but let it pass—imagination must supply the ellipsis. Were I to indulge my feelings upon such occasions as this, my strength would not support me to the end of my narrative.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

when I retrace my life ~~I at~~ In scenes like that which were to give vent to my feelings should here describe I seem again to press the warm hand that I then held within my own and rest my weary head upon that affectionate breast that supports it now no more ~~b~~ but Oh! My God give me strength <and> be thou my God and help in every time of need and support me yet a little longer untill my work is done and then may the angels waft me to my home in Heaven but enough I must not indulge my ~~feel~~ heart for my tale of woe is yet to come be told hereafter Brother Morely gave us the use of a good room ~~which we occupied~~ The evening after our arrival at Kirtland we visited Emma. She was very much plased to see as he said ~~that~~ had heard of our situation and s was afraid that we would be drowned on the Lake.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

This evening she had a pair twins brought in that was given to her a few days before these children were

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Soon after arriving at Kirtland, a pair of twins were brought to Emma, which were given to her to

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51. Coray: "great was my joy."

taken to supply the places of a pair of twins which she had lost<sup>52</sup>

fill the place of a pair of her own that had died.<sup>53</sup>

CHAP. XL.

SAMUEL SMITH'S FIRST MISSION TO MISSOURI.

Mr. Morely gave me the use of a room which we occupied but 2 weeks when we moved onto a farm which was purchased by Joseph and the Church ~~for the~~ on this farm my family were all established ~~and~~ with this arrangement that we were to cultivate the farm and the products were to suport our several families <our families> and sustain strangers who were traveling that being either Members of the church or others in search of the truth ~~tha~~ or on a visit to the place.

Immediately after we moved onto the farm, Joseph received a request for ~~further~~ orders from the brethren who were sent to Missouri in search of a location for the church Joseph inquired of the Lord and received the following revelation referencee to the Times and Seasons June 1831 vol. 5 Page 416.<sup>56</sup>

We remained<sup>54</sup> two weeks at Mr. Morley's, then removed our family to a farm which had been purchased by Joseph for the Church. On this farm my family were all established with this arrangement, that we were to cultivate the farm, and, from the fruits of our labour, we were to receive our support; but all over and above this was to be used for the comfort of strangers or brethren, who were travelling through the place.<sup>55</sup>

About this time Joseph was requested by Parley P. Pratt and his company, who were then in Missouri, to send some Elders to assist them. He inquired of the Lord, and received the revelation contained in the *Times and Seasons*, vol. v, p. 4166, in which Samuel H. Smith and Reynolds Cahoon were appointed to

52. Coray: "Soon after we arrived at Kirtland, a pair of twins were brought to Emma, which were given to her in the place of . . ."

53. Nibley note: "These twins were the children of John Murdock, whose wife died at their birth. They were born April 30, 1831."

54. Coray: "removed" .

55. When Brigham Young, then in England, wrote to Joseph Smith on 7 May 1840, among the list of friends to whom he asked to be remembered, he notes that he prays for Emma Smith and "Father and Mother Smith. I remember the time when I first saw Mother Smith, and the trials she had when the work of the Lord first commenced in her family" (4:125). He had made their acquaintance in November 1832, when they had been in Kirtland for about eighteen months.

56. Coray: "vol. 3, p. 417"; GAS on Coray: "Vol. 5." See D&C 51.

It will be observed in this revelation that ~~Samue~~ Samuel H. Smith and Reynolds Cahoon were appointed to go in company together ~~they had met~~ on their way to Missouri they called at a town and going into a large store they enquired of the clerk who was ~~Wm M E McClele~~ Wm E Mc'Lellin<sup>57</sup> if they had any preaching <evenings> in the place ~~in the evening~~ Yes answered Mr. Mc'Lellin we do when any a preacher comes along. What denomination do you belong to— We are Latterday saints said ~~samuel~~—Can y you preach said ~~Wm~~ Mr M. I would like to hear you for that is a denomination that I have never heard of and if you will preach I will get a house and light it up and call the people together in good season—Samuel replied that he would be glad of the opportunity, and Mr. M went out & in a short time he had a large congregation seated in a convenient room well lit up at the expense of the above named young gentleman After the meeting was dismissed Mr M urged them to stay in the place and preach again but they refused as the directions to the Elders were to go forward without delay any farther than to warn the people as they passed on after they

go together to Missouri.<sup>58</sup> They departed immediately on their mission. Before they had proceeded far, they called at a town, the name of which I do not remember, where they found William E. Mc Lellin, who was employed as a clerk in a store. After making a little inquiry, they found that Mr. Mc Lellin was anxious to hear them preach, and that he was willing to make some exertion to obtain<sup>59</sup> a house and congregation for them, for the name of Latter-Day Saint was new to him, and he felt curious to hear what the principles of our faith were. So, by his interposition, they soon had a large congregation seated in a comfortable room. They preached that evening, and the next morning they pursued their journey.

57. This name in the Coray manuscript is most often spelled Wm E. M'C'Lellin or Mc Lellin.

58. See D&C 52:30.

59. Coray: "exertion in order to obtain . . ."

left <which was> the next morning Mr M. grew uneasy and this he afterwards told me the following story When it came to be night I was unable to sleep for I thought that I ought to have gone with them as I had an excellent horse I could have assisted them much on their journey and this worked upon my mind so that I determined to set out after them the next morning cost what it might I accordingly told my employer<sup>60</sup> that what I had concluded to do and obtaining his consent I set out in pursuit of my new acquaintances but I did not overtake them but pursued <my rout in> the same direction untill I came to Jackson county Missouri where I was baptized—<sup>61</sup>

Shortly after they left, Mr. McLellin became very uneasy respecting his new acquaintances; he felt that it was his duty to have gone with them and assisted them on their journey. This feeling worked so strongly in his breast, as to deprive him of rest all the ensuing night; and, before morning, he concluded to set out for Missouri, at the hazard of business, character, and everything else. Accordingly, after settling with his employer, he started in pursuit of Samuel, and brother Cahoon. He passed them on their way, and got to Missouri, and was baptized before they arrived there.

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60. Coray: "employers"

61. William McLellin, in a letter written on 4 August 1832 to his "Beloved Relatives," gives a different account of his conversion, explaining that he heard two different sets of missionaries preach. The letter does not name the first two missionaries he heard in Paris; his diary, in the first entry dated 18 July 1831, mentions only one set, whom he identifies as Harvey Whitlock and David Whitmer. He has apparently collapsed the two accounts in his retrospective journal entry but distinguishes them from each other in the letter below: "Some time in July 1831. Two men came to Paris & held an evening meeting, only a few attended, but among the others, I was there. They delivered some ideas which appeared very strange to me at that time. 'They said that in September 1827 an Angel appeared to Joseph Smith (in Ontario Co. New-York) and showed to him the confusion on the earth respecting true religion. It also told him to go a few miles distant to a certain hill and there he should find some plates with engravings, which (if he was faithful) he should be enabled to translate. He went as directed and found plates (which had the appearance of fine Gold) about 8 inches long 5 or 6 wide and altogether about 6 inches thick; each one about as thick as thin past Board fastened together and opened in the form of a book containing engravings of reformed Egyptian Hieroglyphical characters. which he was inspired to translate and the record was published in 1830 and is called the book of Mormon. It is a record which was kept on this continent by the ancient inhabitants.' Those men had this book with them and they told us about it, and also of the rise of the church (which is now called Mormonites from their faith in this book &c.). . . . But in a few days two others came into the neighbourhood proclaiming that these were the last days, and that God had sent forth the book of Mormon to show the times of the fulfillment of the ancient prophecies. . . . One of these was a witness to the book . . . (his name was David Whitmer). They were in the neighbourhood about a week" (Shipps and Welch, 79-80; compare journal account, 29). McLellin's "anxiety . . . to know the truth" was so keen that he hastened to Missouri where he was baptized.



Soon after I got there <sup>62</sup>Samuel H. Smith and brother Cahoon arrived—on this excursion My son and brother Cahoon\* [\* written at the foot of the page: “on this journey they passed through Quincy there was only 32 houses then in the place and preached the first sermon that ever was delivered in that town”] suffered many privations of which I will relate one instance only [a 5-inch blank follows]

—when they arrived in Jackson the Elders had mostly got there before them—after the elders had collected € in Jackson (here turn to page 446 of the *Times and Seasons* and carefully select suitable extracts from the Revelation given in Zion 1831 also Page 450 Rev given in Zion same date also the whole revelation commencing Page 451 also then follow *Times and Seasons* <down to the revelation Page 464 there stop awhile> ~~inserting portions of revelations~~ ~~Page 463~~ insert portions of revelation Page 464<sup>67</sup>

On their route, Samuel and brother Cahoon suffered great privations, such as want of rest and food.<sup>63</sup> At the time that they started for Missouri, near fifty<sup>64</sup> others also set out for the same place, all taking different routes. When they arrived,<sup>65</sup> they dedicated the spot for the Temple.<sup>66</sup>

About this time, or soon after, a number of revelations were received which the reader will find by following the History of Joseph in the *Times and Seasons*, vol. v., from p. 448 to 466. A clause in one of these reads as follows:—“Let my servant Reynolds Cahoon, and my servant Samuel H. Smith, with whom I am well pleased, be not separated until they return to their homes, and this for a wise purpose in me.” p. 465.<sup>68</sup> And here, let me say, that Samuel was never censured by revelation, to my knowledge, for he always performed his missions faithfully, and his work was well approved.

62. A new page commences at this point. Three lines are written at the head of the sheet; then the text resumes after a blank that takes up almost half of the page.

63. Coray: “On their way . . . such as want of rest and want of food.”

64. Coray: “30”

65. Coray: “arrived in Missouri . . .”

66. Nibley note: “Joseph dedicated the site for the Temple on August 3, 1831.”

67. D&C 61.

68. See D&C 61:35.

## CHAP. XLI.

## LUCY SMITH VISITS DETROIT.

I will now return to the time when the Elders set out for Missouri the reader will rescollect that Hyrum smith my oldest son was directed to go by the way of Detroit When he was almost ready I thought this would be a good opportunity for me to visit <the family of> my My Brother Stephen Mack who died <had> been dead some 4 or 5 years this being 1831 and my brother died in 1826—Hyrum was very anxious to have me accompany him He And <as> My niece was about returning home I ~~could~~ this was another inducement for me to undertake the journey I accordingly set off in the month of june our company consisted Hyram Smith Brother Moredock [John Murdock] Lyman Wight Brother Corril Almira Mack my Niece and myself—

When we went on board the boat we held a consultation to Determine whether it was best to say much concerning the gospel at first it was concluded ~~th~~ that we should be entirely still as to religion but finally Hyrum said that Mother might say what she was disposed to and if a difficulty arose that Elders should ~~te~~ assist her out of it.

As Hyrum, my eldest son, was directed to go to Missouri by the way of Detroit, I thought it would be a good opportunity to visit the family of my brother, General Mack. Accordingly, my niece, Almira Mack, Hyrum,—brothers Murdock, Lyman Wight, and Corril and I,<sup>69</sup> set out together for Detroit.

When we first went on board the vessel which took us across the lake, we concluded to keep perfectly still upon the subject of religion; but it was afterwards proposed by Hyrum, that mother Smith should say just what she pleased, and if she got into difficulty, the Elders should help her out of it.

69. Coray: "Almira Mack, Hyrum, and brother Murdock, Lyman Wight, and brother Corril set out . . ."; GAS on Coray: "brother Corril"; RLDS: ". . . Brethren Murdock, Lyman Wight, and Corril . . ."

We had not been long on board when as I was sitting one day ~~on~~ at the door of the cabin very much engaged reading the Book of Mormon a lady accosted me thus What book have you madam you seem very much engaged The Book of Mormon I replied—The Book of Mormon said she what work is that I then gave her a brief history of the coming forth of the work She seemed highly delighted I said that it was a record of the Indians Is it possible ~~said~~ she <exclaimed> why My Husband is a Missionary out now among the Indians and I am going to how I do wish that I could get a book to carry him

just then a Lady <who was a doctors wife> came up very near us with the appearance of wishing to hear our conversation. She paced to and fro before us for some time ~~and~~ carrying herself daintily I assure you. She was sumptuously dressed and in seeming absence of mind she allowed her rich scarf to fall from one shoulder and thus displayed ~~the splendid decoration~~ a neck and bosom so splendidly decorated as almost to dazzle the eyes

after a while she turned ~~she~~ sharply upon me saying Now I do not want to hear any more about that stuff for ~~the~~ anything about Joe Smith who they say he is a Mormon prophet

Shortly after this I was sitting at the door of the cabin, reading the book of Mormon, when a lady came up and inquired of me what book I was reading. "The Book of Mormon," I replied. But the title of the book was no advantage to her, for she had never before heard of there being such a work<sup>70</sup> in existence. By her request I gave her a brief history of the discovery and translation of the book. This delighted her, and when I mentioned that it was a record of the origin of the Aborigines of America, she said, "how I *do wish* I could get one of your books to carry to my husband, for he is now a missionary among the Indians."

Just then, another lady, who was a doctor's wife, came near us, with the appearance of wishing to hear our conversation. She was gorgeously dressed, and carried herself very daintily, I assure you. She wore a splendid satin scarf, which, as she walked to and fro before us, she would occasionally let fall from the left shoulder, and expose a neck and bosom decorated with very brilliant jewels.<sup>71</sup>

Presently she stopped short, and said, "I do not want to hear any more of that stuff, or anything more about Joe Smith either. They say that he is a Mormon Prophet; but it

70. Coray: "such a book . . ."

71. Coray: "decorated with jewels so brilliant as to almost dazzle the eye."

And it is nothing but deception and lies. There was one Mr. ~~More~~ Murdock who believed ~~that th~~ in Joe smith's Doctrine and the Mormons all think that he can cure the sick and can raise the dead. So when Mr. Murdock's wife was sick he refused to send for a doctor although the poor woman wanted him to do so—and so by his neglect his ~~on~~ wife died

I told her I thought she must be a little mistaken in regard to that matter for my son had taken the twins which she left and I had an Idea that I knew some thing near the truth of the affair—

I know all about it said the lady

Well now said perhaps not just stop a moment and I will explain a little

no that I wont said she ~~wi~~

Then ~~said~~ I will introduce you to Mr. Murdock himself and let him tell the story said I turning to Elder Murdock who stood near just before this

However the chamber maid who was very friendly to went down stairs and complained to <the> Lady's husband of his wife's unbecoming behaviour and before she had heard a dozen words from <our> Brother her husband came bustling up stairs said ~~here~~ <here> they tell me you are abusing this old

is nothing but deception and lies. There was one Mr. Murdock, who believed in Joe Smith's doctrines; and the Mormons all believe they can cure the sick and raise the dead; so when this Mr. Murdock's wife was sick, he refused to send for a doctor, although the poor woman wanted him to do so, and so by his neglect his wife died."

I told her I thought she must be a little mistaken, that I was acquainted with the family, and knew something in regard to the matter.

"I know all about it," said the lady.

"Well now, perhaps not," said I, "just stop a moment and I will explain it to you."

"No, I wont," returned the woman.

"Then" said I "I will introduce you to Mr. Murdock, and let him tell the story himself." I then turned to Mr. Murdock, who stood near, and gave her an introduction to him.

Before this, however, the chambermaid went down stairs and complained to the doctor of his wife's unbecoming behaviour, and before she had heard a dozen words from our brother, her husband came bustling up stairs. "Here," said he, to his wife, "they tell me that you are abusing this old lady;" and taking her hand,

lady and taking her hand drew it within his arm marched her off ~~at~~ at ~~us~~ an unusually quick pace.

but by this time a large number of the passengers had gathered round and the subject being introduced the Elders continued it and they preached a most of the time except while they were sleeping untill we arrived in Detroit the impression upon the minds of the passengers was very favorable and we could have disposed of a quantity of Books but we had none with us—

When we landed in detroit it was dark and My Niece thought it would be advisable for us to for us to put up at ~~the~~ <a> tavern as her sister Mrs. Cooper who was the only one of My brothers family who lived in Detroit was in very ill health with a nervous affection which she had been under the influence of for several years—

The next morning Almera ~~Now~~ Mack (Now Mrs. Covey) <and myself> went to her sisters house ~~and found~~ Mrs Cooper was in her room when we arrived lying on the bed Almira went to her but I remained in the sitting room as her housekeeper thought that our both going in at once would agitate ~~her~~ Mrs. Cooper so much that it might be an injury to her

when the usual introductions had passed between the sisters Almira told Mrs. C that I had come to

he drew it within his arm, and marched her off without further ceremony.

This circumstance introduced the subject of "Mormonism" among the passengers, and it continued to be the topic of conversation until we arrived at Detroit.

On landing in Detroit, we repaired immediately to a tavern, as my niece, Mrs. Cooper, was exceedingly nervous, and we deemed it imprudent to disturb her that evening.

The next morning, Almira Mack and myself visited Mrs. Cooper, who was Almira's sister. Almira went into her room, and found her lying on the bed. After the usual salutations she informed Mrs. Cooper that aunt Lucy was in the parlor waiting to see her, and requested the privilege of inviting me into her room; but it was some time before her nerves were sufficiently settled to see me.

Detroit and was waiting ~~for~~ to see her and enquired if she should ask me into the room Stop sister said the Elder ~~sist~~ of two I am so nervous I cannot see her now but I am glad she is here am will be happy to have her come in as soon as my nerves are a little ~~<some>~~ settled again— Well Mrs Cooper said Almira there is another thing I want to mention to you Aunt Lucy has some three or four Elders with her who are yet at the tavern and she wishes to have them invited here also Oh Dear No I am so nervous that I never could endure it in the world it would kill ~~de~~ me do not think of it

However, before I was admitted into her presence, she was further informed that her cousin Hyrum, as also several other Elders, had come to Detroit in company with me, and that I would expect them to be invited as well as myself. But this was refused, Mrs. Cooper declaring that she could not endure the presence of so many visitors. She sent for me, but forbade her sisters inviting any one else.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Almira saw that it was in vain to urge the Matter and when her sister thought that she was composed enough to meet me her she directed her to call me ~~in~~ to her room but Almiras heart was full to overflowing. She knew that Lovisa that is Mrs. cooper had received as much of my attention when a child as either of My own had done and that my feelings for all my brothers children were unusually tender and on this account she felt disagreeable to ~~bea~~ be the bearer of her sisters refusal to meet her cousin and my son but after giving vent to her feelings in a flood of tears she came to me and gave me to understand what ~~<was>~~ the situation of affairs.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

I went into Lovisa's room and she seemed very much pleased to see me after a ~~great~~ some fashionable remarks on both sides I said Lovisa I have 4 of my brethren with me ~~and~~ one of them is your cousin Hyrum

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

I went to her, and after the compliments were over, I said, "Lovisa, I have with me four of my brethren, one of whom is your cousin Hyrum, if I stay they must be invited also."

<and> I want to have them invited here if I stay Oh! No! No! No! exclaimed she ~~cannot~~ I never ~~can~~ can consent to it! ~~Never~~ Why I am so nervous that I ~~can~~ am not in a proper situation to see any one company does so agitate me. ~~so~~

Now Lovisa said I do you know what it is that ails you I can tell you exactly there is a good spirit and an evil one opperating upon you and the bad spirit has almost got possession of your <sup>72</sup>and when the good spirit is the least agitated the evil one strives for the entire mastery and sets the good spirit to faltering ~~but~~ just ready to leave you because it has so slight a foothold—

But you have been sick a long time and you know not that you will live long Many years do you not wish to know something about your saviour before you ~~are~~ are called to meet him She said she did. Well continued I there is another thing these men are clothed with <the> Authority of the everlasting Priesthood ~~and it may be a~~ <through which you may receive> a blessing ~~to you to have them come here~~ <should they come> and it is my wish to have them invited to breakfast— ~~She for~~ furthermore if you refuse to receive my brethren into your house I shall leave it and go myself to the tavern

“Oh! no, no; I never can consent to it,” exclaimed she,—“Why, aunt, I am so nervous, I am scarcely ever able to see any company.”

“Now, Lovisa,” I replied, “do you know what ails you? I can tell you exactly what it is: there is a good spirit and an evil one operating upon you, and the bad spirit has almost got possession of you; and when the good spirit is the least agitated, the evil one strives for the entire mastery, and sets the good spirit to flutering, just ready to be gone, because it has so slight a foothold.

But you have been so for a long time, and you may yet live many years. These men who are with me are clothed with the authority of the Priesthood, and through their administration you might receive a blessing; and even should you not be healed, do you not wish to know something about your Saviour before you meet him. Furthermore, if you refuse to receive my brethren into your house, I shall leave it myself.”

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72. New page: “12” is handwritten on the top left and right margins.



She finally concluded to have a sumptuous dinner prepared and have the brethren all invited to dine with her [\* written at the foot of the sheet: "meanwhile they applied for the Methodist church to preach in but was refused. The minister came the next morning and said that if he had known it to be the request of Gen. Mack's sister they should have preached in his church. I told him there might yet be an opportunity for him to show his good will to us."]

The necessary directions being given. I told her that I would like to have her calm her mind as much as possible and when the Elders came and after she the ceremony of introduction &c was over have them lay hands on her and pray for her to this she consented and and it was done after dinner she went to her room again being a little fatigued—I asked her if she ~~would like~~ wished them to pray for her again she answered very readily that she did for she had been better since they administered to her the they complied with her request and bidding her farewell left the house after they were gone and she found that they were not to be there again she seemed to be very much distressed because she had not urged them to stay and preach

It was finally concluded that a sumptuous dinner should be prepared, and that the brethren should all be invited.

While they tarried with her they administered to her twice by the laying on of hands, in the name of the Lord. They stopped with her during the day, and in the evening left for Pontiac. When she learned that they were not expected back again, she seemed greatly distressed, because she had not urged them to stay and preach.

but the next morning I set out in the stage for Pontiac whither the brethren had gone the day before us my brothers Stepens wife and her son-in-law and daughter Mr and Mrs. Whitmore as soon as I had settled myself at Mr Whitmore's I commenced broached the subject which lay nearest my heart and which I felt the began to explain to them why it was that <sup>73</sup>the elders visited them and < told them > the nature of their mission that Mr. Whitmore paid great attention to what I advanced as did also my brothers Widow sister Mack for untill near tea time when my sister Mack arose saying Sister Lucy you must excuse me for I find my nerves are so discomposed that I cannot bear conversation any longer as the subject is an entirely new one it affects confuses my Mind

stop a moment said I and she sat down I then repeated to her the same in substance which I had told her daughter the two days before but added I if a company of fashionable people were to come in now and begin to talk about parties balls and < the > latest style of making dresses would that agitate you think you she smiled saying I do not know Sister Lucy as it would you know those are very common things—I told her that I would excuse her freely now to go < walk > where she liked but requested her to think of what I had said to her—

The next morning, I and my niece set out for Pontiac, in the first stage, to visit sister Mack, my brother's widow, and her daughter, Mrs. Whitmore. Here we were treated with great attention and respect by Mr. Whitmore and his family. The subject of religion was introduced immediately after our arrival and continued the theme of conversation until near tea-time, when sister Mack arose, saying, "sister Lucy, you must excuse me, for I find my nerves are so agitated I cannot bear conversation any longer; the subject is so entirely new, it confuses my mind."

I then requested her to stop a moment. I then repeated to her the same that I had done two days previous to Lovisa, adding, "suppose a company of fashionable people were to come in and begin to talk about balls, parties, and the latest style of making dresses, do you think that would agitate you so?" She smiled at this, and said, "I do not know that it would, sister Lucy; you know that those are more common things."

I then told her that I would excuse her, and that she might go where she pleased, concluding in my own

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73. New page: "13" is handwritten on the top left and right margins.

I then concluded to say no more to her upon the subject of religion unless she desired me to so so—and finding that she and I were to occupy the same bed I even determined to desist from my usual habit of praying at my bed side but retired to another place and besought God to soften her heart to this influence of the truth but had she not desired me <not> to let her presence influence in the attendance of what I considered to be my duty I should not have ~~foregone~~ knelt in prayer after I entered my room ~~when~~ a short time after we lay [written over “laid”] down to rest My sister said everything is still now and I would be glad to hear you talk if you are not too much fatigued. I should have no objections if you ~~did~~ <do> not think that the subject of religion will make you nervous said Oh not in the least she replied ~~every~~ there is no other noise now to confuse my mind accordingly we commenced <a> conversation which lasted till day light in which she heard and believed the Gospel and never after lost her faith.

In few days Mr. Whitmore accompanied me the house of another niece named Ruth Stanly<sup>74</sup> wife of [blank] Stanley and sister to Mrs. Whitmore. soon after our arrival Mr. Whitmore introduced me to Rev Mr. Ruggles who was the

mind never to mention the subject to her again, unless it should be by her own request. That night we slept in the same room. When I was about retiring to rest, she observed, “do not let my presence prevent you from attending to any duty which you have practised at home.” And soon afterwards she again remarked, “the house is now still, and I would be glad to hear you talk, if you are not too much fatigued.” I told her I would have no objections, provided the subject of religion would not make her nervous; and, as she did not think it would, we commenced conversation, the result of which was, she was convinced of the truth of the Gospel.

In a few days subsequent to this, we all set out to visit Mrs. Stanley, who was also my brother's daughter. Here Mr. Whitmore gave me an introduction to one Mr. Ruggles, the pastor of the Presbyterian church to which this Mr. Whitmore belonged.

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74. Coray also spells this name “Stanly.”

pastor of the presbyterian church to which Mr. H belonged

And you said Mr Ruggles upon shaking hands with me are the Mother of that poor silly foolish boy Joe Smith who pretended to translate the Book of Mormon.

I looked him steadily in the face and replied I am sir the Mother of Joseph Smith but why may I ask do you call him a foolish silly boy—

Because said his Reverence that he should imagine that he was going to break down all the churches with that simple <mormon> Book

Did you ever read that book I enquired. No said he it is to far beneath me to be worthy of my notice—Then I think sir I said you do not abide by that scripture which saith search all things—and Now sir let me tell you boldly that the Book of Mormon contains the everlasting Gospel and it was written for the salvation of your soul by the gift and power of the holy Ghost

“Pooh said the Minister nonsense—but I have no fears ~~but~~ of any mems. of my church being lead away by any such dedmation[?] for they have too much inteligence Now Mr. Ruggles said and I spoke earnestly for the spirit of God was upon me Mark my words as true as God lives before 3 years we will

“And you,” said Mr. Ruggles, upon shaking hands with me, “are the mother of that poor, foolish, silly boy, Joe Smith, who pretended to translate the Book of Mormon.”<sup>75</sup>

I looked him steadily in the face, and replied, “I am, sir, the mother of Joseph Smith; but why do you apply to him such epithets as those?”

“Because,” said his reverence, “that he should imagine he was going to break down all other churches with that simple Mormon book.”

“Did you ever read that book?” I inquired.

“No,” said he, “it is beneath my notice.”

“But,” rejoined I, “the Scriptures say, ‘Prove all things;’ and now sir, let me tell you boldly, that that book contains the everlasting Gospel, and it was written for the salvation of your soul, by the gift and power of the Holy Ghost.”

“Pooh,” said the minister, “nonsense—I am not afraid of any member of my church being led astray by such stuff; they have too much intelligence.”

“Now, Mr. Ruggles,” said I, and I spoke with emphasis, for the Spirit of God was upon me, “mark my words—as true as God lives, before

75. Coray: “Smith, who pretended . . .”; RLDS: “Joe Smith, who pretends to translate . . .”

have more than one third of your church and sir whether you believe it or not we will take the very deacon too

this produced a hearty laugh from the company which was quite a large one at the expense of the reverend Minister.—

Not to be tedious I will say that I remained in this section about 3 weeks after our brethren left me making my whole stay 4 weeks during which time I labored incessantly for the truths sake and gained the hearts of many believers among whom was David Dort and his wife. These were anxious to have an Elder sent to them and some of them said if I would use my influence to in <their> favor they would pledge themselves that the man who came should not lack for anything and Mr Cooper my Nephew of Detroit said that if we would dress our elders in broadcloth instead of home spun it would add greatly to their influence. I promised him that the next one who came to preach to them should be more genteel

This was just as I embarked for home where I arrived in a few days in perfect health and safety and found my family well. I mentioned the state of things where I had been to Joseph the first opportunity he seemed pleased that I had succeeded in preparing the way for a minister of the Gospel and [blank of

three years we will have more than one-third of your church; and, sir, whether you believe it or not, we will take the very *Deacon* too."

This produced a hearty laugh at the expense of the minister.

Not to be tedious, I will say that I remained in this section of country about four weeks, during which time I laboured incessantly for the truth's sake, and succeeded in gaining the hearts of many, among whom were David Dort and his wife. Many desired me to use my influence to have an Elder sent into that region of country, which I agreed to do. As I was about starting home, Mr. Cooper observed that our ministers would have more influence if they dressed in broadcloth.

When I returned, I made known to Joseph the situation of things where I had been, so he despatched brother Jared Carter to that country. And in order that he might not lack influence, he was dressed in a suit of superfine broadcloth. He went immediately into the midst of Mr. Rugles' church, and, in a short time,

approximately 3½ inches] sent Brother Jared carter to labor with them but not untill we had him fitted out as I promised Mr Cooper with a suit of superfine broadcloth He went into the midst of Mr Rugles's church and converted 70 of his best member and as I said he took the very deacon to<sup>76</sup> for although I did not know anything about the situation of ~~the~~ His church he had a very intelligent ~~deacon~~ by the name of Bent who is now a high councillor in Nauvoo and he told me the last time I saw him which was not a week since that he had never <not> forgotten my prophecy upon his head

~~soon after~~ Bro Samuel arrived <returned> a home ~~within a month~~ ~~of the~~ in less than a month after my ~~return~~ <arrival> and remained untill the next Oct when a revelation was given commanding him <and Wm McLellin> to <go to the town of> Hiram which was near 30 Miles distant and warn the people in the name of the Lord

brought away seventy of his best members, among whom was the *Deacon*, just as I told the minister. This Deacon was brother Bent, who now presides over the High Council.<sup>77</sup>

In less than a month after my arrival, Samuel returned home from Missouri, and remained until the succeeding October, at which time a revelation was given, commanding him and Wm. Mc Lellin to go to the town of Hiram, which was about thirty miles distant.<sup>78</sup>

76. Coray: "was the very Deacon, too . . ."

77. GAS: "Samuel Bent"; IE and Nibley: "Samuel Bent"; Nibley note: "Samuel Bent was baptized in January, 1833, by Jared Carter." RLDS (1912, 1969): "October, 1838, Samuel Bent was made a member of the High Council at Far West, Missouri. One year later he was chosen a member of the High Council at Commerce [afterwards called Nauvoo], Illinois. We have no record of his being president of the High Council in the lifetime of Joseph Smith. May have been made such by the faction under Brigham Young. He died at Garden Grove, Iowa, August 16, 1846. —H.C.S" (Heman C. Smith; brackets his).

78. Hiram was about twenty-five miles south and slightly east of Kirtland.

He <began to> make preparations ~~for~~ to set out on this mission but before he was ready to start ~~since~~ he heard a voice in the night which called to him sayin Samuel arise as <im>mediately and go forth on the mission which thou wast commanded to take to Hyrum—he rose and took what clothing he had in readiness and set off without eating

He traveled 15 miles that day warning the people by the way and the next day he arrived at Hyrum where he met Wm McLellin according to previous appointment for they ~~went~~ <did not> go the same rout ~~<and>~~ as Brother McLellin ~~rode his horse~~ <but as brother McLellin rode he got> there as soon as Samuel did they held a meeting <as> soon as they could make arrangements to do so and being tolerably well received they continued to preach in Hyrum and the surrounding country but they had not been in this place long untill they were sent for by a woman who had been sick many months and had prayed much that the Lord would send ~~se~~ some of the Mormon into that country that she might have hands laid on her for the recovery of her health. Samuel went immediately to her and administerd to her by the Laying on of hands in the name of the Lord and she was healed and was also baptized—

Samuel commenced making preparations, but before he was ready to start, he heard a voice in the night, which said, "Samuel, arise immediately, and go forth on the mission which thou wast commanded to take to Hiram." He arose from his bed and took what clothing he had in readiness, and set off without further delay.

On arriving at the above-mentioned place, he found Wm. E. Mc Lellin there according to previous appointment. Here they commenced preaching together, and after labouring a while in this town, they went from place to place, bearing testimony of the truth in whatever city, town, or village they entered, until the twenty-seventh of December, at which time they arrived at Kirtland.



after finishing this mission he returned home and was with us until Orson Hyde was baptized soon after which a revelation was given commanding Samuel and brother Hyde to go into the eastern country to preach the Gospel see revelation given jan 1832 p [blank]

<sup>79</sup>They set out on this mission without delay calling at private and <public> houses as much as was possible for them to do and warning them <people> to flee from the wrath to come untill they came <got> to Boton where <and> they preached ~~here and in several other cities~~ <from city to city> continueing their Labour incessantly untill they were called home by <a> revelation in which the Lord declared that ~~the~~ (Hyrum) <was already at home> and Samuel and William who were all away from home preaching in different places should return and receive the ordinance of the washing of feet for their skirts were clear of the blood of this generation.<sup>80</sup>

Samuel was not long permitted to remain at home in quiet; on the first of January<sup>81</sup> he was sent, with Orson Hyde, on a mission into the eastern country. They went and preached from city to city until they were called home to receive the ordinance of The Washing of Feet.

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79. At the top right margin of this page has been written "9 L" or possibly "L".

80. Joseph Smith's record mentions footwashing on 5 October 1835 when the First Presidency and Twelve were meeting, then again on 12 November; but it is not clear who was present. Only nine of the Twelve were at the November meeting. Samuel H. Smith and Orson Hyde returned to Kirtland on 22 December 1832; at a meeting in January 1833, the ordinance was again performed. After the temple's dedication, the ordinance of footwashing was again performed on 29 March 1836; but the only Smiths named as participating in this ordinance are Joseph Jr., Joseph Sr., and Hyrum (HC 2:287, 307-10, 430).

81. Lucy has mistaken the date by about three weeks. Joseph Jr. received the revelation instructing Samuel Smith and Orson Hyde to serve this mission to the East on 25 January 1832. See D&C 75:13.

Coray/Pratt: 1853

## CHAP. XLII.

AN EXTRACT FROM THE HISTORY OF JOSEPH THE PROPHET—SIDNEY RIGDON'S TRANSGRESSION—TROUBLE IN JACKSON COUNTY.

I shall now return to the month of September, 1831.<sup>82</sup> Joseph, at this time, was engaged in translating the Bible, and Sidney Rigdon was writing for him. About the first of this month, Joseph came to the conclusion to remove himself and clerk, as well as their families, to the before-mentioned town of Hiram, in order to expedite the work. They moved to the house of Father Johnson,<sup>83</sup> and lived with him in peace until the following March, when a circumstance occurred, which I shall relate in his own words:—

“On the twenty-fifth of March, (1832,) the twins before mentioned, which had been sick of the measles for some time, caused us to be broke of our rest in taking care of them, especially my wife. In the evening I told her she had better retire to rest with one of the children, and I would watch with the sickest child. In the night, she told me I had better lie down on the trundle bed, and I did so, and was soon after awoke<sup>84</sup> by her screaming *murder!* when I found myself going out of the door in the hands of about a dozen men; some of whose hands were in my hair, and some hold of my shirt, drawers, and limbs. The foot of the trundle bed was towards the door, leaving only room enough for the door to swing. My wife heard a gentle tapping on the windows, which she then took no particular notice of (but which was unquestionably designed for ascertaining whether we were all asleep), and, soon after, the mob burst open the door and surrounded the bed in an instant, and, as I said, the first I knew, I was going out of the door, in the hands of an infuriated mob. I made a desperate struggle, as I was forced out, to extricate myself, but only cleared one leg, with which I made a pass at one man, and he fell on the door steps. I was immediately confined again, and they swore by God they would<sup>85</sup> kill me if I did not be still, which quieted me. As they passed around the house with me, the fellow that I kicked, came to me and thrust his hand into my face all covered with blood, (for I hit him on the nose,) and with an exulting horse laugh, muttered, ‘Ge, gee, God d—mn ye, I’ll fix ye.’<sup>86</sup>

“They then seized me by the throat, and held on till I lost my breath. Af-

82. Coray: “September which immediately preceeded the mission of the Elders to Misouri.”

83. GAS, IE, and Nibley: “John Johnson”

84. IE and Nibley: “awakened”

85. IE is identical to Pratt; Nibley: “they swore they would . . .”

86. IE is identical to Pratt; Nibley: “‘Ge, gee, I’ll fix ye.’”

ter I came to, as they passed along with me, about thirty rods from the house, I saw Elder Rigdon stretched out on the ground, whither they had dragged him by the heels. I supposed he was dead.

"I began to plead with them, saying, you will have mercy and spare my life, I hope. To which they replied, '*God d—mn ye, call on yer God for help, we'll show ye no mercy;*' and the people began to show themselves in every direction: one coming from the orchard had a plank, and I expected they would kill me, and carry me off on a plank. They then turned to the right, and went on about thirty rods further<sup>87</sup>—about sixty rods from the house, and about thirty from where I saw Elder Rigdon—into the meadow, where they stopped, and one said, '*Simonds, Simonds,*' (meaning, I supposed, Simonds Rider,) '*pull up his drawers, pull up his drawers, he will take cold.*' Another replied, '*A'nt<sup>88</sup> ye going to kill 'im? A'nt ye going to kill 'im?*' when a group of mobbers collected a little way off, and said, '*Simonds, Simonds, come here;*' and Simonds charged those who had hold of me to keep me from touching the ground (as they had done all the time), lest I should get a spring upon them. They went and held a council, and as I could occasionally overhear a word, I supposed it was to know whether it was best to kill me. They returned, after a while, when I learned that they had concluded not to kill me, but pound and scratch me well, tear off my shirt and drawers, and leave me naked: one cried, '*Simonds, Simonds, where is the tar bucket?*' '*I don't know,*' answered one, '*where 'tis, Eli's left it.*' They ran back and fetched the bucket of tar, when one exclaimed, '*God d—mn it, let us tar up<sup>89</sup> his mouth;*' and they tried to force the tar paddle into my mouth; I twisted my head around, so that they could not; and they cried out, '*God d—mn ye, hold up<sup>90</sup> your head and let us give ye some tar.*' They then tried to force a vial into my mouth, and broke it in my teeth. All my clothes were torn off me, except my shirt collar; and one man fell on me and scratched my body with his nails like a mad cat, and then muttered out, *God d—mn ye that's the way<sup>91</sup> the Holy Ghost falls on folks.*<sup>92</sup>

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87. Nibley only: "farther"

88. RLDS: "ar'nt"; IE: "a'nt" here and in the next line; Nibley: "ain't"

89. Nibley: "exclaimed, 'Let us tar up . . .'"

90. Nibley: "cried out, 'Hold up . . .'"

91. Nibley: "muttered out, 'That's the way the Holy Ghost . . .'"

92. According to Keith Perkins ("The Prophet," 101), a Mrs. Gresham Judson "used her influence with some men from Mantua, Ohio," to accomplish this unprovoked attack. Symonds Ryder described the mobbers as "citizens from Shalersville, Garrettsville, and Hiram" who were Campbellites, Methodists, and Baptists. A Dr. Dennison, brought along to emasculate Joseph, instead tried to force him to drink nitric acid, a poison. Susan Easton Black ("Hiram," 170), further identifies the mobbers: McClentick, who seized Joseph by the hair, Streeter, son of a Campbellite minister, Pelatiah Allen, Esq., who supplied a barrel of whiskey, and individuals surnamed Mason, Fullars, and Cleveland.

"They then left me, and I attempted to rise, but fell again; I pulled the tar away from my lips, &c., so that I could breathe more freely, and after a while I began to recover, and raised myself up, when I saw two lights. I made my way towards one of them, and found it was father Johnson's. When I had come to the door I was naked, and the tar made me look as though I was covered with blood; and when my wife saw me, she thought I was all mashed to pieces, and fainted. During the affray abroad, the sisters of the neighbourhood had collected at my room. I called for a blanket, they threw me one and shut the door; I wrapped it around me, and went in. \* \* \* \*<sup>93</sup>

"My friends spent the night in scraping and removing the tar, and washing and cleansing my body; so that by morning I was ready to be clothed again. This being Sabbath morning, the people assembled for meeting at the usual hour of worship, and among those came also the mobbers, viz., Simonds Rider, a Campbellite preacher, and leader of the mob; one M'Clectic, son of a Campbellite minister; and Pelatiah Allen, Esq.,<sup>94</sup> who gave the mob a barrel of whisky to raise their spirits; and many others. With my flesh all scarified and defaced, I preached to the congregation, as usual, and in the afternoon of the same day baptized three individuals."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, p. 611. *Millennial Star*, vol. 14, p. 148.

Lucy: 1844-45

<sup>95</sup>It will be observed by the Times and seasons that sydney came up to Kirtland before Joseph set out for Missouri—<sup>96</sup>soon after <sydney> he arrived <Kirtland there was a prayer> we attended a meeting which was held in a barn which My husband had prepared with seats so that <we could hold> meetings could be held in it in the summer as Sydney had just arrived but a short time previous from Hiram the brethren were anxious to hear <a sermon> from him

Coray/Pratt: 1853

Sidney Rigdon went immediately to Kirtland, but Joseph remained at father Johnson's to finish his preparations for a journey, which he contemplated making to Missouri. Immediately after Sidney's arrival at Kirtland, we met for the purpose of holding a prayer meeting, and, as Sidney had not been with us for some time, we hoped to hear from him upon this occasion.

93. IE retains but Nibley omits the asterisks.

94. Coray: "viz., Simonds Rider, a Campbelite minister; and Pelatiah Allen . . ."

95. New page: "N.B." is written within a hand with a pointing finger.

96. Reynolds C. Cahoon's diary gives an exact date for this incident: Thursday, 5 July 1832. Charles C. Rich also dates it after Joseph Smith's second trip to Missouri, meaning that Lucy mistakenly placed it about three months too early (Van Wagoner, *Sidney*, 130).

and after waiting sometime for him he came in appearing much agitated he did not go to the stand but but commenced pacing back and forth through an aisle that was left between the seats of my husband spoke to him about preaching said he would like to hear him speak sydney paid little attention to what he said but spoke in a very <sydney> replied vehemently that there should not be a prayer put up <saying that> the keys of the kingdom were <are> rent from the church and there shall not be a prayer put up in this place to day.<sup>97</sup>

Oh no said My husband I hope not. They are said sydney I tell the keys are rent from this people and no man or woman shall put a prayer here this day—

This produced a great excitement in the minds of some <many> of the sisters and some brethren—The brethren stared and turned pale—the sisters cryed and for a few minutes we were in indecision were at a stand what course to take

Sister Howe <particularly> was much terrified Oh! dear Me said she what shall we do what shall we do the keys of the Kingdom are taken from us— <and what shall we do Hyrum was a I tell repeated Syney the with much apparent feeling the keys of kingdom are re <wrent>

We waited a long time before he made his appearance; at last he came in, seemingly much agitated. He did not go to the stand, but began to pace back and forth through the house. My husband said, "Brother Sidney, we would like to hear a discourse from you to-day." Brother Rigdon replied, in a tone of excitement, "The keys of the kingdom are rent from the Church, and there shall not be a prayer put up in this house this day."

"Oh! no," said Mr. Smith, "I hope not." "I tell you they are," rejoined Elder Rigdon, "and no man or woman shall put up a prayer in this place to-day."

This greatly disturbed the minds of many sisters, and some brethren. The brethren stared and turned pale, and the sisters cried.

Sister Howe, in particular, was very much terrified: "Oh dear me!" said she, "what shall we do? what shall we do? The keys of the kingdom are taken from us, and what shall we do?" "I tell you again," said Sidney, with much feeling, "the keys of the kingdom are taken from you, and

97. Coray: "in this place to-day."

from ~~this~~ <you> and you never will have them again untill you build me a new house.

Hyrum was vexed at this frivolous maneuvering he got up and took his hat saying *I'll* put a stop to this fuss pretty quick I am going for Joseph

Oh do'nt do'nt for pity's sake go bring Joseph here it is no use for brother sydney says ~~he has~~ we have lost the keys of the kingdom and where is the use of bringing Joseph here

Hyrum paid no attention to her but went for a horse and set out that ~~night~~ <evening> which was Saturday after his brother he got there in the after part of the night Joseph was in bed come said Hyrum laughing Joseph get up you must go back with me to Kirtland and attend to things there we are in great trouble ~~we~~ have lost the keys of the kingdom and they are having a terrible time—

Joseph did not know what he could mean but when Hyrum told him what ~~kind~~ <a> freak had got into Sydney's head Joseph said that he would start as soon as he could get his breakfast— Father Johnson offered him a horse for he was a kind old man and would do anything in his power for Joseph or any of our family—

you never will have them again until you *build me a new house*.

Hyrum was vexed at this frivolous nonsense, and, taking his hat, he went out of the house, saying, "*I'll* put a stop to this fuss, pretty quick; I'm going for Joseph."

"Oh don't," said sister Howe, "for pity's sake, don't go for him. Brother Sidney says the keys of the kingdom are taken from us, and where is the use of bringing Joseph here."

Hyrum took a horse, and went immediately to father Johnson's, for Joseph. He arrived there in the after-part of the night, and having aroused Joseph, he said, "You must go straight with me to Kirtland; we are having terrible times there, and I want you to come up and see to things."<sup>98</sup>

Joseph being informed of the precise situation of affairs, he got a horse of<sup>99</sup> father Johnson, and started without delay, with Hyrum, for Kirtland.

98. GAS on Coray: "night; and having aroused Joseph, he said, "you must go straight with me to Kirtland; we are having terrible times there and I want you to come up and see to things" IE and Nibley also omit this passage.

99. IE and Nibley: "from"

They were soon on their journey and arrived in Kirtland soon after the afternoon meeting began Joseph got up and told the brethren to cast of all their fears for they were under a great mistake that they were under no transgression and said he I myself hold the Keys of this last dispensation and I forever will hold them in time and in eternity so set your hearts at rest for all is well

after preaching a comforting discourse he appointed a council to set the next day in which brother Sydney<sup>101</sup> was tried for having lied in the name of the Lord and Joseph told him that he must suffer what he had and you shall said he be delivered over to the buffetings of satan and the Devil will handle you as one man handleth another and the less priesthood you have the better it will be for you therefore I advise you to give up your licence—

Sydney did as he was counselled and he afterwards stated that he the most astonishing encounters with the Devil on the following night that ever a man had he said that ~~the~~ he was dragged out of bed 3 times

On his arrival there, the brethren were collected for meeting. Joseph went upon the stand, and informed the brethren that they were under a great mistake, that the Church had not transgressed; “and, as for the keys of the kingdom,” said he, “I, myself, hold the keys of this Last Dispensation, and will for ever hold them,<sup>100</sup> both in time and in eternity; so set your hearts at rest upon that point, all is right.”

He then went on and preached a comforting discourse, after which he appointed a council to sit the next day, by which Sidney was tried, for having lied in the name of the Lord. In this council Joseph told him, he must suffer for what he had done, that he should be delivered over to the buffetings of Satan, who would handle him as one man handleth another, that the less Priesthood he had, the better it would be for him, and that it would be well for him to give up his license.

This counsel Sidney complied with, yet he had to suffer for his folly, for, according to his own account, he was dragged out of bed by the devil, three times in one night, by his heels. Whether this be true or

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100. At this point, a new page begins in Pratt, at the foot of which is a footnote without the usual asterisk in the text. The footnote reads: “See *Times and Seasons*, vol. V, p 626. *Mil. Star*, vol. xiv, p. 163.” The page ends with the phrase: “At this place, Joseph had poison administered . . .” The *Times and Seasons* reference is to the events on the latter part of the page, since p. 626 describes the coach trip back from St. Louis, the runaway, Whitney’s broken leg, and their stay at the inn where Joseph thought they were given poison.

101. Coray: “in which council Sidney . . .”



successively on the same night one thing is certain ~~that is~~ <viz.> his contrition of soul was apparently as great as a man could well live through after this he made an humble confession and received had <another> license the first is still in brother Whitney's hands.

When Joseph had gotten the church on <in> a traveling condition again he returned to Hiram and soon set off for Missouri according to the Times and Seasons refer to T.S.<sup>103</sup>

not, one thing is certain, his contrition of soul was as great as a man could well live through.<sup>102</sup>

After he had sufficiently humbled himself, he received another license; but the old one was retained, and is now in the hands of Bishop Whitney.

On the second of April, 1832, Joseph set off for Missouri, accompanied by Newel K. Whitney, Peter Whitmer, and Jesse Gauze.<sup>104</sup> They were taken by brother Pitkin to the town of Warren, where they were joined by brother Rigdon, and they all pursued their journey together.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

I shall now return my steps unto the 1st of sept. when Joseph began to make preparations to remove his family to Hy<i>ram This he did in order to facillitate the translation of the Bible which he had previously commenced—The brethren also who had been commanded to go to Missouri were making every preparation to obey the voice of the Lord on this wise designing to leave Kirtlang for Misouri the ensuing set which they <accordingly> did—on the 12th day of September Joseph ~~started~~ removed with his family which consisted of his wife and two adopted children who were the twins before spoken of ~~shortly after~~ <in a short time> he was followed by Sydney Rigdon who followed settled his family near to Joseph in order to act in his office of scribe to Joseph as is mentioned in my sons history with many ~~revelations~~ particulars not immediately connected with my narative Nothing of importance he says occurred untill 25 of—March—here <the> reviser may follow the Times and seasons commencing P. 611—thence 624 first sentence ~~Hence~~<sup>105</sup> While

102. IE follows Pratt, but Nibley omits the last sentence and a half, ending with "for his folly." Nibley, for the first of three times, correctly indicates an omission with ellipses.

103. "History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons* 5, no. 16 (2 Sept. 1844): 624-25.

104. Coray: "and Joseph Jesse Gauze."

105. Here appears the drawing of a hand with a pointing finger containing the letters "TR" or "JR."

Joseph was gone Emma was by her husband's <and-bishop Whitney> request moved to Kirtland and <as> Bishop Whitney desired her to go to his house and tarry with his wife untill her husband and himself [*sic*] (for Brother Whitney went with Joseph to Missouri) returned home—When Emma came to brother <sister> Whitney's house and made know her design and the wish of Her Mr Sister Whitney's husband) Sister Whitney communicated the same to an <elderly> maiden-Aunt who lived with her at but the Aunt whose name was Sarrah Smith was highly offended and declared that if Emma staid she would go away upon this Sister Whitney ~~ret~~ invited Emma to leave.<sup>106</sup> ~~This came to the ears of said~~ This However I was never aware of until very lately and although <he [*sic*] lived> with us and very near us She said nothing of the mortifying circumstance least it should injure feelings. She was then young and being naturally ambitious <and> her whole heart was occupied in the work of the Lord and she felt no interest ex for the church and the cause of truth whatever She found her hands found to do she did with her might and did not ask the selfish question Shall I be benefited any more than any one else If Elders were sent away to preach she was the First to go volunteer her services to assist in clothing them for their journey She lived Her countenance shining wore a happy expression of Zeal and let her own privations be what they might like the son of Altnomak<sup>107</sup> she scorned to complain ed—

Lucy: 1844-45

She lived with brother Wm Cahoon and Brother Williams occasionally spending a short time with us.

Coray/Pratt: 1853

During her husband's absence, Emma Smith lived with William Cahoon and brother Williams, occa-

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106. Lucy has drawn on Joseph's personal history for this account. He says: "After we left Hiram, fearing for the safety of my family, on account of the mob, I wrote to my wife, (in connection with bishop Whitney,) to have her go to Kirtland and tarry with his family till our return. She went to Kirtland, to brother Whitney's, and sister Whitney's aunt, Sarah Smith, (who was then living with her,) inquired of her niece if my wife was going to stay there; and, and on being answered in the affirmative, said she should go away, for there was not room enough for both of them; accordingly sister Whitney invited my wife to leave, which she did immediately; having enjoyed about two hours visit. She then went to brother Reynolds Cahoon's, and father Smith's, and doctor Williams', where I found her, very disconsolate on my return" ("History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons* 5, no. 16 [2 Sept. 1844]: 624). According to Elizabeth Ann's memoirs, her husband had not told her of Joseph's arrangement. She was ill at the back of the house when Emma came and did not know that Aunt Sarah had turned her away. When she found out, she was mortified since "I would have shared the last morsel with either of them" (Newell and Avery, 43-44). They are mistaken, however, in saying that Emma told Lucy about this experience. Joseph's writings were Lucy's source.

107. Possibly "Altnomah." I have been unable to identify what is obviously a tag of poetry referring to a stoic.

When her during Joseph's absence  
 she was not Idle for she ~~moments~~  
 <labored> faithfully with for the in-  
 terest of those with whom she staid  
 cheering them by her lively <and  
 spirited> conversation Now see  
 Times and season Page 626 com-  
 mencing date May 6th<sup>108</sup>

sionally spending a short time with  
 us.<sup>109</sup>

Coray/Pratt: 1853

On the twenty-fourth of April, Joseph arrived at Independence. He made haste to attend to the business that lay before him, and on the sixth of May following, he, with brothers Whitney and Rigdon, left Independence for Kirtland. When they arrived at New Albany, brother Whitney had the misfortune to get his leg broken.<sup>110</sup> This detained Joseph, who remained, in order to take care of him, four weeks at Mr. Porter's public-house in Greenville.<sup>111</sup> While they were at this place, Joseph had poison administered to him in his food, which operated very violently upon his system, but he soon recovered, and the next morning they pursued<sup>112</sup> their journey again, and arrived in Kirtland some time in the month of June.

Lucy: 1844-45

Coray/Pratt: 1853

After the return of Joseph <her hus-  
 band> a comfortable house was

When Joseph got home, he immedi-  
 ately procured a house for his

108. This *Times and Seasons* extract recounts Joseph, Sidney, and Newel's return to Kirtland and the mishap that broke Newel's leg. It is summarized below in Pratt.

109. GAS on Pratt: "lived with William <Reynolds> Cahoon . . ."; GAS on Coray: "Reynolds Cahoon Fa. Smith and brother Dr. [Foster?] Williams . . ."; IE and Nibley edit this list to read: "with Reynolds Cahoon, Father Smith, and Dr. F. G. Williams, occasionally spending a short time with us." Since Lucy is the narrator, these changes insert the Smith household into the list twice, by dint of simply picking up the *Times and Seasons* version (5:624) without reading it carefully. Nibley note: "Emma at this time had one child, her adopted daughter, Júlia Murdock. Joseph Murdock died in March, 1832."

110. 1853 note: "See *Times and Seasons*, vol. V, p. 626, *Mil. Star*, vol. xiv, p. 163." Newel Whitney's leg was broken between Vincennes and New Albany, Indiana, when the horses ran away with the stage coach in which they were riding. Joseph Smith stayed with Newel for a month in Greenville, Indiana, while the leg healed (Perkins, "The Prophet," 105). RLDS duplicates the 1853 note; IE and Nibley omit it.

111. Coray: "at Greensville . . ."

112. They left the morning after the alleged poisoning, about four weeks after their arrival. Coray: "As soon as brothe [sic] Whitney was able to travel again, they pursued . . ."

provided for Emma and her adopted daughter and this house belonged to Brothers Whitney and Gilbert being previously occupied for a store<sup>113</sup> soon after She moved into this house—Joseph left her again <in the care of Hyrum who watched over her with the most faithful care and attention> and as he observes while he was gone his son Joseph Smith the 3thd was born

soon after Joseph returned from the eastern country he had arrangements made for establishing a school for the Elders and sent for them to come in it was at this time that a revelation was given that my children who were absent should return and the school of prophets was organized which is spoken of in the Book of Covenants<sup>116</sup> and which was held in an upper room of the house that Joseph occupied

when My sons returned and had rested themselves Joseph took them with all of the males Mr. Smith and Carlos as well as those who had been away on Missions to the room Where the school of the

wife;<sup>114</sup> and after making his family comfortable, he went on a mission to the East, leaving his family in the care of Hyrum.

Shortly after he left, Joseph Smith the third was born.<sup>115</sup>

After Joseph returned from his mission to the East, he established a school for the Elders, and called them all home from the different parts of the country where they had been labouring. This was called the *School of the Prophets*; and was kept in an upper room of the house in which Joseph resided.

At this time my sons were all called home, and, shortly after they arrived, Joseph took all the male portion of our family into the before-named school-room, and administered to them the ordinance of

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113. Lucy is mistaken. Joseph did not provide Emma with a house. They returned to the John Johnson home at Hiram from June till October, then Joseph moved Emma into rooms on the second floor of the Whitney store and left for New York City. Lucy is also mistaken (next paragraph) in saying that they moved into the store after Joseph's return and that the building was no longer used as a store.

114. Coray: "for Emma . . ."

115. RLDS (1912, 1969) note: "According to the account of Joseph Smith he returned from this Eastern trip on the day his son was born, November 6, 1832, *Times and Seasons*, volume 5, page 67. Church History, volume 1, page 259." Nibley note: "Date of birth of Joseph Smith III is given as November 6, 1832."

116. See D&C 88:127-41.

prophets was kept and girding himself administered to them the ordinance of washing of feet<sup>117</sup> according to the directions of the Savior who said If I wash your feet ye ought also to wash one anothers feet—<sup>118</sup> When the ceremony was over the spirit of the Lord fell upon them and they spoke in other tongues <and prophesied> as on the day of pentecost and the brethren gathered together to witness the manifestation of the power of God.<sup>119</sup> I was on the farm a short distance from the place where the meeting was held but then My children who could not bear that “Mother should loose anything despatched an messenger in a great haste for me I was putting some <loaves> bread into the oven but the brother who came for me would not wait till I had set my bread to baking <so> I went and shared with the rest one of the most glorious outpourings of the spirit of God that had ever been witnessed in the church at that time—This produced great joy and satisfaction among the Brethren and sisters

Washing of Feet; after which the Spirit fell upon them, and they spake in tongues, and prophesied. The brethren gathered together to witness the manifestations of the power of God. At that time I was on the farm a short distance from the place where the meeting was held, and my children being anxious that I should enjoy the meeting, sent a messenger in great haste for me.<sup>120</sup> I went without delay, and shared with the rest, the most glorious outpouring of the Spirit of God that had ever before taken place in the Church.

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117. According to Milton V. Backman (“Establish,” 217), washing feet was the last of the four preparatory ordinances comprising the “Kirtland endowment.” The first three were: (1) Washing the body, performed in homes or in the printing office in which the School of the Prophets was also held, (2) Anointing, and (3) Sealing the anointing. Foot washing “was introduced to . . . the School of the Prophets but . . . discontinued temporarily” and was then “instituted in the temple shortly before the Savior told Joseph that members had received an endowment.” See also Backman, *The Heavens Resound*, 265-66, 285-94, 300-302.

118. See John 13:4-15: “If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another’s feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you.”

119. See Acts 2:1-11.

120. Coray: “after me . . .” A few weeks later, on 29 October 1835, Joseph Smith noted in

and we felt as though we had about  
gained the victory over the adversary  
and truly it was as as the poet says

We could not believe  
That we ever should grieve  
Or ever should sorrow again

But alas! how our joy was measure-  
ably turned to grief for not 2 months  
until news came to our ears of the  
difficulties in Jackson county be-  
tween the brethren and the mob in

A Messenger arrived from Mis-  
souri about [two inch blank on the  
line] and my sons were then all at  
work preparing apiece of ground  
for sowing wheat the ensuing fall  
Joseph was standing on the porch  
near the door washing his face and  
hands when the despatch arrived  
and <who> stated that the breth-  
ren were driven and brethren Pat-  
tridge and [blank] had been tarred  
and feathered and put into prison  
and that many some even killed and  
brother Dibble among the others  
had been shot

When Joseph heard this he was  
overwhelmed with grief He burst  
into tears and sobbed aloud Oh my  
brethren my brethren said he. Oh  
that I had been with you to have

We felt that we had gained a de-  
cided victory over the adversary, and,

"We could not believe,  
That we ever should grieve,  
Or ever should sorrow again."

But, alas! our joy was soon mingled  
with woe. It was not two months<sup>121</sup>  
before a messenger arrived from Mis-  
souri, with tidings of the difficulty in  
Jackson county; that brothers Par-  
tridge and Allen had been tarred  
and feathered, and put into prison;  
that some had been killed, and oth-  
ers shot;<sup>122</sup> and among the latter,  
was brother Dibble, who had been  
dangerously wounded.

Upon hearing this, Joseph was  
overwhelmed with grief. He burst  
into tears, and sobbed aloud. "Oh,  
my brethren! my brethren;" he ex-  
claimed, "would that I had been

his diary that "Father and Mother Smith visited us" in his office, apparently an occurrence rare enough to be remarked (2:293).

121. GAS on Coray: "It was but few . . ." IE, and Nibley: "It was but a few . . ." Lucy is mistaken about the date. The mass meeting of old settlers in Jackson County was on 18 April 1833, but the tarring and feathering of Edward Partridge and Charles Allen occurred on 20 July.

122. GAS on Pratt: "had been tarred and feathered, and put into prison; this difficulty continued; some were killed . . ." Nibley: "Partridge and Allan"; Nibley note: "This outrage occurred on July 20, 1833."

shared with you your trouble—My God My God what shall we in such a case of trial

after his first burst of grief was over he called a councill and it was resolved that the brethren should be called from the surrounding country to Kirtland and when Sufficient time was had to prepare those in Kirtland and who ever should be called from abroad that they would all set off for Misouri to ~~arrest the brethren against the~~ oppressive neighbors in protecting their rights. <for the purpose of providing of [sic] forming> a treaty with the mob and also to take clothing and money to relieve them in their distress as soon as they could make the necessary collections and preparations\* [no corresponding insert] they started and there was near 200 in number thoroughly armed equiped.

with you, to have shared your fate. Oh my God, what shall I do in such a trial as this.”

After his grief had a little subsided, he called a council, and it was resolved that the brethren from the surrounding country, as well as those in Kirtland, should go immediately to Missouri, and take with them money and clothing to relieve the brethren in their distress.<sup>123</sup> Just before this, Jesse Smith,<sup>124</sup> my husband's nephew, and Amos Fuller, arrived in Kirtland from Potsdam, and Jesse determined to go with the camp to Missouri. He was the son of Jesse Smith, my husband's oldest brother, of whose peculiar disposition I have spoken before. Knowing that his father would censure us, I endeavoured to dissuade him from going; but to no purpose, for he was determined upon being one of the company. After making the necessary collections, they set out for Missouri. The whole company amounted to two hundred in number.

123. IE and Nibley: “A revelation was received (see Doctrine and Covenants, section 101), requiring the brethren from Kirtland and other places in the state, to proceed to Missouri and relieve the persecuted Saints, and importune the civil authorities in their behalf. (See also Doctrine and Covenants, section 103).”

124. GAS on Pratt added an initial: “Jesse J. Smith,” here and on its next occurrence two lines below. He changed “from Potsdam” to “from Stockholm” then made the following changes: “He was the son of Jesse <Asahel> Smith, my husband's oldest brother <next younger than myself> of whose peculiar disposition I have spoken before.” Knowing <fearing> . . .” GAS then drew a line in the margin beside the lines from “immediately” to the end of the chapter and wrote: “The whole statement so far as it relates to Jesse J. Smith is an error.” He made similar but not identical changes on Coray: “. . . Jesse Smith, my husband's nephew, . . . from Potsdam, <Stockholm> and Jesse <J> determined to . . . son of <Jesse> Smith my husband's oldest brother, of whose peculiar disposition I have spoken before. Knowing <Fearing> that . . .”



## CHAP. XLIII.

LUCY SMITH BUILDS A SCHOOL-  
HOUSE<sup>125</sup>—JOSEPH AND HYRUM  
RETURN FROM MISSOURI—THEY  
REHEARSE THE HISTORY OF  
THEIR TROUBLE.

Previous to their leaving the Brethren had commenced a small building which was designed for a ~~school-hous~~ meeting house and school house<sup>126</sup> and Brother Reynolds Cohoon was left to finish this house in order that it might be in readiness to hold meetings in the ensuing winter ~~after~~ When the brethren were gone ~~and we be-~~ ~~came settled~~ that were left at home held meetings in School house although it ~~was~~ merely served as a shelter from the sun but it seemed as ~~had~~ if the prince of the power of the air was permitted greatly to prevail against us for on several successive sabbaths before meeting was closed we were overtaken by dreadful storms which troubled us greatly as we were unusually anxious to meet together in order to unite our faith in behalf of our brethren who were either settled in Misouri or journeying thither ~~through great~~ <at the peril of> their lives—

Previous to taking leave for Missouri,<sup>127</sup> the brethren commenced building a house, which was designed for both a meeting-house and a school. This was left in the hands of brother Reynolds Cahoon for completion; and was to be in readiness for use by the commencement of the ensuing winter. It is true we held meetings in it during the summer, but then it only served as a shelter from the sun.<sup>128</sup> We were now unusually anxious to meet together as often as possible, in order to unite our faith and prayers in behalf of our brethren; but, for a length of time after they left, almost every meeting was broken up by a storm.

125. GAS crossed out this part of the heading and the first three sentences in the first paragraph. IE and Nibley change "Lucy Smith Builds a School-house" to "Building of a House."

126. Coray: "both a meeting and a school house."

127. Nibley note: "This refers to Zion's Camp. Joseph and the brethren left Kirtland May 5, 1834."

128. GAS on Pratt crossed out from the beginning of the chapter to this point.

We accordingly began to rather urge upon brother cohoon the necessity of hurrying the building but he said he could not do anything about it for he had no means to do with <and> many things required cash and as well as time—

A sash for instance would cost and a light and then he must bring them from Painsville which the<sup>129</sup> had not time to do> This made me feel very sorrowful for we much needed the <a> house of worship was <where> we could hold meetings without being interrupted so as we must be in a dwelling where a family resided—I studied sometime upon it and at last I told my husband that I thought that I could collect means for finising the house my single self if he would consent to it I would try and see what I could effect My husband told me he should not hinder me in anything of that kind and he would be glad if I could raise anything towards helping the work along.

I set off wrote a subscription paper in which I agreed to return all the money<sup>131</sup> which I was subscribed giving back to Each individual that which I received from him or her in case it could not be applied to the [~~the~~] building of the meeting house

In consequence of this, together with the near approach of winter, we began to urge upon brother Cahoon the necessity of hurrying the building, but he said that he could do nothing about the matter, as he had neither time nor means.

This made me very sorrowful. I studied upon it a long time. Finally, I told my husband, I believed that I could raise the means myself to finish the building, and, if he would give his consent, I would try and see what I could do. He said he would be glad if I could do anything towards forwarding the work,<sup>130</sup> and that I might take any course I saw fit, in order to accomplish it.

I then wrote a subscription paper, in which I agreed to refund all the money that should be given, in case it could not be appropriated to the purpose for which it should be subscribed.

129. This word is possibly "he" with the upright stroke of the h crossed as if it were a t.

130. RLDS: "forwarding the the work"

131. Coray: "the money, that I should receive . . ."

When I had written this subscription paper I took to each one of my daughters and my boarders 2 of whom were Mary who was afterwards married to Hyrum <my oldest son><sup>132</sup> and Agnes [Coolbrith] who was married to my youngest son Carlos they all gave me what pocket money they had by them. I then went to a Brother Bosley's and received something from each of his family As I was leaving Brother Bosley's<sup>133</sup> house I met Brother Cahoon and informed him of what I was about and he told me to go on and prosper

and it was even so: I did prosper for in about 2 weeks I had everything in fine order for commencing the work I employed ~~one~~ a man to case and make the doors at a reduced price and engaged the sash and casing for the windows of one Mr. Bar who agreed to make the sash for 4 cents a light

This man went immediately to the house and began to take the measurement of the windows but in consequence of some misunderstanding

This article I first took to each member of my family who were at home, as also my boarders, then proceeded with it to father Bosley's. Here I received considerable assistance, and, as I was leaving the house, I met brother Cahoon, and informed him of what I was doing. He seemed pleased, and told me to go on and prosper.

And it was even so, I did prosper; so that in two weeks I had everything in fine order for commencing the work.<sup>134</sup> I employed a man by the name of Bar to make and case the doors, and also to case the windows and make the sashes. All this was to be done at a very reduced price.

Mr. Bar went immediately to the house, and began to take the measurement of the windows, but, in consequence of some misunderstanding

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132. It was not Hyrum's second wife, Mary Fielding, who with Agnes Coolbrith, was boarding at the Smiths, but Mary Bailey, Samuel H. Smith's first wife. Mary and Agnes had lived in the same boarding house in Boston, had both been baptized in June and July 1832 respectively, and had come to Kirtland together in the summer of 1833. This mistake is a strange one for Lucy to make; perhaps it was Martha Jane's. She had never known Hyrum's first wife, Jerusha; and Mary Bailey Smith had died in January 1841, the month before Martha Jane married Howard Coray and moved to Nauvoo. Thus, the only "Mary Smith" she would have known would have been Mary Fielding Smith. See chap. 44 where "Mary Fielding" has been corrected to "Mary Bailly [sic]" on Lucy's rough draft.

133. Coray: "Bosly"

134. IE and Nibley eliminate the following material from "I employed a man" through "the sale of produce."

with Brother Cahoon forbid him doing the work according Mr. Bar came to my husband to enquire about the <get some explanation> of the affair

accordingly a counsel was called and after a 3 hours sitting it was voted by the counsel that Mother Smith should go ahead and finish the house<sup>135</sup> as she thought proper I then proceeded to collect means employ hands and get together the necessary materials untill I had the house entirely completed and there was but \$6 left unpaid and this paid Mr Smith brought up the arrears by disposing of produce and the house was thoroughly finished for there was not a <door> fastening which was wanting.

Nothing occurred worthy of mention between this time and Hyrum and Joseph's return which I think was late in the fall. Their joy at seeing us again in health and was exceeding great above measure because of the perils which they had passed during their absence and after they were a little rested and refreshed <they sat down on each side one on either side of me Joseph holding one of my hands and Hyrum the other and> they related

brother Cahoon forbade hintouching the work. Mr. Bar came to my husband for an explanation of the affair.

A council was called, and, after three hours sitting, it was voted that mother Smith should go on, and finish the house as she thought proper. Accordingly, I continued to collect means and employ hands, until the house was thoroughly completed, even to the fastenings of the doors; and when this was accomplished, there was but six dollars remaining unpaid.<sup>136</sup> And this debt my husband afterwards discharged by the sale of produce.<sup>137</sup>

Late in the fall<sup>138</sup> Joseph and Hyrum returned. They were overjoyed to meet us again in health, more especially on account of the perils which they had passed through during their absence. Joseph and Hyrum sat down beside me, each holding one of my hands in his, while they related the following story:—

135. Coray: "should go ahead and finish the house . . ."

136. Coray: "six dollars behind which remained unpaid."

137. Robert Lang Campbell on Pratt: The text has been bracketed from "I studied upon it" to "sale of produce" and beside it is written in his black ink and tiny fine hand: "The old lady must be mistaken about the finishing of the house."

138. GAS on Pratt: "August 1st . . ."; IE and Nibley: "Late in the fall . . ."

the folling history <sketch> of  
their journey

When arrived in Mis we got started we made arrangements to have a certain one bake their bread and others to attend to other vairious branches of buisness So that the company should be made as comfortable as possible but the incidental sufferings which cannot be avoided in such excursions soon made some of the brethren discontented And they began to murmur against us saying that They Lord never required them to take such a tiresome journey that it was folly for them to suffer the fatigue and inconvenience which they underwent just to gratify a foolish fancy. Fæ we warned them in the name of the Lord to stop their murmuring or the displeasure of the Almighty would visit them in judgement

but many of them persisted in complaining untill one morning we <they> came to harness their horses they found them so lane [sic] as to be unable to travel this gave them great uneasiness and said Joseph I called together and told the if they would repent and humble themselves before the lord the curse would be removed but if they did not a greater curse would come upon them.

“When we started on our journey, we made arrangements to have every one made as comfortable as possible; but the sufferings which are incident to such an excursion made some of the brethren discontented, and they began to murmur against us, saying, ‘the Lord never required them to take such a tiresome journey,’ and that it was folly for them to suffer such fatigue and inconvenience just to gratify us. We warned them, in the name of the Lord, to stop their murmuring; for, if they did not, the displeasure of the Almighty would be manifested in judgments in their midst.

But the majority of them<sup>139</sup> paid no attention to what we said, until one morning when they went out to harness up their horses, and found them all so lame as to be unable to travel. We told them that this was a curse which had come upon them because of transgression; but, if they would repent, it might be removed—if not, a greater curse would come upon them. They believed what we said, and repented of their folly. The consequence was, we were soon on our journey again.

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139. GAS on Coray: “But many [sic] them . . .”; IE and Nibley: “But many of them . . .”

This had a good effect with all save one who was more turbulent than the rest<sup>140</sup> when he brought up his horse he found that it would not be possible for him to travel and after a little delay the animal died—but soon the spiritrit [sic] of disension rose again and was not quelled so that we had any degree of good feeling untill we came to the end of our journey—

Soon after we got to the point of destination the cholera broke out among us and the brethren were so viotently atacted that it seemed impossible to render them any assistance they immediately sent for the Elders who remained in health to have hands laid on them that they might be relieved from this awful disease among others who were called upon were Hyrum and myself but we soon discovered that it was the judgement of the Almighty for when we laid our hands upon them in the name of the Lord in order that they might be healed the disease instantly fastened itself upon us and in a few minutes we were in awful distress—We made mute signals to each other and left the house for the purpose of going into some secluded place to join in prayer that God would deliver us from this awful influence. but before we could get a sufficient distance to be secure from interruption we were scarcely

It was not long, however, till the spirit of dissension arose again, and was not quelled, so as to produce any degree of good feeling, until we arrived at Missouri.

“Soon after arriving at the point of destination, the cholera broke out in our midst; the brethren were so violently attacked that it seemed impossible to render them any assistance. They immediately sent for us to lay hands on them, but we soon discovered that this, also, was a judgement from the Almighty; for, when we laid our hands upon them, in the name of the Lord, the disease immediately fastened itself upon us, and in a few minutes we were in awful agony. We made signals to each other and left the house, in order to join in prayer to God that he would deliver us from this dreadful influence; but, before we could get to a sufficient distance from the house to be secure from interruption, we were hardly able to stand upon our feet, and we feared that we should die in that western wilderness without the privilege of blessing our children, or giving them one word of parting counsel.

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140. This individual was no doubt Sylvester Smith. The minutes of his ecclesiastical trial (HC 2:147-60) report a number of conflicts between him and Joseph Jr.

able to stand upon our feet and we  
~~were in terror least we should~~  
~~Hyrum said in~~ we were greatly  
 alarmed fearing that we should be  
 die in this western wilderness so far  
 from our families without even the  
 priviledge of <blessing our children  
 or> giving them one word of part-  
 ing counsel

Hyrum cried out Joseph what shall we  
 do must we be cut off from the face of  
 the Earth by this horrid curse. Let us  
 said I get down upon our knees and  
 pray to God to remove the cramp and  
 other distress ~~which~~ and restore us to  
 health that we may return to our fami-  
 lies ~~in hea~~ We did so but without re-  
 ceiving any benefit but still grew  
 worse. We concluded however to  
 make a second effort and when we  
 kneeled again the cramp siezed the  
 calves of my legs ~~in a manner that was~~  
~~the most like the~~ gathering the cords  
 into bunches and then <the> op-  
 eration extended in like manner all  
 over my system I cried heartily unto  
 God but the Heavens seemed sealed  
 against us and every power that could  
 render us any assistance ~~looked~~  
 <shut> within its gates the universe  
 was still when we arose again I found  
 Hyrum was in the same situation with  
 myself. We soo came to the resolution  
 of appealing to ~~ge~~ again to god for  
 mercy and not to rise from our knees  
 untill one or the other got a testimony  
 that we should be healed and he who  
 received the first intimation from the  
 spirit should inform the other of the  
<sup>141</sup>same.

We succeeded in getting a few steps  
 further, and then fell upon our knees  
 and cried unto the Lord that he  
 would deliver us from this awful ca-  
 lamity, but we arose worse than be-  
 fore. We kneeled down the second  
 time, and when we commenced pray-  
 ing the cramp seized us, gathering  
 the cords in our arms and legs in  
 bunches, and operating equally se-  
 vere throughout our system. We still  
 besought the Lord, with all our  
 strength, to have mercy upon us, but  
 all in vain. It seemed as though the  
 heavens were sealed against us, and  
 that every power that could render  
 us any assistance was shut within its  
 gates. We then kneeled down the  
 third time, concluding never to rise  
 to our feet again, until one or the  
 other should get a testimony that we  
 should be healed; and that the one  
 who should get the first intimation  
 of the same from the Spirit, should  
 make it known to the others."

[Note 141 appears on page 578.]

We ~~had not~~ prayed sometime first one and then the other and soon perceived that the cramp began to loose its hold ~~but~~ <and> in a short time afterwards Hyrum sprang to his feet and exclaimed Joseph we shall return for I have seen an open vision in which I saw Mother on her knees under an apple tree praying for us and she is even now asking <in tears> God to spare our lives that she may behold us again in the flesh and the spirit testifies to me that her prayers and ours shall be heard—and from that moment we were healed and went on our way rejoicing<sup>142</sup> and

Oh my Mother said Joseph how often have your prayers been a means of assisting us when the shadows of death encompassed us

We found that William had the same symptoms was not so severely affected as we had been ~~an~~ and as a sister by the name of [blank] we permitted her to take him home with her ~~and~~ She was extremely kind and attentive to him insomuch that in a short time he was well again

But our poor cousin Jesse ~~being~~ <was> taken so ~~like manner~~ severely that we could not render him any assistance <and> he died in a short time.

They stated further,<sup>143</sup> that after praying some time the cramp began to release its hold; and, in a short time, Hyrum sprang to his feet and exclaimed, "Joseph, we shall return to our families. I have had an open vision, in which I saw mother kneeling under an apple tree; and she is even now asking God, in tears, to spare our lives, that she may again behold us in the flesh. The Spirit testifies, that her prayers, united with ours, will be answered."

"Oh, my mother!" said Joseph, "how often have your prayers been the means of assisting us when the shadows of death encompassed us."

<sup>144</sup>William was also taken sick of the same disease; but one of the sisters took him to her house, and nursed him so faithfully that he soon recovered.

Jesse Smith, my nephew, was seized so violently that nothing could be done for him, and he died immediately.

141. New page: "13" is handwritten in the upper left and right margins, the right number with a curlicue cloud around it.

142. See Acts 8:39: "and he went on his way rejoicing."

143. Coray: "They stated still farther . . ."

144. GAS on Coray has pencilled lightly through the next two paragraphs.



*Contextual note:* See discussion in “The Textual History of Lucy’s Book,” for George A. Smith’s overreaction to this episode. On this paragraph in Pratt, he wrote: “Jesse <Johnson &> Smith,” then struck out everything from “immediately” to the end of the chapter. Granted, Lucy was mistaken in Jesse Johnson Smith’s parentage—he was the son of Asael Jr., not Jesse Sr.—but this correction could have been handled as George A. himself did the first time Jesse’s name comes up (see above). According to a letter from John Smith to Elias Smith, 19 October 1834, Jesse Johnson Smith accompanied Zion’s Camp to Missouri, sharing a tent with his two cousins, George A. and Joseph Jr. When George and Jesse were smitten by cholera, George survived but Jesse did not. (Qtd. in Zora Smith Jarvis, “Life of John Smith,” chapter in “Ancestry”). When Erastus Rudd died after about only five hours’ illness, George and Jesse, who were much of an age, concluded their duties as his nurse by wrapping the body in a blanket, carrying it into the woods, digging the grave, and burying him. Jesse was attacked even as they worked and died on 1 July 1834. “Young George was heartbroken” and “told Joseph that he wished he could have died in Jesse’s place, for his cousin had a good education, a brilliant mind, and other admirable attributes. Joseph supposedly replied to the boy, ‘You do not know the mind of the Lord in these things.’” (George A. Smith, “History,” qtd. in Launius, *Zion’s Camp*, 149.)

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*Lucy: 1844-45*

Brother Thaye[r] was also taken and called upon us at first to lay hands upon him but he afterwards said no you need not do so—I will go into the river and he commenced dipping himself in the water untill he was better his example was followed by others and those who did this recovered.

~~They When we saw the brethren~~  
~~and When~~ as soon as we could consistently do so we started back for Kirtland but I will tell you further particulars at another time—I then related to them

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Brother Thayer was also taken with the cholera: he went to the river and commenced dipping himself, and finding that it helped him, he continued until he was quite restored. His example was followed by several others, and with the same effect.

After hearing this recital, I took Joseph and Hyrum with me, and showed them the new meeting-house, with which they were highly pleased, and they approved of all that I had done relative to

my The circumstances attending the building of the schooll house and that I had seceeded in preparing a house for them to preach in they highly approved my zeal, and blessed me for what I had done We here and we all had a time of great rejoicing with the those who returned

the matter.<sup>145</sup>

CHAP. XLIV.

THE LORD'S HOUSE AT KIRTLAND COMMENCED—A LETTER FROM THE PROPHET TO HIS UNCLE SILAS.

<sup>146</sup>nothing of suficient importance to demand special attention occurred from this time untill The ensuing summer when the Brethren began to [blot] discuss the subject of building another meeting House as the first was now rather small to afford room for the increased congregation.

A councill was called and Joseph requested the brethren to each one to rise and give his views and after they were through he

The summer ensuing<sup>147</sup> Joseph's return from Missouri, the brethren called a council with the view of investigating the subject of building a new meeting-house, as the first was now too small to accommodate the increased congregation.

In this council, Joseph requested that each of the brethren should give his views with regard to the house; and when they had all

145. GAS on Pratt wrote a marginal note in sprawling pencil by this last paragraph: "The house refered [sic] to was not completed for some months after Joseph's return. Most of the carpenter work was done by Brigham Young. —G. A. Smith." IE and Nibley replicate this note, including the initials but correcting the spelling. Joseph Smith preached in this "new" schoolhouse west of the temple on 4 May 1834 (Backman, *Heavens*, 276).

146. New page: "14" is handwritten at the top right and left margins.

147. GAS in Pratt penciled "1833" in the margin and edited this sentence to read: "The summer ensuing <preceding> Joseph's return from Missouri, the brethren called a council with the view of investigating the subject of building a new meeting-house, as the first was now too small to accommodate the increased congregation." He wrote in the margin: "See book of covenants, sec. 85." In Coray, someone, not GAS, has written "1833" in ink in the margin. RLDS (1912, 1969) note: "Other accounts agree that the Kirtland Temple was commenced prior to Zion's Camp starting to Missouri. —H.C.S." IE and Nibley: "Preceding Joseph's return from Missouri, the brethren called a council with the view of investigating the subject of building a meetinghouse, to accommodate the increased congregation." Lucy is mistaken as to the date. Joseph Jr. announced the construction of the temple on 1 June 1833.

would give <his> opinion they <all> spoke ~~one~~ some thought that it would be better to build a frame others said that a frame was too costly kind of a house—and the majority concluded upon the putting up a log house and made their calculations about what they could do towards ~~it~~ building it—

Joseph rose and reminded them that they were not making a house for themselfese or any other man but a house for God And shall we brethren build a house for our God of logs. No brethren I have a better plan than that I have the plan of the house of the Lord given by himself ~~he-I~~ <you> will see by this the difference between our calculations and his Ideas

He then gave them the plan in full of the house of the Lord at Kirtland <with> which when the brethren heard they were highly delighted ~~with~~ and particularly Hyrum who was twice as much animated as though it were for himself

got through, he would then give<sup>148</sup> his opinion concerning the matter. They all complied with his request. Some were in favour of building a frame house, but the majority were of a mind to put up another log house.<sup>149</sup>

Joseph reminded them that they were not building a house for man, but for God; “and shall we, brethren,” said he, “build a house for our God, of logs? No, I have a better plan than that. I have a plan of the house of the Lord, given by Himself; and you will soon see by this, the difference between our calculations and His idea of things.”

He then gave them a full pattern of the house of the Lord at Kirtland, with which the brethren were highly delighted,<sup>150</sup> particularly Hyrum, who was much more animated than if it were designed for himself.<sup>151</sup>

148. IE and Nibley: “he would give”

149. GAS in Pratt: “the majority were of a mind to put up another log house”; (this correction leaves an ungrammatical construction); GAS in Coray edited the larger passage to read: “. . . of building a frame house; <others> but the majority were of a mind to put up another <a> log house.” IE and Nibley: “frame house, but others were of a mind to put up a log house. Joseph reminded them that they were not building a house for a man . . .”

150. RLDS: “the brethren were delighted”

151. GAS on Pratt struck out the next paragraph and the first sentence of the next paragraph: “After the close . . . That was Saturday night.” GAS on Coray has added: “. . . designed for himself. See Doc & Cov. Sec. 84.)” He left the next paragraph intact but made a few editing changes: “. . . selecting a ~~spot~~ <site> for the building <Temple> . . . situated in the North-west corner . . .”

and declared that he would strike the first blow towards building it <the> house ~~for God~~ Before the meeting closed ~~they~~ (and it was then saturday after noon) they ~~said~~ <resolved> upon laying the corner stone <one week from> the succeeding Wednesday. Now brethren said Joseph let us go select a place for the building they then all went out and when they came to a certain field of wheat which my sons had sown the fall before they made choice of a spot which was situated in the North West corner of the field

Hyrum ~~came~~ <ran> to the house and caught the sythe ~~with~~ <and> was about returning to the place without giving any explanation but I stopt him and asked him where he was going withe the sythe he said we are ~~g~~ preparing to build a house for the Lord and I am determined to be the first at the work In a few minutes the fence was removed the young wheat cut and the ground in order for the foundation <Eagerly come Monday morning the brethren were out drawing stone of the wall and Hyrum commenced digging away the Earth where the stone were to be laid.

Early Monday morning the brethren were out with their teams laboring with great ambition at digging a trench for the wall quarrying

After the close of the meeting, Joseph took the brethren with him, for the purpose of selecting a spot for the building to stand upon. The place which they made choice of was situated in the north-west corner of a field of wheat, which was sown by my sons the fall previous, on the farm upon which we were then living. In a few minutes the fence was removed, and the standing grain was levelled,<sup>152</sup> in order to prepare a place for the building,

and Hyrum commenced digging a trench for the wall, he having declared that he would strike the first blow upon the house.

This was Saturday night.<sup>153</sup> On the following Monday the brethren went to work at the house with great ambition; and

152. RLDS: "the standing grain leveled"

153. GAS on Pratt, IE, and Nibley omit this sentence.

stone and hauling them to the place where they were to be used—although there was but <about> 30 families in Kirtland <at that time as there had many of the brethren gone to Jackson Co> the work never stoped or stood still for the want of means or laborers but they suffered much from fatigue and uneasiness for as soon as the work was commenced our enemies began to swear that we should not finish it but the brethren were faithful to their charge and they would take turns in watching the walls and of those that then stood upon guard

although but<sup>154</sup> thirty families now remained in Kirtland,<sup>155</sup> they never suffered the work to stop until it was accomplished. They had to endure great fatigue and privation, in consequence of the opposition they met with from their enemies, and which was so great, that they were compelled to keep a guard upon<sup>156</sup> the walls every night after they were commenced, until<sup>157</sup> they were completed. They “gave no sleep to their eyes, nor slumber to their eyelids, until they found a place for the Lord, a habitation for the mighty God of Jacob.”<sup>158</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Some are yet living Jared Carter and Simeon Carter Alvin Tibbets Jenkins Saulsbury William Tibbets my sons also took their turn and stood upon the walls and very of [sic] stood 3 nights in the week. but oh how many of those affectionate brethren ~~that spent so many~~ <spent> days and nights watching by th for the enemy lest they should steal into the town unawares and murder the prophet and his counsell and tear down their foundation of the house but they clung fast by the walls and gave no quiet ~~sp~~ sleep to their eyes nor peaceful slumber to their eyelid untill they found a place for the Lord an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob but now they lie full low <and> their houses are mouldering to rust and their spirits have returned to God who gave it But their good <works> have followed them ~~and~~ for they did not

154. IE: “although thirty”

155. Nibley note: “The great majority of the members of the Church had moved to Missouri or had gone on the expedition with Zion’s Camp.”

156. IE and Nibley: “around”

157. GAS on Pratt: “. . . the walls ~~every night after they were commenced, until...~~”; GAS on Coray made more elaborate corrections: “with great ~~ambition~~ <animation>; and although ~~but~~ <not> 30 families now remained . . . accomplished; notwithstanding they had to endure . . . which opposition was so great, . . . keep a guard ~~upon~~ <around> the walls ~~every night after they were commenced, <much of the time> until . . .~~”

158. See Psalms 132:4-5: “I will not give sleep to mine eyes, or slumber to mine eyelids, Until I find out a place for the LORD, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob.”

turn therefrom but continued faithful to the end While others these ~~have~~ <are> buried in far more gross and dreadful darkness for they have forsaken the truth and taken to themselves the God of this world and given heed to vanity and [blot]ies thing wherein there is no profit says the Saviour of the light which is in you become darkness how great is that darkness<sup>159</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Mary ~~Fielding~~ <Bailey> and Agnes Coleby<sup>160</sup> was then boarding with me they devoted their whole time to ~~this~~ making and mending clothes for the brethren who worked on the house. There was but one main spring to all our thoughts and that was ~~the~~ building the Lord's house.

I often wonder to hear brethren and sisters murmur at the trifling troubles <inconveiniences> which they have to encounter in living in a little less stylish ~~house~~ <establishment> than they ~~are~~ <have been> accostomed to ~~do~~ <and> I think to myself salvation is worth as much now as it was in the beginning of the work but I find that ~~all~~

All like the purchase few the price will pay

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Mary Bailey and Agnes Coolbrith were then boarding with me; they devoted their whole<sup>161</sup> time to making and mending clothes for the men who were employed on the house. There was but one main-spring to all our thoughts and actions, and that was, the building of the Lord's house.

I often wonder, when I hear brethren and sisters complain at the trifling inconveniences which they have to suffer in these days, and I think to myself that salvation is worth as much now as it was in the commencement of the work. But "all like the purchase, few the price would pay."

*Lucy: 1844-45*

And although they all speak frequently of being of that people whom the Lord will try in all things<sup>162</sup> yet when they find by experience that they have

159. Compare this pastiche with Psalms 132:4-5 (quoted above); Ecclesiastes 12:7 ("and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it"); Proverbs 3:3 ("Let not mercy and truth forsake thee"); and Matthew 6:23 ("If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!").

160. Coray: "Anes Coolbrith"; GAS on Coray: "A<g>nes Coolbrith"; Nibley notes: "In August, 1834, Mary Bailey was married to Samuel H. Smith. Agnes Coolbrith became the wife of Don Carlos Smith on June 30, 1835."

161. GAS on Pratt: "devoted their ~~whole~~ <most of> . . ."

162. Compare Psalms 26:2 ("Examine me, O Lord, and prove me; try my reins and my heart");

been preaching a doctrine which is true in its litteral sense they feel as though those who carried them the message of Eternal life had injured them and reflect upon those who brought them into the church as though they had acted the part of an enemy And I often find that even those who have been with us from almost the ouset are <some of them> still clinging to their property as if life depended upon close economy.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

How often have I with my daughters and daughters in law parted every bed in the house for the accommodation of the brethren and then Joseph would take his cloak and lay down on the hard floor with no other bed or bedding and ~~his wife~~ Emma place herself by his side and share his comfort while My husband and myself lodged in the same room ~~and as the one~~ with a single blanket for bed and bedding and this was our rest for 2 weeks together

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

How often I have parted every bed in the house for the accommodation of the brethren, and then laid a single blanket on the floor for my husband and myself, while Joseph and Emma slept upon the same floor, with nothing but their cloaks for both bed and bedding.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

and we labored hard every day ~~it is true~~ <but> those who were accomodated by our privations did not know how we fared for <as> Emma nor I never either of suffered them to know that we took such unwearing pains for them and when the ~~temple~~ Lords house was building how our brethren at Kirtland watched and toiled who can do so now that did not learn the lesson then I do not know but many would but not having seen it done they have not thought about such things.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

A short time after ~~the~~ this work was commenced my husbands brother John Smith who had been

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

At this time, John Smith, my husband's brother, was lying very low with the consumption, and,

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3 Nephi 26:11 ("the Lord forbade it, saying: I will try the faith of my people"); and D&C 136:31 ("My people must be tried in all things, that they may be prepared to receive the glory that I have for them . . . ; and he that will not bear chastisement is not worthy of my kingdom").

lying very low with the consumption came to a determination of being baptized ~~although~~ notwithstanding he was not able to walk into the water—He got Brother <was baptized when Hyrum and William went on their first Mission to Stockholm and Potsdam.> ~~to baptize him and~~ was soon healed. Shortly after he came to Kirtland with his family ~~and~~ <in> order to live with and assist them in the work to which they had been called

not long ~~how~~ <after> Brother John arrived My daughter Sophronia Stoddard was taken <very> sick<sup>165</sup> and her symptoms soon became so alarming that her husband being alarmed about her sent for a physician who after attending upon her sometime pronounced her beyond the reach of Medicine and discontinued his visits because he said that he could be of no service to her—in a short time she became so weak that we could not turn her in bed for several days She did not speak and many thought that she was dying about this time Jared Carter returned from

although he was unable to stand upon his feet without assistance,<sup>163</sup> he resolved upon being baptized, which was accordingly done, and he was immediately healed. In a short time<sup>164</sup> he moved his family to Kirtland, where he settled himself with the Church.

Not long after brother John arrived, my oldest daughter, Sophronia Stoddard,<sup>166</sup> was taken sick. Her symptoms soon became so alarming, that her husband sent for a physician, who, after attending upon her for some time, pronounced her beyond the reach of medicine, and therefore discontinued his visits. As she did not speak, nor turn herself in bed, many supposed that she was dying. When she was in this situation, Jared Carter, together with my husband and our sons, administered to her in the name of the Lord, and in half an hour she spoke to me, saying,

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163. GAS on Pratt: "~~At this time~~ John Smith, my husband's brother, was lying very low with the consumption, and, ~~although he was unable to stand upon his feet without assistance~~ <Jan 7 1832>." He erased the second strike-out. GAS on Coray: "~~At this time,~~ <In Jan'y, 182> John Smith, my husband's brother, was lying very low with the consumption, <in Potsdam, New York> and, although he was ~~unable~~ <hardly able> to stand . . . upon being baptized, ~~which~~ ~~don:~~ <on the 10th> ~~Jan 7, 1832~~ . . ." IE and Nibley: "In January, 1832, John Smith, my husband's brother, was . . . unable to stand . . . accordingly done on the 10th, and he was immediately healed In May, 1833, he moved his family to Kirtland." They end the sentence here.

164. GAS on Pratt wrote: "In May 1833."

165. Since John Smith arrived at Kirtland on 25 May 1833, Sophronia's illness probably occurred during the summer. Jared Carter was in Michigan on a mission at least during January-April 1833.

[Note 166 appears on page 587.]



a preaching Mission ~~and~~ he was a man of great faith and I thought that if could get him to administer to her with ~~the~~ my husband & sons that by their united faith she might be healed <I spoke> ~~æe~~ <mentioned this> to Mr. Smith and he called Brother Carter and his sons together and the laid hands on her and in ½ an hour she spoke to me and said Mother I shall get well ~~but~~ not suddenly but the Lord will heal me gradually. and it was so <the same day she sat up for an hour an> ~~for~~ in three days she walked across the street—

~~When Joseph came to see what~~ We were still living on the farm and working with our might to make the droves of company of Company ~~while~~ comfortable which were constantly coming in from the country both those who were in the church and those who were not. But when Joseph saw how we were crowded and that we were breaking ourselves down with hard work he ~~came to us and~~ <he> told us that it ~~would~~ <would not> answer for us to attempt to carry ~~on~~ <on> a public house at free cost any longer and by his request we moved into an upper room of his house where we lived very comfortably for a season

“Mother, I shall get well—not suddenly, but the Lord will heal me gradually.” The same day she sat up half an hour, and in three days she walked across the street.

We were still living on the farm, and labouring with our might to make the droves of company, which were constantly<sup>167</sup> coming in, as comfortable as possible. Joseph saw how we were situated, and that it would not answer for us to keep a public house, at free cost, any longer; and, by his request, we moved into an upper room of his own house, where we lived very comfortably for a season.<sup>168</sup>

166. Coray and RLDS: “Stoddard”

167. GAS on Pratt wrote “1835” in the margin and struck “droves of”; GAS on Coray made these editing changes: “to make the ~~droves of~~ company, which ~~were~~ <was> . . .”

168. IE and Nibley move this paragraph to the point I indicate in the notes after Joseph’s letter to his uncle. They include minor changes: “to make the company which was constantly . . .”

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

About this time,<sup>169</sup> Joseph wrote a letter to his Uncle Silas, which I think would be interesting to my readers, and shall therefore give it insertion in this place:—

*"Kirtland Mills, Ohio, September 26, 1833.*

'Respected Uncle Silas,

It is with feelings of deep interest for the welfare of mankind, which fill my mind on the reflection that all were formed by the hand of Him who will call the same to give an impartial account of all their works on that great day to which you and myself, in common with them, are bound, that I take up my pen and seat myself in an attitude to address a few, though imperfect, lines to you for your perusal.

"I have no doubt but that you will agree with me, that men will be held accountable for the things they have done, and not for the things they have not done. Or that all the light and intelligence communicated to them from their beneficent Creator, whether it is much or little, by the same they, in justice, will be judged. And that they are required to yield obedience, and improve upon that, and that only, which is given, for man is not to live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of the Lord.

"Seeing that the Lord has never given the world to understand, by anything heretofore revealed, that he had ceased for ever to speak to his creatures, when sought unto in a proper manner, why should it be thought a thing incredible, that he should be pleased to speak again in these last days, for their salvation? Perhaps you may be surprised at this assertion, that I should say for the salvation of his creatures in these last days, since we have already in our possession a vast volume of his word, which he has previously given. But you will admit that the word spoken to Noah was not sufficient for Abraham, or it was not required of Abraham to leave the land of his nativity, and seek an inheritance in a strange country upon the word spoken to Noah, but for himself he obtained promises<sup>170</sup> at the hand of the Lord, and walked in that perfection, that he was called the friend of God. Isaac, the promised seed, was not required to rest his hope alone upon the promises made to his father Abraham, but was privileged with the assurance of his approbation, in the sight of Heaven, by the direct voice of the Lord to him. If one man can live upon the revelations given to another, might I not with propriety ask, why the necessity, then, of the Lord's speaking to Isaac as he did, as is re-

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169. GAS on Pratt: "about this time"; GAS on Coray: "After Bro. John moved to Kirtland . . ." IE and Nibley follow GAS on Pratt.

170. RLDS: "obtained promise"

corded in the twenty-sixth chapter of Genesis? For the Lord there repeats, or rather, promises again to perform the oath which he had previously sworn to Abraham; and why this repetition to Isaac? Why was not the first promise as sure for Isaac as it was for Abraham? Was not Isaac Abraham's son? and could he not place implicit confidence in the veracity<sup>171</sup> of his father as being a man of God? Perhaps you may say that he was a very peculiar man, and different<sup>172</sup> from men in these last days, consequently, the Lord favoured him with blessings, peculiar and different, as he was different from men in this age. I admit that he was a peculiar man, and was not only peculiarly blessed, but greatly blessed. But all the peculiarity that I can discover in the man, or all the difference between him and men in this age, is, that he was more holy and more perfect before God, and came to him with a purer heart, and more faith than men in this day.

"The same might be said on the subject of Jacob's history. Why was it that the Lord spake to him concerning the same promise, after he had made it once to Abraham, and renewed it to Isaac? Why could not Jacob rest contented upon the word spoken to his fathers? When the time of the promise drew nigh for the deliverance of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt, why was it necessary that the Lord should begin to speak to them? The promise or word to Abraham, was, that his seed should serve in bondage, and be afflicted, four hundred years, and after that they should come out with great substance. Why did they not rely upon this promise, and when they had remained in Egypt, in bondage, four hundred years, come out, without waiting for further revelations, but act entirely upon the promise given to Abraham, that they should come out?

"Paul said to his<sup>173</sup> Hebrew brethren, that God might more abundantly show unto the heirs of promise<sup>174</sup> the immutability of his counsel, he confirmed it by an oath. He also exhorts them, who, through faith and patience inherit the promises.

"Notwithstanding, we (said Paul) have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us, which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the vail, yet he was careful to press upon them the necessity of continuing on until they, as well as those who then inherited the promises, might have the assurance of their

171. Coray: "in the word . . ."

172. IE: "and was not only different . . ."; Nibley: "and not only different"

173. GAS on Pratt drew a pencil line from approximately this word to the bottom margin where he wrote "willing to." These words cannot be logically read as an insertion here or at any point before the bottom of the page, which ends "then inherited the"

174. IE and Nibley: "that God being more abundantly willing to show unto the heirs of promise . . ." For the source of this discussion, see Heb. 6:17-19.

salvation confirmed to them by an oath from the mouth of Him who could not lie; for that seemed to be the example anciently, and Paul holds it out to his Hebrew brethren as an object attainable in his day. And why not? I admit, that by reading the Scriptures of truth, the Saints, in the days of Paul, could learn, beyond the power of contradiction, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had the promise of eternal life confirmed to them by an oath of the Lord, but that promise or oath was no assurance to them of their salvation; but they could, by walking in the footsteps, continuing in the faith of their fathers, obtain, for themselves, an oath for confirmation that they were meet to be partakers of the inheritance with the Saints in light.

"If the Saints, in the days of the Apostles, were privileged to take the Saints for example, and lay hold of the same promises, and attain to the same exalted privileges of knowing that their names were written in the Lamb's Book of Life, and that they were sealed there as a perpetual memorial before the face of the Most High, will not the same faithfulness, the same purity of heart, and the same faith, bring the same assurance of eternal life, and that in the same manner to the children of men now, in this age of the world? I have no doubt but that the holy Prophets, and Apostles, and Saints in ancient days were saved in the kingdom of God; neither do I doubt but that they held converse and communion with him while they were in the flesh, as Paul said to his Corinthian brethren, that the Lord Jesus showed himself to above five hundred Saints at one time after his resurrection. Job said that he knew that his Redeemer lived, and that he should see him in the flesh in the latter days. I may believe that Enoch walked with God, and by faith was translated. I may believe that Noah was a perfect man in his generation, and also walked with God. I may believe that Abraham communed with God, and conversed with angels. I may believe that Isaac obtained a renewal of the covenant made to Abraham by the direct voice of the Lord. I may believe that Jacob conversed with holy angels, and heard the word of his Maker, that he wrestled with the angel until he prevailed, and obtained a blessing. I may believe that Elijah was taken to Heaven in a chariot of fire with fiery horses. I may believe that the Saints saw the Lord, and conversed with him face to face after his resurrection. I may believe that the Hebrew Church came to Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the *Heavenly* Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels. I may believe that they looked into eternity, and saw the Judge of all, and Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant.<sup>175</sup> But will all this

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175. See Heb. 12:22, 24: "But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, To the general assembly and church of the firstborn, . . . and to God the Judge of all, and . . . to Jesus the mediator of the

PART 4. THE KIRTLAND YEARS

purchase an assurance for me, and waft me to the regions of eternal day, with my garments spotless, pure, and white? Or, must I not rather obtain for myself, by my own faith and diligence in keeping the commandments of the Lord, an assurance of salvation for myself? And have I not an equal privilege with the ancient Saints? And will not the Lord hear my prayers, and listen to my cries as soon as he ever did to theirs,<sup>176</sup> if I come to him in the manner they did? Or, is he a respecter of persons?

"I must now close this subject for the want of time; and, I may say, with propriety, at the beginning. We would be pleased to see you in Kirtland; and more pleased to have you embrace the New Covenant.

"I remain,

Yours affectionately,

"JOSEPH SMITH, JUN."

*Lucy: 1844-45*

and I thought as my time had been so taken up with buisness I now devote the principle part of it to reading and I studied the bible and book of Mormon and the recent revelations constantly untill a circumstance occurred which deprived me of the priviledge One day upon going down stairs to my dinner I incautiously set my foot ~~on~~ on a round stick which lay near the top of the stairs this rolling under my foot pitched me forward down the steps and bruised my head sadly for my right arm was lame at the ~~th~~ time and I could not use it to my advantage—

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Previous to the time of our going to live with Joseph, my attention had been chiefly taken up with business; I now concluded to devote the most of my time to the study of the Bible, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants, but a circumstance occurred which deprived me of the privilege.

One day upon going down stairs to dinner, I incautiously set my foot upon a round stick, that lay near the top of the stairs. This, rolling under my foot, pitched me forward down the steps; my head was severely bruised in falling; however, I said but little about it, thinking I should be better soon.

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new covenant . . ."

176. IE and Nibley: "ever did theirs"

I was much hurt but thinking I should be better soon I said nothing about it at that time ~~but~~ Brother cohoon came in in the Afternoon and requested Mr. smith to go to his house and bless some friends of his who had just arrived from the east and was desirous of having their patriarchal blessing<sup>177</sup> My husband invited me to accompany him but I told him that I was afraid that I should take a cold that would affect me seriously on account of ~~the~~ my fall but as he refused to go without me after much persuasion on the part of brother Cahoon I went—

In the afternoon I went with my husband to a blessing meeting;

But in spite of all the care which I could take I took cold and an inflammation settled in my eyes which increased untill I was not able to open them And the distress which I suffered for a length of time surpasses all discription every thing that <it> was supposed could help them in the least degree was faithfully tried by my daughter and daughter in law. But in vain as And if I had called upon a more efficient power than that of Medicine I should have lost the use of my eyes

I took cold, and an inflammation settled in my eyes, which increased until I became entirely blind. The distress which I suffered for a few days, surpasses all description. Every effort was made by my friends to relieve me, but all in vain.

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177. The First Presidency had ordained Joseph Smith Sr. to the patriarchal office on 18 December 1833; the minutes of this meeting, kept by Oliver Cowdery, include Cowdery's account of the restoration of the Aaronic priesthood (Jessee, "Joseph," 146).

Caroline Crosby, who with her husband received her patriarchal blessing from Joseph Sr. on 21 February 1836, has left a vignette of the event: "The Patriarch conversed with us sometime, told us we had come together right. And when we told him our ages, and places of birth, he observed—that he thought we were both born under one planet. But merely by way of merriment. Mother Smith was in the room. She also added her blessing, or confirmed what we had already received" (Selected).

but I called upon My husband and sons and other Elders ~~soon~~ to administer to me by prayer and the laying on of hands and I desired them to ask God that I might receive my sight even that I might be able to read without ever putting on spectacles again.

They did pray for this with fervent spirit and when they took their hands off of my head I opened my eyes and read 2 lines in the book of Mormon and I am now 68 and I have not worn glasses since.<sup>178</sup> This was done by the special power of God and I felt to adore his name for the same—<sup>179</sup>

I called upon the Elders, and requested them to pray to the Lord, that I might be able to see, so as to be able to read without even wearing spectacles.

They did so, and when they took their hands off my head, I read two lines in the Book of Mormon; and although I am now seventy years old, I have never worn glasses since.

#### CHAP. XLV.

THE HOUSE OF THE LORD COMPLETED—A DIVISION IN THE CHURCH.<sup>180</sup>

The house progressed steadily forward notwithstanding all the threats of the mob untill the ~~the~~ years [blank] when it was completed And there was ~~great~~ <much> rejoicing in the church

The house of the Lord went steadily forward, until it was completed, notwithstanding the threats of the mob. When this work was accomplished, there was much rejoicing in the Church, and great bless-

178. Coray: "seventy . . ." Since Lucy thought she had turned sixty-eight on 8 July 1844 and would turn sixty-nine on 8 July 1845, this passage was dictated before the latter date. The difference of two years, rather than one year, between the rough draft and the Coray copy is peculiar. If it was not just a simple mistake, the most likely explanation is that Lucy dictated that passage in her rough draft before July 1845, giving her age at that moment, and the Coray fair copy, made after July 1845, meant to say "in my seventieth year." RLDS (1912, 1969) note: "Lucy Smith was born in 1776, hence this must have been written about 1846. —H.C.S." Nibley: "Mrs. Smith became seventy years of age on July 8, 1846 [sic]." Although Lucy *thought* she was born in 1776, she was actually born in 1775.

179. Although some of the events above are difficult to date, those that can be occurred in 1833. Now, Lucy moves ahead to 1836, beginning with the completion and dedication of the Kirtland temple, January-March 1836.

180. Coray: "... COMPLETED—AN APOSTASY."

and great blessings poured out upon the elders but as that endowment of the Elders does not exactly come with in the purview of my knowledge I shall say nothing further about that but refer the reader to the church history written by those who were ~~more~~ present—

soon after the house was finished Joseph and Martin Harris took a short tour into the eastern country<sup>181</sup> ~~and~~ as they were returning and were ~~near home~~ <in Palmira at calvin Stoddards fathers> ~~I think it was the night before they arrived at home~~ Joseph <had> a vision which lasted untill he besought the Lord take it from for it showed him things which were very painful for <to> him to contemplate but it returned immediately and remained before his eyes untill near the middle of the forenoon—

The Church manifested great joy at his return ~~and it~~ <the news> of his arrival was soon circulated among the brethren and there was nothing to be heard but brother Joseph has come back and we shall hear brother Joseph preach tomorrow &c.

When he met the brethren the next day he appeared unusually solemn which caused them to wonder much but as he preached as he was

ings were poured out upon the elders; but as I was not present at the endowment, I shall say but little about it.

Shortly after the completion of the house, Joseph and Martin Harris took a short tour through the eastern country. When they arrived at Palmyra, on their return, Joseph had a vision, which lasted until he besought the Lord to take it from him; for it manifested to him things which were painful to contemplate. It was taken from before his eyes for a short time, but soon returned again, and remained until the whole scene was portrayed before him.

On his arrival at home, the brethren seemed greatly pleased to see him. The next day he preached a sermon, and the following are<sup>182</sup> a part of his remarks:—

“Brethren, I am rejoiced to see you, and I have no doubt, but that you are glad to see me. We are now nearly as happy as we can be on

181. This tour is not listed in Joseph Smith's *History of the Church*.

182. IE and Nibley: “is”



accustomed to do—He told the church ~~who~~ <congregation that> had assembled that he was rejoiced to see them and they no doubt were glad to meet him again. We are now said he nearly as happy as we can be on Earth for we have accomplished more than we had any reason when we began to anticipate our lovely and beautiful house is finished and the Lord has acknowledged it by pouring out his Spirit upon us here and revealing to us much concerning his purposes in regard to Work which he is about to perform—furthermore we have plenty of every thing necessary to our comfort and convenience And judging from [covered by bent page corner] appearances ~~we~~ one would not suppose that any thing could occur that would break up our friendship for each other or distress us in the least. But brethren beware for I tell you ~~this~~ I the name of the Lord that there is an evil in this very congregation which if is not repented of will result in ~~something~~ very an apostasy making one third of you who are here this day so much my enemies that you will have a desire to take my life and even would do so if God permitted the deed—<sup>183</sup> But brethren I

earth. We have accomplished more than we had any reason to expect when we began. Our beautiful house is finished, and the Lord has acknowledged it, by pouring out his Spirit upon us here, and revealing to us much of his will in regard to the work which he is about to perform. Furthermore, we have every thing that is necessary to our comfort and convenience, and, judging from appearances, one would not suppose that anything could occur which would break up our friendship for each other, or disturb our tranquility. But brethren, beware; for I tell you in the name of the Lord, that there is an evil in this very congregation, which, if not repented of, will result in setting one-third<sup>184</sup> of you, who are here this day, so much at enmity against me, that you will have a desire to take my life; and you even *would do it*, if God should permit the deed. But brethren, I now call upon you to repent, and cease all your hardness of heart, and turn from those principles of death and dishonesty which you are harbouring in your bosoms, before it is eternally too late, for there is yet room for repentance.”

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183. According to Milton V. Backman (“Establish,” 221, and *The Heavens Resound*, 17), nothing like a third of the membership apostatized. “A high percentage of stockholders in the Kirtland Safety Society remained faithful, and not one of the major stockholders was disfellowshipped or excommunicated. In fact, only 8 percent of the investors left the Church, and almost half (45 percent) of this group returned to the Church.” However, “between November 1837 and June 1838 approximately 300 Kirtland members, representing perhaps 15 percent of all Mormons, withdrew or were excommunicated from the church. Included were nearly one-third of the church’s leading officers, the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, four members of the Quorum of the Twelve, three original presidents and three current presidents of Seventy, as well

[Note 184 appears on page 596.]

call upon now to repent while there is room for repentance—and cease all your hardness and turn from those principles of dishonesty and death which you are harboring in your bosoms before it is eternally to late for there is yet room for repentance

He continued to labor in this way with them appealing to them in the most feeling and solemn manner ~~until he was~~ <untill> The exertion of his mind and the fatigue of speaking quite fatigued him and sat down exhausted leaving almost every one in the house in tears of

the following week was much given to surmises and speculations as to who would be the traitors & why they should be so &c. &c.

in a short time however ~~Joseph left and went to cleveland to be absent a while on buisness he had not been gone many days when a difficulty~~ <before he went however> there was a difficulty broke out about the bank which the brethren had established in kirtland and it seemed that a quantity of Money had been taken away by fraud When Joseph discovered this he demanded a search warrant of Esqr Frederick G. Williams—

He continued to labour with them in this way, appealing to them in the most solemn manner, until almost every one in the house was in tears, and he was exhausted with speaking.<sup>185</sup>

The following week was spent in surmises and speculations, as to who would be the traitors, and why they should be so, &c., &c.

Prior to this,<sup>186</sup> a bank was established in Kirtland.<sup>187</sup> Soon after the sermon, above mentioned, Joseph discovered that a large amount of money had been taken away by fraud,<sup>188</sup> from this bank. He immediately demanded a search warrant of Esquire Williams,<sup>189</sup> which was flatly refused.

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as Frederick G. Williams, a member of the First Presidency" (Van Wagoner, Sidney, 187).

184. GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley: "many"

185. Max H. Parkin identifies four economic factors that contributed to the Kirtland apostasy: "(1) ambitious unprincipled brethren, (2) the prominence of speculation in land sales among the Saints, (3) excessive credit buying, (4) and the failure of the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company" (228). See his detailed analysis of each in *Conflict at Kirtland*; see also Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer.

[Notes 186-89 appear on page 597.]

this was flatly refused by said Williams upon which Joseph if said if you will give me a warrant I can get the money but if you do not I will break you of your office well break it is then said Williams and we will strike hands upon it very well said Joseph from henceforth I drop you from my quorum in the name of the Lord

and Williams in wrath replied Amen ~~Soon after~~ <To Oliver Cowdray> Joseph entered a complaint against him on which account his magistracy was ta [damaged]

~~then~~ Joseph <then> went to cleaviland on <the same> business.<sup>191</sup> On the ensuing sunday after Mr smith in speaking <of the bank affair> reflected somewhat sharply

"I insist upon a warrant," said Joseph, "for if you will give me one, I can get the money, and if you do not, I will break you of your office." "Well, break it is, then," said Williams, "and we will strike hands upon it." "Very well," said Joseph, "from henceforth I drop you from my quorum, in the name of the Lord."

Williams, in wrath, replied "Amen." Joseph entered a complaint against him, for neglect of duty, as an officer of justice; in consequence of which the magistracy was taken from him, and given to Oliver Cowdery.<sup>190</sup>

Joseph then went to Cleveland, in order to transact some business pertaining to the bank; and as he was absent the ensuing Sunday, my husband preached to the people. In

186. GAS on Coray: "~~Prior to this~~, <In the fall of 1836> . . ." IE and Nibley follow his change.

187. The list of investors on 2 January 1837 includes Joseph Smith Jr., Joseph Smith Sr., Lucy Smith (suggesting that she had at least some separate income), Hyrum Smith, Jerusha Smith, William Smith, Samuel H. Smith, and members of the extended family: George A. Smith, Silas Smith, John Smith, and Temperance Mack. An S. B. Stoddard may have been kin to Calvin Stoddard, Sophronia Smith's husband ("Minutes . . . Kirtland Safety Society"). Other noted investors are Orson Pratt, Brigham Young, and Wilford Woodruff. The amounts they invested are not listed.

188. Coray: "taken away from this bank by fraud." George A. Smith also gave a version of this fraud (JD 11:11): "Warren Parrish was the teller of the bank, and a number of other men who apostatized were officers. They took out of its vault, unknown to the President or Cashier, a hundred thousand dollars, and sent their agents around among the brethren to purchase their farms, wagons, cattle, horses, and everything they could get hold of. The brethren would gather up this money put it into the bank, and those traitors would steal it and send it out to buy again, and they continued to do so until the plot was discovered and the payment stopped" (Parkin, 244).

189. GAS on Pratt added "F. G." (for Frederick Granger) to each of the three occurrences of Williams's name in this account. IE and Nibley include the initials.

190. GAS on Coray has marked out this whole last sentence. IE and Nibley also eliminate the entire paragraph from "Williams, in wrath . . ." to ". . . given to Oliver Cowdery."

191. This trip is not mentioned in Joseph Smith's *History of the Church*.

upon Brother Parish This incensed ~~him~~ Mr. Parish and he made an attempt to go into the stand where my husband stood declaring that he would speak to the people ~~but~~ Mr smith told him that he would not be interrupted and seeing that Parish intended to force his way My husband called upon the justice of the peace to ~~f~~ still him—

but Oliver paid no attention and Parish made a move to pull Mr Smith out of the stand at this William who was the ~~only~~ <oldest> one of my sons who were present sprang from his seat and caught Parish in his arms and carried him half way ~~out of~~ <across> the house and would have put him out of the room entirely

had not John Boynton ~~offe~~ stepped forward and drawing the sword from his cane presented saying that if he advanced one step farther he would run him through and before William had time to turn there was several around him threatening to handle severily if he laid hands upon Parish again

at this juncture I left the house sick and grieved at heart and more distressed as I found that although their did not a great number take no active part against the church yet there were many who were

speaking of the bank affair, he reflected somewhat sharply upon Warren Parrish. Although the reflection was just, Parrish was highly incensed, and made an attempt to drag him out of the stand.

My husband appealed to Oliver Cowdery, who was justice of the peace, to have him brought to order; but Oliver never moved from his seat. William, seeing the abuse which his father was receiving, sprang forward and caught Parrish, and carried him in his arms nearly out of the house.

At this John Boynton stepped forward, and drawing a sword from his cane, presented it to William's breast, and said, "if you advance one step further, I will run you through."<sup>192</sup> Before William had time to turn himself, several gathered around him, threatening to handle him severely, if he should lay the weight of his finger upon Parrish again.

At this juncture of affairs, I left the house, not only terrified at the scene, but likewise sick at heart, to see that the apostasy<sup>193</sup> of which Joseph had prophecied was so near at hand.

192. GAS on Pratt has written "query?" vertically in the margin by this paragraph.

[Note 193 appears on page 599.]

undecided and this plainly showed  
 Me the seeds of the apostacy which  
 Joseph had prophecied would take  
 place were already sown in the  
 breasts of a greater number than I  
 could have have immagined before  
 could have been affected by it.

The same week a young woman  
 who lived with David Witmore and  
 who pretended to be able to dic-  
 cover hidden things and to prophecy  
 by looking through a certain black  
 stone which She had found—re-  
 vealed to brother Whitmere and  
 others Some facts which gave them  
 a new Idea of things altogether.

At this time a certain young  
 woman,<sup>194</sup> who was living at David  
 Whitmer's, uttered a prophecy,  
 which she said was given her, by  
 looking through a black stone that  
 she had found. This prophecy gave  
 some altogether a new idea of things.

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193. Coray: "apostas"

194. This girl was Adaline M. Bernard, an adopted daughter of Oliver and Elizabeth Cowdery, but not to be confused with their biological daughter, Adeline Fuller Cowdery (born 29 September 1844, Tiffin, Ohio; died 13 October 1844). In a letter to Thomas Gregg on 4 March 1881 (BYU Special Collections, M209, Ala #1), she tells him that "Mr. Cowdry adopted me as his own child," asked him to identify her in his book as "A. M. Orvis," and reported Cowdery's violent skepticism: "I have often heard Mr. Cowdry say that Mormonism was the work of the Devil." Seven months later, also to Gregg, she added another report from Cowdery that, despite his negative view of Joseph Smith, apparently confirms his acceptance of the Book of Mormon: In a second letter she says, "Joe Smith said that as fast as he translated from the golden plates the Book of Mormon, the angel took them from them and nothing was left him but the Book of Mormon" (Letter, 3 October 1881, published in Charles A. Shook, *The True Origin of the Book of Mormon*, 1914, 58). My thanks to Larry Morris for providing this material. Corroboration that it was this adopted daughter who was the schismatic seer comes from John Logan Trauber Jr., who wrote: "David Whitmer has a peep-stone, which was once used by a girl named Adeline Fuller, who lived in David's family at Kirtland, Ohio, and probably elsewhere. John C. Whitmer has a stone, the one which his son uses, and states that it belonged to his father, Jacob Whitmer" (John Logan Traugbher, "David Whitmer, 'The Last Witness' of the Book of Mormon," 24, in Traugbher Papers, Ms 666, Box 2, fd. 23, Manuscripts Division, Marriott Library, University of Utah). Furthermore, Adeline's cousin, John Whitmer (son of John C. Whitmer and grandson of Jacob Whitmer), used the same stone in 1877 at the age of ten in seer visions. My thanks to Michael Marquardt for supplying this material. Additional information on Adeline M. Barnard's life is skimpy. The Cowdery family is not indexed in the 1840 census and may have been sharing a dwelling with another family. By 1850, only two daughters, Elizabeth and Maria, were living with their widowed mother, who was then living again with her parents.

Despite the distinctive role Adeline played in the Whitmer schism, at least three other girls also acted as seers in Kirtland. First, Symonds Rider was converted in May 1831 when he heard a "young Mormon girl" in Kirtland prophesy the destruction of Peking, then read about the event in June. He does not identify her (Van Wagoner, *Sidney*, 109). Michael Quinn quotes Edward Partridge's description in December 1835 of Kirtland's "youngest female seer," a girl whom

David The circumstances of this were as follows—David Whitmore requested her to look through this stone and tell him what Joseph meant by one third of the church turning against him her answer was that he would fall from his office because of transgression and either he (David Whitmore) or Martin Harris would be appointed in his place and the one who did not secede Joseph in his office would be a councillor to him who did.

Those persons who were disaffected towards Joseph commenced collecting together around this girl as soon as this news came to their ears ~~until~~ Dr Williams was also one of the dissenters <and> He wrote the revelations that were given to this girl.

Jared Carter who had always ~~until~~ before been a good and faithful brother lived in the same house with David Whitmore and was soon imbibed the same spirit not long

She said, the reason why one-third of the Church would turn away from Joseph, was because that he was in transgression himself; that he would fall from his office on account of the same; that David Whitmer, or Martin Harris would fill Joseph's place;<sup>195</sup> and that the one who did not succeed him, would be the Counsellor to the one that did.<sup>196</sup>

This girl soon became an object of great attention among those who were disaffected. Dr. Williams, the ex-justice of the peace,<sup>197</sup> became her scribe, and wrote her revelations for her.

Jared Carter, who lived in the same house with David Whitmer, soon imbibed the same spirit, and I was informed, that he said in one of their meetings, that he had power to raise

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Hepzibah Richards identified in 1838 as a daughter of John Thorp. With the help of her stone, this girl described Partridge's daughter Eliza and the family's circumstances in Missouri in 1835. Three years later, two individuals fired into Thorp's house, trying to hit this girl. The third girl was Elias Pulsipher's daughter. Elias found a "brown colored stone about 2 1/2 inches wide and 6 inches long with two holes in it. The Prophet Joseph examined it and declared it to be a seerstone." Pulsipher's daughter used it to find "drowned persons, lost cattle and other items for people who sought such information." She gave this stone to her own daughter, who could also see anything desired in it until she once asked to see Satan; his image appeared in the stone, but it never worked again for anyone (Quinn, *Early Magic*, 248-49, 542n92). Oddly, no history of the Kirtland period that I have consulted so much as mentions the role of this young woman in the schismatic movement that developed between about February 1837 (the collapse of the Kirtland Safety Society) and 12 January 1838 (the departure of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and their families, for Missouri). See Van Wagoner, Karl Anderson, Backman.

195. Joseph had reportedly ordained David Whitmer as his successor "in case of accident to himself" at the time he disbanded Zion's Camp in 1834 (Vogel 1:33).

196. Coray: "would be councillor to him who did."

197. GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley: "Williams, ~~the ex-justice of the peace~~, became . . ."

after he became one of their party

“Joe<sup>198</sup> Smith” to the highest heavens, or sink him down to the lowest hell.<sup>199</sup>

I ~~the~~ was made acquainted with the fact and having a great regard for him I ~~took~~ <improved> the first opportunity of talking with him ~~and~~ to dissuade him from continuing to associate with persons who would be the means of his destruction and as I had been informed that he had declared in one of their meetings that he ~~had~~ possessed power to ~~send~~ raise Joe Smith to the highest heaven or cast him down to the lowest hell\* I questioned him about the matter in presence of my husband ~~in~~ order to get him to [written broadside in the margin: “tell the story in full”] Who <not knowing what I at first talking of said as he began to tell the whole story in full> when he heard this ~~commence~~ reason with brother Carter upon the impiety of the course he was taking and warned him to repent and that speedily and confess his sins to the church or the judgements of God would overtake him He remained with us untill Midnight and he acknowledged his fault and said he would confess to the brethren

Shortly after this, Jared came to our house, and I questioned him relative to what he had said concerning Joseph.<sup>200</sup> Not having mentioned the matter to my husband, he did not understand what I meant at first; but after a little explanation, he warned Jared to repent of the injudicious course that he was taking, and speedily confess his sins to the Church, or the judgments of God would overtake him. Jared received this admonition, and acknowledging his fault, agreed to confess to the brethren, the first opportunity.

198. GAS on Pratt, IE, and Nibley: “Joseph.”

199. RLDS: “sink him to the lowest hell”; Nibley note: “The above paragraphs show the state of apostasy into which some of the leaders of the Church, including the Three Witnesses, had fallen.”

200. Benjamin F. Johnson’s letter to George Gibbs claims that Oliver Cowdery, Warren Parrish, and Jared Carter began practicing an unauthorized form of plural marriage about 1837 (Backman, *Heavens*, 276). Although George Q. Cannon in 1881 recorded that Cowdery, unlike Joseph Smith, leaped from knowing of the practice to engaging in it, no similar corroboration exists

The next morning ~~he which was~~  
~~thursday~~ was taken with a violent  
 pain in his eyes ~~to~~ and he was in  
 great distress for two days but on  
 the evening of the second day he  
 rose from his bed and kneeling  
 down he besought the Lord to heal  
 him and he covenanted before God  
 that if he was healed he would make  
 a full confession before the church  
 the next sabbath

when the Sunday came & the brethren  
 were about to open the meeting  
 he rose and said that he had been  
 doing wrong and <related his what  
 had occurred bettween him and Mr  
 Smith and myself and> asked the  
 forgiveness of the church begging to  
 be received again into their confi-  
 dence ~~As this~~ he did not however  
 tell them what he steps he had  
 taken that he called wrong but they  
 would not doubt have readily for-  
 given him if he had done so—

his <confession> was received but  
 his party still continued obstinate  
 and they met at Mr Whitmores held  
 <secret> meetings and When the  
 young Woman who was their in-  
 structress was through giving revela-  
 tions she would jump ~~up and d~~ and  
 hop over the floor and dance with  
 all her might and boast of her great

The next morning he was seized  
 with a violent pain in his eyes, and  
 continued in great distress for two  
 days. On the evening of the second  
 day, he arose from his bed, and,  
 kneeling down, besought the Lord to  
 heal him, covenanting to make a full  
 confession to the Church at meeting  
 the next Sunday.

<sup>201</sup>Accordingly, the next Sab-  
 bath he arose and stated to the  
 brethren that he had done wrong;  
 and, asking their forgiveness, begged  
 to be received again into their confi-  
 dence. He did not, however, state  
 what he had done that was wrong;  
 nevertheless his confession was re-  
 ceived, and he was forgiven.

But the rest of his party continued  
 obstinate. They still held their secret  
 meetings at David Whitmer's, and  
 when the young woman, who was  
 their instructress, was through giving  
 what revelations she intended for  
 the evening, she would jump out of  
 her chair and dance over the floor,  
 boasting of her power, until she was

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for Jared Carter. Thus, although it is tempting to speculate that Lucy and Joseph Sr. catechized JJared Carter until he repented for what they would have considered adultery, it must remain (only speculation; and their distress that he was associating with dissidents amply accounts for their resolve to call him back to his duty.

201. GAS has struck out this paragraph and the next—to the end of the chapter.



power and her proselytes would rehearse in the most vehement manner how pure how holy they were and how mighty how great and how powerful they were going to be

and When we held <our next> prayer meetings they took no part with us but after meeting was dismissed they arose and ~~appointed a meeting~~ made a standing appointment for meetings to be held every thursday by the pure church which <title> they ~~themselves~~ claimed to be

they got circulated a paper to ascertain how many would follow them and it was ascertained that a great proportion of those whom we considered good members were decidedly in favor of the new party

In this spirit Mo [slightly over half of the next line is blank] went to Missouri and contaminated the minds of some of the brethren there against joseph in order to destroy his influence with them—

This schism and the rage of the Mob whom we had contended with from the first made it necessary to keep a more strict guard then ever at the houses of those who were their chief objects of vengeance

perfectly exhausted. Her proselytes would also, in the most vehement manner, proclaim their purity and holiness, and the mighty power which they were going to have.

They made a standing appointment for meetings to be held every Thursday, by the pure Church in the house of the Lord.

They also circulated a paper, in order to ascertain how many would follow them, and it was found, that a great proportion of the Church were decidedly in favour of the new party.<sup>202</sup>

In this spirit they<sup>203</sup> went to Missouri, and contaminated the minds of many of the brethren against Joseph, in order to destroy his influence.

This made it more necessary than ever, to keep a strict guard at the houses of those who were the chief objects of their vengeance.<sup>204</sup>

202. GAS on Pratt has written in the margin: "Query Such rumors did exist" and then has drawn lines on the text from this point to the end of the chapter. GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley: "found, that a ~~great proportion~~ <large number> of the Church ~~were decidedly~~ <were disaffected> in favor of the new party."

203. GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley: "some"

204. RLDS note: "The Kirtland Bank affair was an unfortunate one, and has been made the

*Lucy: 1844-45*

and the brethren who are now complained of by discontented members of the church would in their days take their stations as <a> watch and stand night after night through all weather on guard to protect the lives of the presidency one of whom was syney Rigdon that was always as faint hearted as any woman and far more so than his <own> wife for had his faith patience and courage been as genuine as Sister Rigidons he would not have been where he is now when ~~those wh~~ the 12 many of whom were then cheerful to take the brunt of danger and hardship that he recoiled from are shining as much brighter in comparison to him as the Light of the sun is brighter than the smoke of a tar hill—<sup>205</sup>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

CHAP. XLVI.

JOSEPH SMITH, SENIOR, AND HIS BROTHER JOHN, GO ON A MISSION TO THE EAST—THE DEATH OF JERUSHA SMITH.

In the year 1836 my husband and his brother John were sent on a short mission to New Portage. While there they administered patriarchal blessings and baptized sixteen persons.<sup>206</sup>

Soon after they left for New Portage, their aged mother<sup>207</sup> arrived in Kirtland from New York,<sup>208</sup> after travelling the distance of five hundred miles. We sent immediately for my husband and his brother, who returned as speedily as possible, and found the old lady in good health and excellent spirits. She rejoiced to meet so many of her children, grand-children, and great-grand-children, whom she expected never to see.

In two days after, her sons, John and Joseph, arrived, she was taken sick,

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occasion of strong objection to the claims of the Church. There is, however, reason to believe that the failure was due more to mismanagement than to dishonesty. Bro. William Marks, Sr., is credited with stating that he made some advances of money, and put forth some efforts to have the matter properly settled; but that a large number of the bills were put afloat without the sanction of the directors, by an individual, and this rendered such effort useless. He lost considerable means in the attempt, and did not avert the disaster that occurred subsequently."

205. After this passage, which begins a new page, the text continues directly with the material that is the beginning of chap. 47.

206. Joseph Jr.'s history records their departure on 22 June 1836. Joseph Jr., Lucy, and Clarissa escorted Joseph Sr. and John as far as Painesville "where we procured a bottle of wine, broke bread ate and drank, and parted after the ancient order with the blessings of God" (HC 2:447).

207. Nibley note: "Mary Duty Smith, wife of Asael Smith." She was born 11 October 1743 (Richard L. Anderson, *New England*, 209n191).

208. GAS on Pratt: "in Kirtland from <Stockholm> New York . . ."

and survived but one week; at the end of which she died, firm in the faith of the Gospel, although she had never yielded obedience to any of its ordinances. Her age was ninety-three years.<sup>209</sup>

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*Contextual note:* Asael and Mary Smith had been living with their son Silas in Potsdam, and Silas brought his mother and other relatives to Kirtland at this time. His conversion is not included in Lucy's narrative, even though a draft version exists in Martha Jane Coray's notebook, beginning abruptly in midsentence:

aned [sic] ~~rathe~~ towards Mormonism this offended them and they began to find fault he continued with them however until 1835 at which time the Lord gave Hyrum Smith a revelation commanding him to visit his uncle Silas and ~~hap~~ for he was ready to be baptized at this time Hyrum had not seen his uncle ~~and~~ but he enquired for him and when he found him he said Uncle Silas I have come The Lord has sent me to baptize you for the Lord has seen the integrity of your heart but knows your fears with regard to your family but you need not suffer any anxiety about them for if you embrace the Gospel it will be the means of saving them—He answered that he had no doubt of the truth of the work and the only thing that hindered him from embracing it was that he was affraid that his family ~~was~~ would be so much opposed to it that it would ruin his peace—however upon receiving this message he was baptized but through much tribulation being much opposed by his Neighbors as well as his own family—in the month of May 1836 he moved to Kirtland taking his Mother aged 93 92 years but the first family of children staid behind—for they were so opposed that they refused to come with him—6 years previous to their removal from Stockholm St Laurance county father Asael Smith died and on his death bed declared his ful [sic] and firm belief in the

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209. Apparently Hyrum had urged his uncle Silas Smith, who was still living in Potsdam, St. Lawrence County, in 1836, to bring his widowed mother, Mary Duty Smith, to Kirtland and come himself. Hyrum promised, "And God will bless him [Silas] in so doing and give her strength to endure the journey." Mary arrived in May 1836, accompanied by the families of Asael Jr., Silas Smith, and other converts from New York. Elias Smith's diary for 17 May 1836 describes the meeting between Joseph, Hyrum, and Mary Duty Smith in these terms: "Found her well & as smart as I have ever seen her for ten years. The day was fine after the rain of the preceeding evening & every thing seemed to welcom her to this country. . . . Grandmother was over Joyed at meeting her children Grandchildren & all in this place whom she had not seen for years. & many of them <she> had never had the satisfaction of beholding." Richard Anderson (*New England*, 113-15), drawing on Elias's account, explains: "The meeting between the grandmother and her prophet-descendant and his brother was most touching. Joseph blessed her and said she was the most honored woman on earth. She had desired to see all her children and grandchildren before she died, which with one exception [grandson George A. Smith was the absent one, serving a mission; see Appendix, letter to Agnes Smith, 25 June 1836] was providentially granted her." In her last moments on 27 May 1836, she gestured toward an invisible group and "exclaimed, 'O, how beautiful! But they do not speak!'" Eliza R. Snow, who was present, "saw her calmly fall asleep."

everlasting gospel and also said regreted that he was not baptized when Joseph his son was there and acknowledged that the doctrine of Universalism which he had so long advocated was not true for although he had lived by this religion 50 years yet he now renounced it as insufficient to comfort him in death—when he left his wife also a firm believer and She would have been baptized but Jesse her oldest son was so opposed that She concluded to set delay the matter until she could get to Kirtland when She arrived there she told said to Lucy that I am going to have your Joseph baptize me but I will have my blessing from My Joseph but in 20 days after She got there She was taken sick and died in the 93 year of her age Surrounded with a numerous company of children Grand children and Great Grand children—in the year 1838 Mrs Smith Silas [Mary Aikens Smith] wife came into the church and they set out for Misouri but when they came got to Knox county Ohio he stopped and remained 3 months on account of his team this brought them to huntsville just time enough to meet the exterminating order here we also met one Isaac Russel<sup>210</sup> who pretended he had authority from the chief officers to form an encampment of the Saints Whom he found on their way to Mis<s>ouri and lead them back we accordingly we stopped with the company soon after this Mr Marks who was one of the number went to Far west to bring out Mr russels family when Mr Marks returned he iformed him that Joseph and his counselsors wished to see him Mr <I> Russel went to Far West and after <being> tried his lisenice was taken from him and he did not return to us again he Mr<sup>211</sup> Russel also pretended to have revelations and power to lead the church and persuaded us to encamp in a point of Land between Salt river and the Mississipi not sufferring one of them to go into a house and in consequence of the exposure which the people were subjected to Silas Smith and his youngest <child> second Son John was taken sick and the child died and was buried there after the Mr Russel absconded <back> we set out for Illinois and moved into Pitsfield Pike County and Silas Smith was appointed to preside over the church and soon after this he received visions and a commandment to go on to brother Marks and brother John Sweat with some others and Joel Harvey with others and tell them that they must command their families in the name of the Lord to repent and cease their <mur>murrings for and be subject to their natural heads that if they did not do this that their families would lead them out of the church. This was a hard talk for Silas Smith for he had considered bro Marks much Superior and he went first to my husband to get council Mr. Smith told him to go to brother Marks and tell him what he had been commanded to but before had time to do so he was taken sick again and died soon after while during his last sickness he Saw many important visions which I would be glad to relate but cannot remmember them clearly enough to do so

Note when Silas received the above visions he lived in Pitsfield and we lived in Nauvoo.

210. Here appears a drawing of a hand labeled "IR" with pointing finger.

211. The initials "IR," enclosed in a ragged rectangle, are inserted here.

#### PART 4. THE KIRTLAND YEARS

Silas died as he lived composed and in full faith and confidence in the everlasting gospel[.] "Copy of an Old Notebook," 38-46.

A fragment in Lucy's manuscript in chap. 52 reports Silas's death.

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#### *Coray/Pratt: 1853*

In a short time after her [Mary Duty Smith's] death my husband and his brother John took a journey to visit all the Churches,<sup>212</sup> and the following is a sketch from the journal of John Smith, of this tour:—

"As we travelled through New Hampshire, we visited<sup>213</sup> Daniel Mack, who was Joseph's brother-in-law. He treated us very kindly, but was unwilling to hear the Gospel. We travelled thence up the Connecticut river to Grafton. Here we found an own sister,<sup>214</sup> whom we had not seen for twenty years. Her prejudice had become so strong against 'Mormonism,' that she<sup>215</sup> was unwilling to treat us even decently. From this place we went to Vermont, through Windsor and Orange counties, and found many of our relatives, who treated us kindly, but would not receive the Gospel. We next crossed the Green Mountains to Middlebury. Here we found our oldest sister,<sup>216</sup> who was very much pleased to see us, and received our testimony. We staid with her over night. and the next day set out for St. Lawrence county, New York, where we had one brother and a sister. Having arrived at this brother's (who was Jesse Smith), we spent one day with him. He treated us very ill. Leaving him, we went to see our sister Susan. I had business about ten miles on one side, and during my absence, Jesse pursued Joseph to Potsdam, with a warrant, on a pretended debt of twelve dollars, and took him back to

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212. GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley: "... to visit all <branches of the> the churches <in the East> . . ."

213. GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley: "As we travelled through New Hampshire, <& on our way> we visited . . ."

214. IE and Nibley: "our sister Mary"

215. GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley: "... an own <our> sister, whom we had not seen in 20 years. Her <The> prejudice <of her husband Isaac Pierce> had become so strong against Mormonism, that she <he> . . ." In the absence of John Smith's holograph diary, it is not possible to know what exactly he wrote, but in both the typescript copy that Zora Smith Jarvis included in her history of George A. Smith and Martha Jane Coray's notebook copy of this diary, the language is clear: "[Mary's] prejudice had become so strong against Mor—through the report that she was unwilling to treat us decently" ("Copy of an Old Notebook," 7).

216. GAS on Coray: "Priscilla"; IE and Nibley: "Precilla"

Stockholm. Not satisfied with this, he abused him most shamefully, in the presence of strangers; and he exacted fifty dollars of him, which Joseph borrowed of brother Silas, who happened to be there just at that time from Kirtland, and paid Jesse this sum, in order to save further trouble.<sup>217</sup>

"The meekness manifested by brother Joseph upon this occasion, won upon the feelings of many, who said that Jesse had disgraced himself so much, that he would never be able to redeem his character.

"From Potsdam we went to Ogdensburg, when to our joy we found Heber C. Kimball, who had raised up a small branch in that place. These were the first Latter-day Saints<sup>218</sup> we had seen in travelling three hundred miles. On the tenth of October we returned home."<sup>219</sup>

*Contextual note:* Jesse Smith was as zealous and dogmatic in his anti-religious faith as the most single-minded sectarian. Joseph Sr. and Lucy had apparently had no hesitation in confiding Joseph Jr. to Jesse's care when he was convalescing at about age seven after his leg surgery, so Jesse's acts of harshness, attempted intimidation, and what seem to be personal malice are puzzling, especially since they apparently run counter to the Smith family tradition of familial affection and devotion. For example, Joseph's and Jesse's father, Asael Sr., made a deathbed promise to his father, Samuel Smith, that he would

217. According to the copy Martha Jane made in her notebook, this passage reads: "my hussband said name the sum he said nothing less than 50\$—he borrowed the sum & paid it to get away when he [Jesse] owed brother John 3 times that sum but he dispsied the idea of treating a brother thus—" ("Copy of an Old Notebook," 10).

218. Coray: "Mormons"; RLDS: "Latter Day Saints"

219. Another typescript version of this diary, included in Zora Smith Jarvis, "Ancestry," 13-14, adds some additional details. Joseph and John stayed for about three weeks at Portage, Allegheny County, until 18 July, visiting their relatives, including Charity, the daughter of their brother Silas, from South Island, Vermont. On 30 July, they had an unpleasant encounter with Alexander Campbell, founder of the Church of Christ (Disciples). John recorded: "Had a meeting at five o'clock this afternoon. After service a gentleman to all appearances arose and requested liberty to speak, but he was told that the congregation had been detained to a late hour. We dismissed the meeting. He requested the people to tarry. We did also. He said that he knew that the Book of Mormon was a falsehood that he knew the author, and that it was borrowed from his own writings, and that he would prove it to the satisfaction of the public, and many other things that were very abusive. We told him to repent and washed our feet against him. He was Alexander Campbell." Another unpleasant experience next awaited them. "We came to Potsdam and found our sister Susan full of popularity and pride. On 25th we left Potsdam and made the last visit among our kindred in the Eastern land; left them in unbelief and as hard hearted as the devil wants them to be." Despite these setbacks, they returned from their trip of 1,600 miles "in a one-horse wagon" through the states of Pennsylvania, New York, Vermont, and New Hampshire, reaching Kirtland on 10 October 1836 "in good health and spirits."

assume his debts and the care of his widow (Asael's stepmother who "did not," he felt, "treat him so kindly as some mothers treat their children"). This promise "cost me much money and trouble" over the next five years, leaving him "almost destitute." He and Jesse then went into Vermont in the spring of 1791 and cleared a new farm but sold it with standing crops rather than waiting to harvest them because, according to his son John, he "could not bear to have his boys so far from him, as he always loved to have his children close by" (John Smith, memoir written on 20 July 1839 at George A. Smith's request; see Richard Anderson, *New England*, 149-54, 291n241). Furthermore, in his "spiritual will," written to his family on 10 April 1799, to be read after his death, Asael pleaded with them to "visit as you may each other. Comfort, counsel, relieve, succor, help and admonish one another," to pool their labor, to hold a yearly reunion, and to "live together in an undivided bond of love" (*ibid.*, 127-28). Perhaps he feared that his eldest son's peremptory ways had already strained the fraternal bond.

Certainly Jesse's recorded behavior communicates no commitment to Asael Sr.'s desires. On 17 June 1829, Jesse answered a letter written by Hyrum Smith, violently repudiating Mormonism's claims as "not a very deep, but a very clear and foolish deception, a very great wickedness, unpardonable, unless you are shielded by your ignorance." He was irate that Joseph Sr. had not written himself but instead had sent a messenger, possibly Martin Harris, according to Richard L. Anderson, to try and influence their father and brother Samuel. This messenger had told Samuel that Joseph Sr. "has a wand or rod like Jannes & Jambres who withstood Moses in Egypt—that he can tell the distance from India to Ethiopia &c another fool story, many other things alike ridiculous" (Vogel 1:552-53). George A. Smith, Jesse's nephew, described himself as Jesse's "favourite" and was much impressed with his intellect. "I thought what he did not know was not worth knowing." Jesse "abused" George A. when he found out that the boy had had a private conversation with Joseph Sr. and had been impressed by the Book of Mormon. When Jesse proudly claimed, "The Devil never shut my mouth," George A. dared to answer back, "Perhaps he opened it, uncle." Jesse instantly consigned him to the devil (Vogel 1:568).

According to George A. Smith, Jesse's treatment of his brothers drew upon himself a miserable death which they prophesied in George A.'s presence. George A. Smith, in a letter to Thomas Bullock on 15 February 1859, put on the record his own version of his father John's mission with Joseph Sr., Jesse's actions, and their consequences:

I will relate one incident, which his brothers told me, of Jesse Smith. When their father, Asael Smith, was seventy years, old, he placed his farm of 450 acres,



at Tunbridge, Orange Co. Vermont, in the hands of Jesse, his eldest son, with the understanding that he should pay about 600 dollars of debts which the father was then owing, and distribute to the other children about 100 dollars each. The property was worth several thousand dollars. The old gentleman reserved to himself a small house and seventy acres of land for his own private residence, putting Jesse in possession of the old homestead. Jesse went and settled with the persons to whom his father was owing, by taking up his father's obligations and giving his own. He then sued his father for these obligations, and attached his house and twenty [sic] acres to secure payment. The lawyers advised the old gentleman to stand a suit, and throw Jesse out of the whole property, and leave him to pay the debts. But the father was unwilling to have a lawsuit with his son, and he wept bitterly in consequence of the difficulty. His two youngest sons, Silas and John, seeing the grief of their father, though they had no property, told him that he should never want for the comforts of life while their labour would procure them. He accordingly let Jesse have his residence and land, taking therefore the obligations named before. Silas and John removed their parents to St. Lawrence Co., N.Y., and took care of them until the day of their death, in turns of five years each, the father dying at Stockholm Oct. 31, 1830, in the 88th year of his age, and the mother at Kirtland, May 27, 1836, was 93 [actually 92] years. John took care of his parents the first five years, Silas the second, John the third, and then Silas kept them until their death. About 17 years after Jesse turned them out of their own residence, he, with his family, came to St. Lawrence Co., in a state of destitution. Asael, Silas, and John supplied his wants, aided him in procuring a small farm in Stockholm, and assisted in building his present residence there. He put himself under obligations to them until they received the Book of Mormon.

In the fall of 1836, President Joseph Smith, senior, Patriarch over the Church, and John Smith, his brother, came to see me in Owegatchie. They had been on a mission to bless the Saints throughout the eastern branches, and on their return they called to see their relatives in Stockholm and other parts of St. Lawrence Co. They were very much grieved in consequence of the persecution they had received from their eldest brother, Jesse, who resided in Stockholm. He followed them to Potsdam, and sued Joseph on a pretended claim some thirty years old, and which Joseph insisted had been paid. As the patriarch had no money, Jesse attached his horse. The circumstances were the more aggravating as he was too old and feeble to proceed on his mission on foot. Fortunately, in the midst of this dilemma, Silas, another brother, arrived, having come from Kirtland to settle some business in St. Lawrence. He paid fifty dollars for the release of his brother Joseph from the obligation, being the amount claimed for fifteen dollars principal, and the interest thereof for about thirty years. I cannot easily express the grief manifested by these venerable fathers in Israel at the unkind treatment they received from their elder brother, who possessed a small farm and other comfortable property in Stockholm. As soon as they arrived I went with them into the wilderness and prayed. Their hearts were comforted, and the Spirit of the Lord rested upon them. They related to me the treatment they had received from their elder brother, whom they forever treated with kindness and respect, and who had no occasion against them, except



for the ministry of the Gospel, and the Priesthood which had been conferred upon them. He despised them for the Gospel's sake, and for its sake only. They prophesied that he should become a pauper, that he should die penniless, and that his children should be estranged from him and be scattered.

George A. then confirmed: "My uncle Jesse Smith, died in 1852 in his 85th year. His numerous family were scattered, and his property wasted away, so that when he died he had no friends able to bury him, and his funeral expenses were defrayed, out of the poor fund, by the township of Stockholm, where he died" (Smith to Bullock). Apparently neither Joseph Sr. nor John confided this distressing behavior to Joseph Jr., since he records the details of Jesse's persecution of his father on 10 May 1836 as he heard them, apparently for the first time, from Heber C. Kimball (HC 2:441).

*Lucy: 1844-45*

When Hyrum left home<sup>220</sup> he requested Don Carlos to see to his family accordingly Don Carlos moved into the same house with them in a short time after Hyrum left ~~Jerusha~~ <Jerusha> his wife ~~was confined~~ had a daughter which she named Sarah as her health continued very poor for some time after the birth of her child ~~she~~ it was taken care of by one Mrs Grenolds who stayed with its mother during Hyrums absence Jerusha's health was still on the decline she became subject to

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

About one year after my husband returned from this mission, a calamity happened to our family that wrung our hearts with more than common grief. Jerusha, Hyrum's wife, was taken sick, and, after an illness of, perhaps two weeks, died while her husband was absent on a mission to Missouri. She was a woman whom everybody loved that was acquainted with her, for she was every way worthy.<sup>221</sup> The family were so warmly attached to her, that, had she been our own sister, they could not have been more afflicted by her death.<sup>222</sup>

220. In addition to the rough draft and published versions (both reproduced here) and the fair copy, which the 1853 publication follows, a fourth version of Jerusha's death, a single sheet, has been preserved as a loose sheet in Lucy's manuscript. See "The Textual History of Lucy's Book" for all three versions and discussion hypothesizing the creation of an intermediate draft version after Lucy's rough draft but before the Coray fair copy.

221. Coray: "whom everyone loved; who was acquainted . . . The family were so attached to her, that had she been an own sister . . ." GAS on Pratt drew a penciled line in the margin from "She was a woman" to "every way worthy" but did not make a comment or any other changes.

222. Coray: "been an own sister . . ." Nibley note: "Jerusha Barden Smith died in October, 1837." Don Carlos wrote to Hyrum on 9 October: "I called the family together. . . . [Jerusha] told

fainting fits at last she sent for a physician who gave her some mild restoratives[ve] and left her saying he thought she would be better soon she still grew worse and in a short time she sent for me and said she did not think before that her time to die was so near but she was sure she should not live but a very little while. ~~She then sent for~~ her children were then brought to her and She kissed them and ~~took~~ bid them and us farewell and immediately expired It was a time of dreadful mourning with us all ~~when~~ <that> followed this sad disaster—

*Lucy: 1844-45*

<sup>223</sup>About one year after my husband returned from this mission, a misfortune happened our family that wrung our hearts with more than common grief. Hyrum ~~being under the necessity of going to Missouri~~ 's wife Jerusha ~~who~~ was taken sick ~~during his absence~~ and after an illness of perhaps 2 weeks died while her husband was absent on a mission to Missouri. She was a woman whom every body loved that ever knew her, for she was every way worthy and the family were so deeply attached to her that if she had been an own sister they could not have been more afflicted at her death.

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the children to tell their father that the Lord had taken their mother and left them for you to take care of." He added a reassuring postscript that he could care for Jerusha's five surviving children, including the newborn Sarah, in Hyrum's absence. (Their second child, Mary, born in 1829, had died in 1832; three-year-old Hyrum would die in Nauvoo in 1841.) Don Carlos's letter was included with one from Samuel to Hyrum, written on 13 October, explaining: "Jerusha . . . died this evening about half past seven o'clock. She was delivered of a daughter on the first or second of this month. She has been very low ever since" (qtd. in Esplin, 34). Don Carlos and his wife, Agnes, had two daughters at that point, one fourteen months old and the second five months old. Samuel and his wife, Mary, were also the parents of two daughters, the first only a few days short of her second birthday and the second six months old.

223. This paragraph follows immediately after "sad disaster" with only a paragraph break, ending at the bottom of the page with "at her death."

Lucy: 1844-45

Coray/Pratt: 1853

CHAP. XLVII.

THE PERSECUTION REVIVES—  
DON CARLOS AND HIS FATHER  
FLY FROM THEIR ENEMIES—  
JOSEPH MOVES TO MISSOURI.

The next move the mob ma I will now return to the mob for we have said little of their proceedings for sometime principally because they were not of sufficient importance to demand attention but when they found that despite their best endeavors we had built ~~our~~ the house of Lord and that we were ~~to~~ in most of our comfort which we enjoyed on account of it became divided they began to renew their diligence to effect the desire of their hearts which was our overthrow

Their first movement towards this was to commence suing My son Joseph for debt and with this pretense they ~~would~~ siezed upon ~~every~~ any <every> piece of property which they could have least pretext to lay hold upon and they considered it quite sufficient if the article in question belonged to any one of the family

Their ~~great~~ they determined to have get posession of some Mummis and the records which attended them and declared that they would fetch them all from the Mormon meeting

Soon after the division that took place in the Church, our enemies without began<sup>224</sup> again to trouble us. Having seen our prosperity in everything to which we had set our hands<sup>225</sup> previous to this, they became discouraged, and ceased their operations; but, suddenly discovering that there was a division in our midst, their fruitful imaginations were aroused to the utmost, to invent new schemes to accomplish our destruction.

Their first movement was to sue Joseph for debt, and, with this pretence, seize upon every piece of property belonging to any of the family.

Joseph then had in his possession four Egyptian mummies, with some ancient records that accompanied them. These the mob swore they would take from the meeting-

224. GAS on Pratt: "our enemies ~~without~~ began . . ."; IE and Nibley: "Soon after the apostasy that took place in Kirtland, our enemies began . . ."

225. GAS on Coray: "Soon after the ~~division~~ <apostasy> that took place in ~~the Church,~~ <Kirtland> our enemies ~~without~~ began . . . to which we <had> set our hands . . ."

house and burn them ~~and~~ accordingly they levied an execution upon them claiming that they belonged to Joseph and he was owing them a debt of 50 dollars this was an unjust demand ~~and~~ for we was not oweing any man out of the church any thing ~~but as Joseph had~~ and by various stratagems we kept them out of the hands of the rabble who were joined ~~to~~ with the apostates in devising every invention ~~for our~~ to get these things into their hands possession in order to destroy them only then existing evidence in writing of the book<sup>226</sup> Mormon which was accessible to the world<sup>227</sup>

house,<sup>228</sup> and then burn every one of them. Accordingly, they levied<sup>229</sup> an execution upon them for an unjust debt of fifty dollars; but, by various stratagems, we succeeded in keeping them out of their hands

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*Contextual note:* Lucy Mack Smith exhibited these artifacts to visitors for a modest fee, earning her the distinction, according to Glen Leonard, director of the Museum of Church History and Art, of being “the first Church curator” (“Church Museum,” 10). Eudocia Baldwin Marsh, a non-Mormon born in Geneva, New York, in 1829, who lived on a farm outside Carthage during the 1840s, many years later (date not given) reported visiting Nauvoo during Joseph’s lifetime, dining at the Mansion House, and viewing the mummies that were exhibited for a small fee in an adjoining room.

We found them presided over by the mother of the Prophet, a trim looking old lady in black silk gown and white cap and kerchief.—With a long wand she pointed out to us the old King Pharoah of the Exodus himself, with wife and daughter, and gave us a detailed account of their lives and doings three thousand years before.—Upon my asking her how she obtained all this information she replied in a severely virtuous tone: and a manner calculated to repress all doubt and further question—“My Son Joseph

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226. New page: “14” is handwritten at the left and right top margins.

227. Coray: “. . . hands, and they were not permitted to destroy the only evidence, which was acceptable to the world, of the truth of the Book of Mormon.” Lucy and Coray were mistaken, of course, in considering that the Egyptian mummies, associated with the Book of Abraham, had a direct connection with the Book of Mormon, which is no doubt the reason Pratt eliminated this sentence. However, in the popular mind, both the Book of Mormon and the Book of Abraham were linked through their joint claim of being ancient records.

228. IE and Nibley: “they would take, and then . . .”

229. GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley: “obtained”

Smith has recently received a revelation from the Lord in regard to these people and times—and *he* has told all these things to *me*.”—We left the house without faith in these revelations—neither did we believe in the old ladies [*sic*] faith in them which seems hard on the mother of the “Prophet. . . .” (Hallwas and Launius, 33)

This visit closely parallels the better-known experience of Josiah Quincy and Charles Francis Adams, who called on Joseph Smith in April 1844. Among other points of interest, he showed them “the curiosities,” exhibiting them personally, perhaps because of the importance of his guests:

He led the way to a lower room, where sat a venerable and respectable-looking lady. “This is my mother, gentlemen. The curiosities we shall see belong to her. They were purchased with her own money, at a cost of six thousand dollars;” and then, with deep feeling, were added the words, “And that woman was turned out upon the prairie in the dead of night by a mob.” There were some pine presses fixed against the wall of the room. These receptacles Smith opened, and disclosed four human bodies, shrunken and black with age. “These are mummies,” said the exhibitor. “I want you to look at that little runt of a fellow over there. He was a great man in his day. Why, that was Pharaoh Necho, King of Egypt!” Some parchments inscribed with hieroglyphics were then offered us. They were preserved under glass and handled with great respect. “That is the handwriting of Abraham, the Father of the Faithful,” said the prophet. “This is the autograph of Moses, and these lines were written by his brother Aaron. Here we have the earliest account of the creation, from which Moses composed the first book of Genesis.” The parchment last referred to showed a rude drawing of a man and woman, and a serpent walking upon a pair of legs. . . . “Gentlemen,” said this bourgeois Mohammed, as he closed the cabinets, “those who see these curiosities generally pay my mother a quarter of a dollar.” (Quincy, 386-87)

the persecution became so hot<sup>230</sup> that Joseph found that it would be necessary for him to leave Kirtland and go to Missouri and he was preparing for his journey when the first effort was made to get the mummies and their attendant records ~~but went to~~ and he was one evening in our house Speaking of various things which he wished to have them do in case he left when it was quite late he rose to go home but

The persecution finally became so violent, that Joseph regarded it as unsafe to remain any longer in Kirtland, and began to make arrangements to move to Missouri. One evening, before finishing his preparations for the contemplated journey, he sat in council with the brethren at our house.<sup>231</sup> After giving them directions as to what he desired them to do, while he was absent from

230. Coray: “~~hot~~ violent”

231. Coray: “in council at our house.”

as he was about leaving he turned to the company saying well brethren one thing more ~~I do not want you to be concerned about me for~~ I shall see you again ~~for I have~~ let what will happen for this I have a lease of my life 5 years any way and they will not kill me till after that time is expired<sup>232</sup>

when we came to hear from his ~~hou~~ house the next morning he had gone on his journey having received an intimation of ~~sud~~ immediate danger he set out in the night with his family and a beds ~~and~~ bedding and clothing sufficient to make them comfortable Emma's oldest son was then only [blank] old—<sup>233</sup>

soon after Joseph left the constable came to our house (this mans name was Luke Johnson) who had formerly been a member of the church) and ~~requested~~ <serv- ing a summons on> Mr Smith ~~to go~~ <served a summons on> re- requested him to go to the Magis- trates office saying that no Mis- chief was intended that it was <of> a peaceable nature

them, and, as he was about leaving the room, he said, "Well, brethren, I do not recollect anything more, but one thing, brethren, is certain, I shall see you again, let what will hap- pen, for I have a promise of life five years, and they cannot kill me until that time is expired."

That night he was warned by the Spirit to make his escape, with his family, as speedily as possible; he therefore arose from his bed, and took his family, with barely beds and clothing sufficient for them, and left Kirtland in the dead hour of the night.<sup>234</sup>

The day following, the constable, Luke Johnson, an apostate, served a summons upon my husband, telling him that no harm was intended, and desired him to go immediately to the office.

232. Coray: "has expired."

233. Lucy is mistaken. Joseph and Sidney left without their families. Emma, who was six months pregnant, packed her belongings and six-year-old Julia, five-year-old Joseph III, and eighteen-month-old Frederick. She and Phebe Rigdon and her children then joined Joseph and Sidney at Norton, Ohio, sixty miles to the south, thirty-six hours after the men's flight from Kirtland. Brigham Young and his family also joined the party there (Newell and Avery, 68-70).

234. Nibley note: "The Prophet and Sidney Rigdon left Kirtland on the night of January 12, 1838."

Mr Smith was then sick and I begged ~~of~~ Johnson not to take him ~~and~~ away among <our> Enemies for I knew by experience how to take there civil writs (indeed they too often proved to be very uncivil for their design was generally false imprisonment however nothing else would satisfy those very civil men but his going into a crowd of apostates & Mobocrats and run the risk of what treatment he might receive at their hands.<sup>235</sup> After Mr Smith arrived there he was soon ~~in-~~structed informed of the cause of ~~ar-~~rest his being arrested and what was necessary to his escape from imprisonment—he was taken before Esqr. Cowdray for Marrying a couple<sup>236</sup> as the Apostates and the <mob> did not consider that he was a minister of the Gospel they contested his right to perform such a ceremony and he was fined the sum of \$3000 ~~for~~ and in default of paying that he was sentenced to the penitentiary Hyrum was there ~~but~~ still as he had not set out for Missouri

Luke Johnson ~~no~~ bustled about and seemed to be very much engaged preparing to ~~send Mr. Sm~~ draw writings for the money and <make> other arrangements such as was required of him by the party to which he belonged

I begged Johnson not to drag my husband away among our enemies, for I knew, by sad experience the direful consequences of these civil suits. Johnson paid no attention to what I said, but hurried my husband away to the office. He was taken for marrying a couple; and as Esquire Cowdery, and the mob, did not consider that he was a minister of the Gospel, they disputed his having the right to perform this ceremony, and so fined him the sum of three thousand dollars, and, in case he should fail to pay this amount forthwith, he was sentenced to go to the penitentiary.

Luke Johnson bustled about, pretending to be very much engaged in preparing to draw writings for the money, and making other arrangements, such as were<sup>237</sup> required of him by the party to which he belonged.

235. New page: "15" is handwritten at the right and left top margins

236. GAS on Coray: "marrying a couple <without being licensed the courts of Ohio having absolutely refused to license any of the Elders of the Church; although the law required them to do so." He has marked out the next sentence: "and as Esq. Cowdery . . . penitentiary." IE and Nibley follow these corrections.>

237. GAS on Coray: ". . . Johnson blustered about, pretending to be very much engaged in

but he went to Hyrum and told him to take his father into a room which he pointed out to him and said Luke I will manage to get the window out and then ~~became~~ <he will be> you ~~him~~ at liberty to jump out and <go where he pleases>

When Hyrum and Mr Smith left the company Luke ~~th~~ told the mob that they were gone to ~~make~~ consult together about raising the money and by deceiving them in this way kept them still untill Mr Smith by the help of Hyrum and John Boynton who said that he was our friend at this time escaped out of the window

he travelled about four miles and stopped with ~~father~~ <brother> Snow who is the father of Miss Eliza Snow the poetess the old man said he would secrete him and ~~ealle~~ forbid his family from saying to any one that Father Smith was there.—

The first opportunity that offered itself, he went to Hyrum, and told him to take his father<sup>238</sup> into a room, which he pointed out to him, and, said Johnson, "I will manage to get the window out, which will set him at liberty to jump out, and go where he pleases."<sup>239</sup>

Mr. Smith and Hyrum, who had been together all the time, then retired from the company, who were kept from following them by Luke Johnson, who told the mob that the prisoner had gone to consult about raising the money.<sup>240</sup> In this way they were stilled, until Mr. Smith, by the help of Hyrum and John Boynton, escaped from the window.<sup>241</sup>

My husband, after travelling about four miles, stopped with brother Snow,<sup>242</sup> who was father to Eliza Snow, the poetess. The old man told Mr. Smith that he would secrete him, and, calling his family together, he forbade them telling

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preparing to draw writings for the money, and making other arrangements"; IE and Nibley: "Luke Johnson bustled about, pretending to be very much engaged in drawing the bonds and in making arrangements such as were . . ."

238. IE and Nibley: "and told him he would take his father . . ."

239. GAS on Coray: ". . . told him ~~to~~ <he would> take his father into a room which he pointed out ~~to him~~: and, said Luke, 'I will manage <so that he can> to get <out of> the window ~~out~~, which will set him at liberty ~~to jump out~~, and <to> go where he pleases.'" IE and Nibley: ". . . manage so that he can get out, which will set him at liberty to go where he pleases."

240. GAS on Coray, IE, and Nibley omit the next sentence: "Mr. Smith and Hyrum . . . raising the money."

241. GAS on Cory: "In this way ~~they were stilled~~, <he escaped> ~~until Mr. Smith~~, by the help of Hyrum and John Boynton, <escaped> from the window." IE and Nibley follow GAS but spell the second name "Boynton."

242. IE and Nibley: "after traveling about two miles, stopped with brother Oliver Snow . . ." While Oliver Snow's first name would be readily known, the change from four to two miles is an unusual substantive change; it is the first and may be the only change between the 1853 and 1902 editions that cannot be explained by the GAS-BYU and GAS-Coray corrections.



When Luke supposed that my husband was out of their reach he started up & ran into the room where he left him ~~and~~ saying that he must see after the prisoner and upon finding that the <prisoner> had fled he made a great parade calling out that he was gone and hunting in every direction for the fugitive

he came to me and enquired if Mr Smith was at home this frightened me very much and I exclaimed Luke You have taken my husband away and given him into the hands of the mob that they might murder him and they have ~~done it~~ killed him ~~but~~ this he denied but gave me no explanation

in a short time however I found out where he was and sent ~~h~~ him money and clothes to travel with ~~and when he was ready to start he se~~ <and> he started in a few days with Carlos my youngest son and Brother Wilber for New Portage by this there were hand-bills stuck up at <on> every public or private road giving a discription of his person and so no means was left untried which ingenuity could invent to prevent his escape runners were sent through the country to watch for him and with authority to bring him back in case they found him.

but despite their utmost exertions

any one of his being there.

When Johnson supposed that my husband was out of their reach, he started up and ran into the room where he had left him, saying that he must see after the prisoner, and finding the room empty, he made a great outcry, and ran, hunting in every direction for the fugitive.<sup>243</sup>

He came to me and inquired if Mr. Smith had returned home. This frightened me very much, and I exclaimed, "Luke, you have killed my husband." He denied it, but gave no further explanation.

In a short time I found out where he was, and sent him both money and clothes to travel with, so that in a few days, he started with Don Carlos and brother Wilber. By this time, hand-bills were stuck up, on every public, as well as private road, offering a reward for him, and describing his person, in order, if possible, to prevent his escape. Runners were also sent throughout the country to watch for him, with authority to bring him back, in case he should be found;

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243. IE and Nibley omit this paragraph describing Luke Johnson's activities and replace "He" (the first word in the next sentence) with "Johnson."

he eluded them and succeeded in getting to New Portage ~~without falling~~ after remaining at this place with brother Tailor—<sup>244</sup>

but, in spite of<sup>245</sup> all their diligence, he succeeded in making his escape, and getting to New Portage, where he stopped with brother Taylor. Don Carlos, having accompanied his father to the above-named place, returned home again to his family; but, immediately discovering that the mob contemplated taking him for the same offence, he moved with his family to New Portage, and was there with his father until the rest of the family were ready to remove to Missouri. Hyrum had already moved there with his family.

a man by the name of Edward Woolley came to Kirtland to see Mr Smith ~~about ran~~ after his departure and finding ~~him~~ also that he had he went to New Portage where my husband was stopping at the time Mr woolly persuaded ~~him~~ <Mr Smith> to accompany him ~~home~~ to a town situated in the same country <~~which~~> where the above named gentleman resided

Shortly after they left, a man by the name of Edward<sup>246</sup> Woolley came to Kirtland to see Mr. Smith; not finding him there, he went to New Portage, and persuaded my husband to accompany him home.<sup>247</sup>

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244. Here appears a drawing of a hand with a pointing finger labled "D6S." The "S" may also be an "L" or "8" or some other character.

245. Coray: "in case they should find him; but, in despite of . . ."

246. GAS on Pratt: "Edwin Woolley's"; Pratt on Coray: "Edwin D." On Coray, he does not correct the second occurrence of "Edward" two paragraphs below. IE and Nibley change the first "Edward" to "Edwin" (without adding the initial) and change the second occurrence to "Mr. Woolley."

247. GAS on Coray: "home <to Rochester Columbiana Co.>." IE and Nibley follow GAS. Samuel Amos Woolley's biographical sketch states: "In the fall of 1837 my brother Edwin D. went to Kirtland, Ohio, and on returning he brought with him Joseph Smith, sen., the Prophet's ffather, who remained with us during the winter, to escape the persecutions of the mobs which were aat that time harassing the Saints" (Black, *Membership*).

after he had been <had remained> with Mr W. ~~about~~ about 2 weeks and then returned, when the became—very uneasy about him as we had not having received any intelligence of him since he left us William accordingly resolved to go in pursuit of him, to see ~~whether~~ how he was situated whether he had met with or and comfortably provided for or had fallen into the hands of his enemies and been murdered by them as had cause to fear the latter as much as to hope for the former

when William arrived at New Portage <now called Porttown> it was sometime before he could learn exactly where his father had gone but as soon as he obtained the necessary intelligence he went immediately to him and had the pleasure of finding him in good ~~heal~~ health although in great anxiety about the family for he did not know how we were situated nor where we were for we designed moving to Misouri soon after he left us—

As soon as it was known that William was in the place a part of the inhabitants were very anxious that he should preach and he agreed to do so but there were a few that declared that if he did preach they would tar and feather him and of these one was Mr Bear a man of extraordinary size and strength ~~and~~ ~~these~~ besides him were 3 others no less than he

After Mr. Smith had been at this gentleman's residence about two weeks, we became very uneasy about him; and, as we did not know at that time whither he had gone, William set out in pursuit of him, in order to learn, if possible, whether he had met with friends, and was well provided for, or had fallen into the hands of his enemies, and been murdered, for we had as much reason to apprehend the latter calamity, as to hope for the former good fortune.

It was some time after William arrived at New Portage, before he could ascertain where my husband had gone. But as soon as he did receive the desired information he proceeded to Edward Woolley's, where he found his father in good health, but extremely anxious about the family.

On hearing that William was in the place, many of the inhabitants were desirous that he should preach, and he agreed to do so; but a few declared, that if he did they would tar and feather him. One of these was Mr. Bear, a man of unusual size and strength; besides him there were three others.

as these men came in William was just taking his text which was ~~not~~ "The poor deluded Mormons" the singularity of this text ~~at~~ excited their curiosity so much that they stopped in the door saying wait let's see what he will do with his text and they waited so long that they either forgot what they came for or they changed their minds for they made no further move towards making use of tar or feathers and when he got through preaching Mr. Bear frankly confessed his conviction of the truth and ~~in a short time~~ was baptized

soon after <wards> William left told his father that we should set out for Missouri as soon as ~~we could~~ ~~we could get ready~~ and we wished him to be ready to go with us. ~~soon~~ ~~Mr Smith retu~~ William then returned home and his father went <again> to Norton and informed Carlos of what was we <while he was absent carlos second child sophronia was born at Norton> and we was there untill he We were ready to set out for Missouri

These men came into the house, just as William was taking his text, which was, "The poor deluded Mormons." The singularity of this text excited their curiosity, and they stopped in the doorway, saying, wait a little, let us see what he will do with his text; and they waited so long, that they either forgot what they came for, or changed their minds, for they made no further moves towards using their tar and feathers. After meeting, Mr. Bear frankly acknowledged his conviction of the truth, and was baptized.<sup>248</sup>

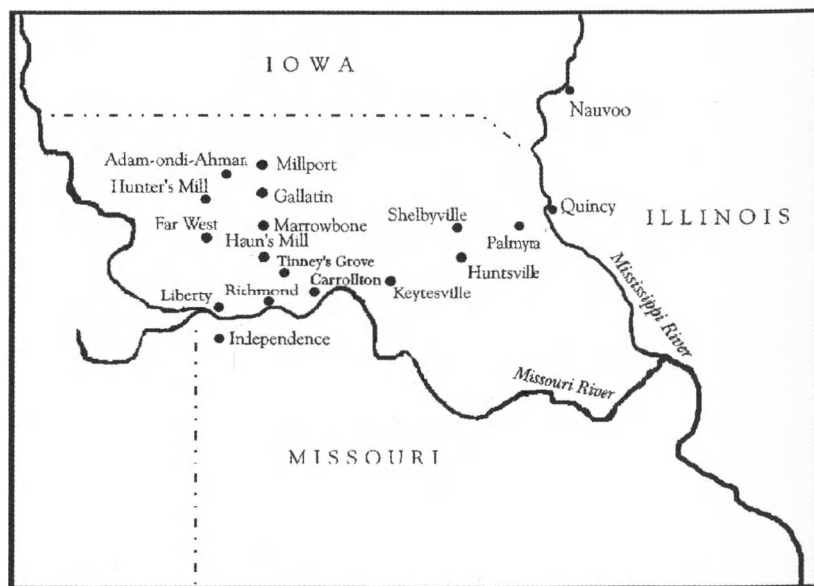
Immediately after this William returned home and his father went again to New Portage. Here he remained with Don Carlos until we were ready to start to Missouri.

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248. GAS on Pratt struck out this paragraph with horizontal lines and an "X", beginning with "On hearing that William . . ." and ending with "and was baptized." He comments in the margin: "Bear Says this is a mistake." GAS on Coray also has X'ed through this paragraph, adding in the margin: "At the request of Elder John Bear who states, by letter, that this is incorrect—it is stricken out." George A. Smith's letterpress copybook (1:716; CR/100/38 Vol. 2 1854-61) contains a letter to John Bear on 23 February 1859 inquiring whether he is the individual meant here, asking if the statements are "substantially correct," and asking for corrections and/or "an account of your conversion and baptism" and asking for a quick response. Bear's reply is not listed in Smith's or the Church Historian's Office incoming correspondence. A Mormon elder named John Bear in Nauvoo was approved for a mission to Shokoquon, about twenty miles upriver, when its inhabitants requested a Mormon preacher (HC 5:269). However, no further information links the two, nor is it known if he is related to the Mr. Bar, a glazier/carpenter mentioned in chap. 43. IE and Nibley follow GAS in omitting this paragraph.

*Part 5.*

*The Missouri Experience*



Map 4. The Smith Family in Missouri

Lucy: 1844-45

Coray/Pratt: 1853

CHAP. XLVIII.

JOSEPH SMITH, SENIOR, MOVES  
WITH HIS FAMILY TO MISSOURI—  
COMMENCEMENT OF THE PERSE-  
CUTION IN CALDWELL.

when I went to him ~~and~~ with a consequence to take him to the rest of his family <and> we did ~~not go to Kirtland but~~ were shortly on our way together right glad to meet again after so many perilous adventures alive and in health

almost as soon as we ~~set~~ were on our way ~~the~~ my sons began to have calls to preach and they soon found that if they would yield to the solicitation our journey would have been a preaching mission of very great length—

And they were obliged to notify the people where we stopped that they could not preach to them at all as we had not means sufficient to take us through in case of so much detainure<sup>2</sup> as must necessarily occur

When we were ready to start on our journey,<sup>1</sup> I went to New Portage, and brought my husband to his family, and we all proceeded together on our journey, highly delighted to enjoy each other's society again, after so long a separation.

As soon as we had got fairly started, our sons began to have calls to preach, and they directly discovered that if they should yield to every solicitation, our journey would be a preaching mission of no inconsiderable length, which was quite inconsistent with the number and situation of our family.

They therefore stopped preaching, while on their journey, and we proceeded as fast as possible, under the disadvantageous circumstances with which we were frequently surrounded.

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1. GAS on Pratt wrote "1838" in the margin.

2. The Smith family finances were particularly strained. Don Carlos, in a letter to Joseph Jr. on 6 July nine miles north of Terre Haute, Indiana, when they had been on the road for two months, reported with considerable discouragement: "We were disappointed on every hand before we started in getting money. We got no assistance whatever, only as we have taken in Sister Singly [she and the Lewis Robbins family were traveling with the Smiths], and she has assisted us as far as her means extended. We had, when we started, \$75 in money. We sold the two cows for \$13.40 per cow. We have sold of your goods to the amount of \$45.74, and now we have only \$25 to carry twenty-eight souls and thirteen horses five hundred miles. . . . All the arrangements that brother Hyrum left for getting money failed; they did not gain us one cent" (HC 3:43). He painted a bleak

if they stopped to preach they how-  
ever sowed the seeds of the gospel  
in many places and were the  
means in the hands of God of doing  
much good—A

We travelled on through many trials  
and difficulties Sometimes we lay in  
our tents through a driving storm at  
others we traveled ~~on foot~~ is through  
marshes and quagmires on foot in  
exposing our <selves> result by get-  
ting our feet <clothes> <to> wet  
and cold

one night before we arrived at the  
mississippi river we lay all night be-  
neath <in> the rain which de-  
scended in torrents and I being  
more exposed than the other fe-  
males suffered much with the cold  
and upon getting up in the morning  
I found that a quilted skirt which I  
had worn the day before was wring-  
ing wet but I could not mend the  
matter by changing that for another  
for the rain was still falling and I  
wore it in this situation for 3 days in  
consequence of this I took a severe  
cold and was very sick so that when  
we arrived at the Missisipi ~~on~~ <I>  
was unable to sit up any length and  
could not walk without assistance

Sometimes we lay in our tents,  
through driving storms; at other  
times, we were travelling on foot  
through marshes and quagmires.

Once in particular, we lay all night  
exposed to the rain, which fell in tor-  
rents, so that when I arose in the  
morning, I found that my clothing  
was perfectly saturated with the rain.  
However, I could not mend the mat-  
ter by a change of dress, for the rain  
was still falling rapidly, and I wore  
my clothes in this situation three  
days; in consequence of which, I  
took a severe cold, so that when we  
arrived at the Mississippi river, I was  
unable to walk or sit up.

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picture of circumstances, even as he expressed confidence: "We have lived very close and camped out knight, notwithstanding the rain & cold, & my baby only 2 weeks old when we started. . . . We have had unaccountable bad roads, had our horses down in the mud, and broke off[f] one wagon tongue and thills, and broke down the carriage twice and yet we are all alive and camped on a dry place for almost the first time. . . . Agness is very feeble Father & Mother are not well but very much fatigued, Mother has a severe cold, and it is nothing in fact but the prayer of faith and the power of God, that will sustain them and bring them through, our courage is good and I think we shall be brought through" (Compton, 149).



soon after we crossed this river we stopped at a negro hut a most unlovely place but we could go no farther here my ~~grand~~ daughter Katharine gave birth to a fine Girl which she called [blank]

the next morning we set out to find a more comfortable situation for her and succeeded in getting a place about 4 miles distant (and my poor Child was carried from the loathsome hut to this house in a double waggon the same day it was then agreed that My oldest daughter Sophronia and her husband ~~she~~ [blank] Mcloren should stay with Catharine and that Mr Smith and the remainder of the party would go to make what speed they could to Huntsville, with me

for I was no longer able to ride in a sitting posture but laid on a bedstead with my carefully covered as the fresh air kept me coughing continually I My husband did not much expect me to live to the end of the journey <for in going to Huntsville I could not travel sometimes more than 4 miles a day—> but as soon as we arrived at Huntsville

After crossing this river, we stopped at a negro hut, a most unlovely place, yet the best shelter we could find. This hut was the birth-place of Catharine's daughter.<sup>3</sup>

The next day my husband succeeded in getting a comfortable place, about four miles distant, for Catharine and her infant daughter,<sup>4</sup> and they were carried thither, on a lumber waggon, the same day. We then agreed that Sophronia, and her second husband, Mc Lerry,<sup>5</sup> should stop and take care of Catharine; while Mr. Smith and the remainder of the party, should take me, and make what speed they could to Huntsville.<sup>6</sup>

Our progress was but slow, for I was unable to travel more than four miles a day,<sup>7</sup> on account of a violent cough with which I was afflicted; however, we at length arrived there, and succeeded in getting a place where we could stay for some considerable length of time, if we should think proper to do so.

3. GAS on Pratt struck out this sentence and wrote in the margin, "son[.] See page 43. Alvin Borne [sic] June 7, 1838." He also replaced "daughter" with "son" in the margin of the next sentence. GAS on Coray: "of Catharine's ~~daughter~~ <son, Alvin.>" IE and Nibley: "Catharine's son Alvin." Nibley note: "These circumstances illustrate the difficulty the Smith family had on their journey to Missouri in the summer of 1838."

4. Coray: "in getting a more comfortable place for Catharine and her infant daughter [GAS: ~~daughter~~ <son>] about four miles distant . . ."; IE and Nibley: "and her infant about . . ."

5. GAS: "McLerie"; RLDS: "McCleary"; IE and Nibley: "and her husband McLerie . . ."

6. Huntsville, the seat of Randolph County, was a mile and a half east of the Chariton River. Zion's Camp had passed through this town in 1834.

7. GAS on Coray: "~~more than four miles~~ <far in> a day . . ." IE and Nibley follow GAS.

<there> He sought a place where we  
might stop sometime and all that nurs-  
ing would do for me might be done—

*Lucy: 1844-45*

It was my own request going so far as Huntsville but they did not know why I urged the matter the fact was I had an impression that if I could get there and by some means be able to by the assistance of walking sticks to find a place where I would be secluded and uninterrupted in calling upon the Lord that I might be healed

*Lucy: 1844-45*

~~and~~ accordingly I seized upon a time when they were engaged and by the aid of staffs I reached A fence and then followed the fence some distance till I came to a dense hazel thicket here I threw myself on the ground and thought it was no matter how far I was from the house for if the Lord would not hear me and I must die I might as well die here as any where when I was a little rested I began to call upon God to beseech his mercy praying for my health and that the life of my daughter catharine I urged every claim which the scriptures ~~had~~ gives us and ~~made~~ was as humble as I knew how to be and I continued praying near 3 hours. I at last ~~received~~ was entirely releived from pain and my cough left me and I was well moreover I received an assurance that I should hear from my <sick> daughter about the middle of the same day I arose and went to the house in as good health as I ever enjoyed.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

The next morning after our arrival, the family being absent I seized the opportunity to make an effort to get far enough from the house to pray without interruption. Accordingly, I took a staff in each hand, and, by the assistance which they afforded me, I was enabled to reach a dense thicket, which lay some distance from the house. As soon as I was sufficiently rested to speak with ease, I commenced calling upon the Lord, beseeching him to restore me to health, as well as my daughter Catharine. I urged every claim which is afforded us by the Scriptures, and continued praying faithfully for three hours, at the end of which time, I was relieved of<sup>8</sup> every kind of pain, my cough left me, and I was well.

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8. RLDS: "relieved from . . ."

at one oclock Jenkins Saulsbury<sup>9</sup> came to where we were and said that his wife was better and thought if she had a carriage to ride in she could proceed on her journey

The next morning he went back with a carriage and the first day she rode 50 miles<sup>10</sup> and the day after 10 miles which brought her to Huntsville here

When she got there We were holding a meeting and did not expect her as the rain had been pouring down in torrents all the forenoon ~~for~~ She was cold and her bed was very wet although they drove ~~at~~ with great speed as soon as She was put into a dry bed she had a dreadful ague fit ~~we~~ and we called the elders to lay hands upon her this helped her but she continued weak and inclined to chills and fever for a long time

the day after She came I ~~with my~~ washed a very large quantity of clothes with as much ease as though I had not been out of health at all

When our company was all gathered together we ~~set out for~~ started on our journey again and arrived at Far West without any further difficulty.

At one o'clock, Wilkins J. Salisbury, Catharine's husband, came to Huntsville, and informed us that Catharine was so much better, that, if she had a carriage to ride in, she could proceed on her journey.

After getting a carriage, Salisbury returned to his wife, who was forty miles from Huntsville, and the first day she travelled, she rode thirty miles. The second day, it commenced raining quite early in the morning, and continued to rain all day. However, this did not stop Catharine; she started about eight o'clock and arrived at the above-named place a little before noon.

When she got to Huntsville she was wet and cold. We put her immediately into a dry bed, and soon after she had an ague fit. The Elders were called to lay hands upon her, after which she seemed better, but continued weak and inclined to chills and fever some-time.<sup>11</sup>

The day following I washed a quantity of clothes, and then we proceeded on our journey, and met with no further difficulty until we arrived at Far West.<sup>12</sup>

9. Coray: "Jenkins Saulisbury"

10. Coray: "30 miles . . ."

11. Nibley but not IE: "fever for sometime."

[Note 12 appears on page 630.]

There we met Joseph and Hyrum in good health as they were had heard by William and carlos who went into Far West before us of my sickness and were surprized to see me in so good health. We moved into a small log house having but one room a very inconvenient place for so large a family<sup>13</sup> when Joseph saw how we were situated he ~~said that~~ proposed to us to take a large tavern house which he had recently purchased from brother Gilbert and keep a tavern and we did so

nothing of importance occurred from this time untill about the first of august when an Election took place at Gallatin the county seat of Davies county at this election the Mormon Brethren went to the polls f as usual for the purpose of voting. but a party of men were collected there who were determined to prevent them from exercising the priviledge of franchise and strictly forbid them from putting in a vote ~~whereupon~~ one of the brethren <named John Butler> however stepped up to the polls without paying any attention to them and voted

We moved into a small log house, having but one room, a very inconvenient place for so large a family. Joseph saw how uncomfortably we were situated, and proposed that we should take a large tavern house, which he had recently purchased of brother Gilbert.<sup>14</sup> We took the tavern, and moved into it. Samuel, previous to this, had moved to a place called Marrowbone.<sup>15</sup> William had moved thirty miles in another direction. We were all now quite comfortable.

But this state of affairs was of short duration, for it was not long before our peace was again disturbed by the mob. An election took place at Gallatin, the county seat of Davies county;<sup>16</sup> the brethren went to the poll, as usual, but, on attempting to vote, they were forbidden by the mob. They, however, paid no attention to this, but proceeded to vote; upon which, one of the mob struck brother John Butler<sup>17</sup> a heavy blow, which was returned by the latter, with a force that brought his antagonist to the ground. Four others came

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12. Nibley note: "The Smith family arrived at Far West in July, 1838."

13. Coray: "for a large family."

14. IE and Nibley: "we should take a tavern house, which he had recently purchased."

15. IE and Nibley: "Marrowbone, Daviess county." Marrowbone Creek in Daviess County received its first Mormon settlers in the summer of 1838. It was south of Adam-ondi-Ahman and north of Far West in a nearly straight line. Samuel was one of about a hundred Mormon settlers, including the families of John Lowe Butler, James Emmett, Elisha H. Groves, Levi Taylor, Owen McGee, and other families (Hartley, *My Best*, 38-39).

16. GAS: "Daviess County"; RLDS: "Daviess County"

17. GAS on Pratt crossed out the name instead of correcting it to "John Lowe Butler." In the

whereupon a man belonging to the adverse party struck him a severe blow John Butler was a very high spirited man and could not brook such treatment as this consequently the blow was returned with a force that brought his antagonist to the ground but 4 others of the same party came to the assistance of the fallen man and shared his fate for Mr. Butler was a man of extraordinary strength and when so excited was not easily overcome.

When the mob party saw the discomfiture of these champions they were much enraged and that night they wrote a number of letters were written by <M> A justice of the peace Esqr [blank] was justice of the Peace who acted in the office of judge of the election—These letters <were sent in every direction to all the adjoining counties they> stated that Joseph smith had killed seven men at that place and that the inhabitants looked for nothing but that he would collect his church together and exterminate the people who did not belong to his church—they therefore begged the assistance of their neighbors against the mormons.

to the assistance<sup>18</sup> of the fallen man, and shared the same fate. The mob saw the discomfiture of their champions with shame and disappointment, and not choosing to render them any present help, they waited till evening,

when, procuring the assistance of the judge of the election, they wrote letters to all the adjoining counties, begging their assistance against the "Mormons." They stated that Joseph Smith had, himself, killed seven men, at the election the day previous, and that the inhabitants had every reason to expect that he would collect his people together, as soon as possible, and murder all that did not belong to his Church.

These letters were extensively circulated, and as widely believed.

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margin he has written "arrange note." GAS on Coray: "one of the mob struck brother John Butler a heavy blow, which was returned by the latter, with a force that brought his antagonist to the ground <knocked down one of the brethren>." George A. apparently took this action when Wilford Woodruff wrote Butler on 29 March 1859, inquiring if the incident was factual and apparently did not receive an answer (Searle, 397). Butler's own autobiography confirms his use of an oak stave in the Gallatin fight; however, by May 1859, he was so ill that he requested release from his duties as a bishop in Spanish Fork. (George A. Smith was one of three general authorities who reviewed the request.) Butler died on 10 April 1860 (Hartley, *My Best*, 388, 342-43, 347). IE and Nibley: "struck a brother a heavy blow."

18. Coray: "aid"

We who were living at Far West heard nothing of this until the a few days after ~~when I looked~~ <when> Joseph was at our house writing a letter. ~~I was and I left the room~~ I was standing at the door of the room where he was setting upon ~~looking and~~ I <casting my eyes> toward the prairie I saw a large company of armed men advancing toward the City but I said nothing to any one about it suposing it to be training day—<sup>19</sup>

I soon observed that the main body of men came to a halt the Officers dismounted and 8 [written over "3"] 3 of them came on ~~on in~~ <to> the up to the house I set chairs for them thinking that they perhaps wanted refreshment or something of that sort but when they entered they placed themselves in a menacing standing in a line like a rank of soldiers across the room and when when I requested them to sit down they replied we do not choose to sit we have come here to kill<sup>20</sup> <Joe Smith and all> the Mormons—

Ah said <I> what has Joseph Smith done that you should want kill him they said that he had murdered 7 men in Davies County ~~the~~ and that they were sent to kill him and all the Mormons ~~and~~ I told them that he had not been in Davies at all and Consequently there could not be any truth in the report and furthermore if they should see him they would not want

A few days subsequent to this, Joseph was at our house writing a letter. While he was thus engaged, I stepped to the door, and looking towards the prairie, I beheld a large company of armed men advancing towards the city, but, as I supposed it to be training day, said nothing about it.

Presently the main body came to a halt. The officers dismounting, eight of them came into the house. Thinking that they had come for some refreshment, I offered them chairs, but they refused to be seated, and, placing themselves in a line across the floor, continued standing. I again requested them to sit, but they replied, "We do not choose to sit down; we have come here to kill Joe Smith and all the Mormons."

"Ah," said I, "what has Joseph Smith done, that you should want to kill him?"

"He has killed seven men in Davies county," replied the foremost, "and we have come to kill him, and all his Church."

"He has not been in Davies county," I answered, "consequently the report must be false. Furthermore, if

19. Coray: "be train day . . ."

20. Coray: "we have come to kill . . ."

to kill him. ~~They~~ The men disputed me saying that the news had come to them in ~~so~~ direct a maner that they fully believed it to be true and as they were sent to kill off the prophet and all that believed in him <the formost> adding and I'll be damm-d if I <we> do not execute our orders."—

Then you are going to kill me with the rest ~~said~~ I suppose said I Yes we will he replied very well I answered but I want you act like gentlemen about it and do the job quick just shoot me down at once for then it will be but a moment till I shall be perfectly happy but I would hate to be murdered by any slow process and I do not see the need of it either for you can just as well despatch the work at once as to be a ~~great~~ ~~while about~~ <ever so long a time>

There said it is again that is always their plea you tell a Mormon you'll shoot him and all the good it does is to hear them answer well that's nothing if you kill we shall be happy dam eem thats all the satisfaction you can get from them any way—

Joseph continued writing <till now> but having ~~had~~ finished ~~and~~ seal his letter ~~said~~ <he> asked me for ~~some~~ ~~sea~~ <a wafer> to seal it I ~~saw~~ seeing that he was at liberty I ~~turned~~ <turning> to them I said gentel<le>men I suffer me to make

you should see him, you would not want to kill him."

"There is no doubt but<sup>21</sup> that the report is perfectly correct," rejoined the officer; "it came straight to us, and I believe it; and we were sent to kill the Prophet and all who believe in him, and I'll be d—d if I don't execute my orders."

"I suppose," said I, "you intend to kill me, with the rest?"

"Yes, we do," returned the officer.

"Very well," I continued, "I want you to act the gentleman about it, and do the job quick. Just shoot me down at once, then I shall be at rest; but I should not like to be murdered by inches."<sup>22</sup>

"There it is again," said he. "You tell a Mormon that you will kill him, and they will always tell you, 'that is nothing—if you kill us, we shall be happy.'"

Joseph, just at this moment, finished his letter, and, seeing that he was at liberty, I said, "Gentlemen, suffer me to make you acquainted with Joseph Smith, the Prophet." They stared at him as if he were a spectre. He smiled, and, stepping

21. IE and Nibley omit "but"

22. Coray: "at rest; but inches." This is a copying error.

you acquainted with Joseph Smith the prophet he looked upon them with a very pleasant smile and stepping up to them gave each of them his hand in a manner which convinced them that he was neither a guilty criminal nor yet a cowering hypocrite.

They stopped and stared as though a spectre had crossed their path. Joseph sat down and entered into conversation with them and explained to them the views and feelings of the people called Mormon and what their course had been and <as> also the treatment which they had met with from their enemies since the first outset of the church he told them that malice and detraction had pursued them ever since they entered Missouri but they were a people who had never broken the Laws to his knowledge but if they had they stood ready to be tried by the Law—And if even at this time anything contrary to the Law had been done by any of the brethren at Davies it would certainly be just to call them to an account before molesting or murdering others that knew nothing of their transactions at Galatin after this he rose and said Mother I believe I will go home Emma will be expecting me—two of the men sprang to their feet saying you shall not go alone for it is not safe we will go with you and guard you Joseph thanked them and they went with him

the remainder of the officers stood by the door ~~the~~ while these were absent and <I overheard> the following

towards them, gave each of them his hand, in a manner which convinced them that he was neither a guilty criminal nor yet a hypocrite.

Joseph then sat down, and explained to them the views, feelings, &c., of the Church, and what their course had been; besides the treatment which they had received from their enemies since the first. He also argued, that if any of the brethren had broken the law they ought to be tried by the law, before any one else was molested.

After talking with them some time in this way, he said, "Mother, I believe I will go home now—Emma will be expecting me." At this two of the men sprang to their feet, and declared that he should not go alone, as it would be unsafe—that they would go with him, in order to protect him.

Accordingly, the three left together, and, during their absence, I overheard the following conversation among the



conversation between them

1 officer ~~How~~ did you <not> feel <strangely> when Smith took you by the hand ~~I did~~. I never felt so in my life

2 Officer—~~Nor I either~~ I felt as though I could not move I would not harm one hair of that man's head for the whole world

3 Officer This is the last time you will ever catch me coming to kill Joe Smith or the Mormons either

1 officer ~~or me~~ I guess this is my last expedition against this place I never saw a more harmless innocent appearing man in my life than the Mormon prophet

2 officer that story about his killing them men is all a damned lie there is no doubt of that and we have had all this trouble for nothing—its the last time I'll be fooled in this way

~~Then~~ Those men who went with my son promised to go disband the Militia under them and go home and said that if he had any use for them they would come back and follow him any where. They did send away their forces and go home so we considered that all hostilities ~~had~~ were no longer to be feared from the citizens—

Joseph and Hyrum thought proper however to go to Davies and ascertain the cause of difficulty they did go and after receiving the strongest assurance of the future good

officers, who remained at the door:—

1st Officer. "Did you not feel strangely when Smith took you by the hand? I never felt so in my life."

2nd Officer. "I could not move. I would not harm a hair of that man's head for the whole world."

3rd Officer. "This is the last time you will catch me coming to kill Joe Smith, or the Mormons either."

1st Officer. "I guess this is about my last expedition against this place. I never saw a more harmless, innocent appearing man, than that<sup>23</sup> Mormon Prophet."

2nd Officer. "That story about his killing them men is a d—d lie—there is no doubt of it; and we have had all this trouble for nothing; but they will never fool me in this way again, I'll warrant them."

The men who went home with my son promised to disband the militia under them, and go home, which they accordingly did, and we supposed that peace was again restored.

After they were gone, Joseph and Hyrum went to Davies county, and, receiving the strongest assurance from the civil officers of that county,<sup>24</sup> that equal rights should be

23. IE and Nibley: "the"

24. On 8 August, Joseph, Hyrum, and his party called on Adam Black, justice of the peace

conduct of the attention of the  
<civil> officers to equal-ria the ad-  
ministration of eaqual rights and  
priviledges among the citizens Mor-  
mons and anti Mormons they re-  
turned hoping all would be well

Soon after this we heard that  
William and his wife <who lived 20  
miles away> were very sick—Sa-  
muel was at Far West at the time  
and set out for Williams house with  
a carriage immediately in order to  
bring them to our house and in a  
short few days arrived there with  
them they were very low and  
seemed more likely to die of the dis-  
ease than to recover from it when  
the [sic] got there but with close at-  
tention and great care they soon be-  
gan to show signs of recovery—

administered to all parties, they re-  
turned, hoping that all would be well.

About this time, we heard that  
William and his wife were very sick.  
Samuel, who was then at Far West,  
set out with a carriage to bring them  
to our house, and, in a few days, re-  
turned with them. They were very  
low when they arrived; however, by  
great care and close attention, they  
soon began to recover.<sup>25</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

~~While Samuel was absent on this excursion~~ during the time in which I was  
taking care of My son William and his wife ~~and for a short period~~ so many  
things transpired that would probably be interesting to My readers which I  
know nothing about as I was so engaged with the care of my house and the  
sickness of my family that I did not know nor yet enquire or hear what was go-  
ing on. In a little while after Samuel brought William and caroline his wife to  
our house son samuel was born and when he was but 3 days old his father was  
compelled to leave home ~~and <as> it soon~~ Samuels family were at this time  
living in a desolate lonely place about 30 miles from Far West <then> called  
Marrowbone afterwards named Shady Grove—

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and judge elect for Daviess County. He signed a statement that he would not support the  
anti-Mormons. He later said he had been forced to sign under duress (Allen and Leonard, 134).

25. Coray: "to recover. For a few days after William's arrival, there were some circumstances  
that transpired, of which I have no personal knowledge; and I shall not attempt to rehearse them,  
as the events which have succeeded, have so obliterated them from my mind, that I am not able to  
give a correct account of them."

Lucy: 1844-45

Samuel had not been long gone when a number of the men who lived near him went to his wife and told her that the mob was coming there to drive all the Mormons from the country as into Far West and perhaps they would half of them be killed they accordingly advised her to go immediately to Far West at all hazards ~~for she was~~ and proffered to find her a waggon and boy to drive the Horses if she would do so She consented and they brought an open lumber waggon and put her ~~bed~~ into it on a bed with a very little clothing for herself and children. In this way she was started for Far West with no one but a small boy to take care of her and the children and team and no ~~pro-~~vision <thing to eat> by the way

Coray/Pratt: 1853

Soon after Samuel brought William and Caroline to our house, there was born unto Samuel a son, whom he called by his own name.<sup>26</sup> When the child was three days old, his father was compelled to leave, and, on the fourth day of its existence,<sup>27</sup> his mother was informed that she must leave home forthwith, and take a journey of thirty miles to Far West. One of the neighbours offered to furnish her a team, and a small boy to drive it, if she would start immediately. To this she agreed. A lumber waggon was brought, and she, with her bed, her children, and very little clothing either for them or herself, was put into it, and sent to Far West, under the care of a boy of eleven years of age.

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26. Nibley note: "Samuel H. B. Smith, born August 1, 1838."

27. GAS on Pratt: "three ~~days~~ <weeks> old, his father was compelled to leave, and, on the fourth <next> day of its existence . . ." In the outside margin (this page is a verso), he added the date "Aug. 1st 1838" horizontally and wrote twice vertically: "See page 43." The first of these notations spans the paragraph above this editing, beginning "About this time, we heard" and ending "soon began to recover." The second begins with the line "leave, and, on the fourth <next>" and ends even with the line terminating "either for them or . . .". In the gutter he has written horizontally "next day" again. IE and Nibley: "was three weeks old, his father. . . and on the next day his mother was informed . . ."

Arguments in favor of Lucy's timetable are these: (1) It seems unlikely that Mary would have still been bedfast three weeks after the child's birth. Women traditionally stayed in bed about ten days after giving birth in the nineteenth century. The dangerous state of Mary's health once she reaches Far West can be adequately explained by thirty-six hours in a pouring rain storm and a jolting wagon without any food while trying to keep a baby and two toddlers dry with no shelter but the already soaked bedding. (2) It also seems unlikely that Samuel would have left her, apparently alone, only two days after she had given birth. (True, Joseph Jr. often left Emma within a couple of days of her childbirths, but she was nearly always with other family members, including Lucy.) If the birth had been so grueling that Mary was still unable to be out of bed after three weeks, it seems even less likely that Samuel would have left her. The argument in favor of George A.'s three-week schedule is that there had been tension but no open outbreak of hostility until after the election day fight at Gallatin a week after Samuel H. B.'s birth. The neighbors' concern for Mary's physical safety seems reasonable after that point but somewhat unmotivated earlier.

when she travelled a ~~short~~ about  
[blank] miles they stopped and ~~staid~~  
~~over~~ <for the> night in the <latter  
part of the> night it began to rain  
~~and~~ and the water fell upon her in  
torrents for she had no shelter for  
herself or her infant but the bedding  
which was soon completely satu-  
rated with the rain that continued  
falling for sometime with great vio-  
lence.

§ The next day samuel started  
from Far West to go to his own  
house but met his <wife> in  
this situation— ~~They~~ he returned  
with her to Far West and she ar-  
rived there about 36 hours after  
she left Marrowbone without hav-  
ing taken any nourishment since  
she set out and every garment  
upon her body as well as ~~the~~  
<her> bed and bedding was  
<sup>28</sup>so wet with the rain that the  
water might have been wrung  
from them—

she was speechless and almost stiff-  
ened with the cold and effects of her  
exposure. We laid her on a bed and  
~~the~~ my sons ~~and~~ Husband and my  
sons administerd to her by the lay-  
ing on of hands—We then changed  
her clothing ~~gave her some nourish-  
ment~~ and put her into a bed

The day following, Samuel started  
home from Far West, although  
the rain was falling fast, and had  
been all the night previous. He  
had proceeded but ten miles  
when he met his wife and chil-  
dren, exposed to the inclemency  
of the weather, and dripping with  
wet. He returned with them to  
Far West, where they arrived in  
about thirty-six hours after they  
left Marrowbone, without having  
taken any nourishment from the  
time they left home.<sup>29</sup>

She was entirely speechless and stiff  
with the cold. We laid her on a bed,  
and my husband and sons adminis-  
tered to her by the laying on of  
hands. We then changed her cloth-  
ing, and put her into warm blankets,  
and, after pouring a little wine and  
water into her mouth, she was

28. New page: "15" is handwritten at the top left and right margins with this notation in a hand-drawn box between the numbers: "NB Don Carlos Smith's mission with George Smith also his letters while absen. put in." For these items, see Appendix.

29. Coray: "... to Far West. Where he arrived with them about 36 hours ... left ~~Marr~~ home untill they arrived in Far West. Mary his wife was entirely speechless and stiffened ..."

covered with warm blankets and after pouring a little nou<rish> water into her mouth. She was administered to gagain; this time she raised her eyes and seemed to revive<sup>30</sup> a little I continued to employ every means for the <her> benefit and that of my other sick children which lay in my power <in this I was much assisted by Emma and my daughters who> and ~~had they~~ <we soon> reaped the reward of my <our> labor for in a short time they began to ~~and~~ mend

and I now Congratulated myself on the pleasure I should feel in seeing my children all well and enjoying ach others society again

after William began to set up a little he related the following vision<sup>32</sup> Refer to Wm Smith

administered to again. This time she opened her eyes, and seemed to revive a little. I continued to employ every means that lay in my power for her recovery, and in this I was much assisted by Emma and my daughters.<sup>31</sup>

My children soon began to mend, and I felt to rejoice at the prospect of returning health.

When William began to sit up a little, he told me that he had a vision during his sickness, in which he saw a tremendous army of men coming into Far West, and that it was his impression that the time would not be long before he should see it fulfilled.<sup>33</sup> I was soon convinced, by the circumstances which afterwards transpired, that he was not mistaken in his opinion.<sup>34</sup>

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30. Coray: "... began to revive ..."

31. In Lucy's October 1845 conference address, she described this period in Missouri: "William was taken sick—Samuels wife & others and I had twenty or thirty sick to take care of during the mobbing—I felt strong in health—I could take care of thirty sick then better than sit on my chair now" (Lucy Smith, Minutes, Bolton version, pp. 10-11).

32. Here appears a hand-drawn empty rectangular box.

33. In Lucy's October 1845 conference address, she added additional details to this vision: "While William lay sick he had a vision & saw the mob come in—he said he saw them come in thousands & thousands & he said Mother you will be driven & says he if I die I want you to take care of my wife—I want you to carry my corps [sic] wherever you go" (Lucy Smith, Minutes, Bolton version, p. 11).

34. GAS struck out this paragraph with horizontal, vertical, and diagonal lines. IE and Nibley

Lucy, 1844-45

I felt concerned about this for I feared that some evil was hanging over us but knew nothing of the operations of the mob party untill one day Joseph ~~came~~ rode up and ~~called~~ told me ~~that he wanted me to~~ not be at all frightened that the Mob were coming but we must all keep perfectly quiet and he wished the sisters to stay within doors and not suffer themselves to be seen ~~at all~~ in the streets ~~I that~~ he could not stay with us ~~but~~ for he wanted to see the brethren and have them keep their families quiet and at home he rode off but I soon learned ~~that~~ who the mob were this was the state mob that was sent by the governor a company of ~~many~~ 10,000 men that stationed themselves on salt creek <sup>35</sup>My son in law Mr. M'c Lery went out ~~to meet the mob~~ with some others to meet the Mob and ascertain what their buisness was They gave the messengers to understand that they would soon com-  
men<ce> an indiscriminate butchery of men women and children that their orders were to convert Far West into a human slaughter pen and never quit it while there was a lisping babe or a decrepit old woman breathing within its bounds but that certain 3 persons were there that they wished to have brought forth before they began their operations as <for> they desired to preserve their lives as some of them were related ~~to the~~ one of the Mob officers—these persons were Adam Lightener John Clemison & his wife—but after a short interview John Clemison who was not a member of the church replied that they had lived with the Mormons and knew them to be an innocent people and if said he you are determined to destroy them and lay the city in ashes you must destroy me ~~and~~ also for I will die with them— ~~after I shall here insert my son Hyrum's testimony to keep up the chain of narrative and yet be as brief as possible~~

The night however passed off and we were not [the rest of the page is filled with a note that begins with an asterisk; however, there is no corresponding asterisk in the text.]

\*I shall now arrest my readers attention and carry it a little off from the immediate subject by inserting My son Hyrum's detail of our Missouri troubles but have patience and I will soon bring you back to the point in question again. Hyrum's testimony down to <the word> army on the ninth line of 250 page of the Times and Seasons [blank] Comments no one [rest of line blank.]<sup>36</sup>

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also omit it.

35. New page: "16," surrounded with curlicue circles, is written at the top right and left margins.

36. This instruction would take the copyist to the following sentence: "It was entirely laid waste by the horses of the army, and the next day after the arrival of the army, towards evening

Coray/Pratt: 1853

## CHAP. XLIX.

## TESTIMONY OF HYRUM SMITH.

Here I shall introduce a brief history of our troubles in Missouri, given by my son Hyrum, before the Municipal Court, at Nauvoo, June 30, 1843, when Joseph was tried for treason against the state of Missouri:—<sup>37</sup>

"HYRUM SMITH, sworn:—Said that the defendant now in court is his brother, and that his name is not Joseph Smith, junior,<sup>38</sup> but his name is Joseph Smith, senior, and has been for more than two years past. I have been acquainted with him ever since he was born, which was thirty-seven years in December last, and I have not been absent from him at any one time, not even the space of six months, since his birth, to my recollection; and have been intimately acquainted with all his sayings, doings, business transactions, and movements, as much as any one man could be acquainted with any other man's business, up to the present time, and do know that he has not committed treason against any state in the Union, by any overt act, or by levying war, or by aiding and abetting, or assisting an enemy, in any state<sup>39</sup> in the Union. And that the said Joseph Smith, senior, has not committed treason in the state of Missouri, nor violated any law or rule of said state, I being personally acquainted with the transactions and doings of said Smith, whilst he resided

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Colonel Hinkle came up . . ." (5:250). Lucy then dictates her instructions about where to insert her information about Hinkle into Hyrum's affidavit. (See below.)

37. GAS on Coray: "my son Hyrum <when Joseph was>, before the Municipal court, <on a writ of Habeas Corpus> at Nauvoo, June 30, 1843. ~~when Joseph was tried for treason against the state of Missouri:—~~" IE and Nibley: ". . . my son Hyrum, when Joseph was before the Municipal Court, at Nauvoo, June 30, 1843, on a writ of *habeas corpus*." The case opened on 30 June, where Hyrum's affidavit was presented on 1 July 1843 before Nauvoo's municipal court in the matter of Joseph's extradition hearing. William Marks was chief justice. Associate justices were Daniel H. Wells, Newel K. Whitney, George W. Harris, Gustavus Hills, and Hiram Kimball. Also making affidavits during the same hearing were Parley P. Pratt (who was arrested in Missouri at the same time as Joseph and Hyrum but imprisoned at Richmond, rather than at Liberty), fellow prisoners Sidney Rigdon and Lyman Wight, and two who were not arrested (Brigham Young and George W. Pitkin). Hyrum's affidavit is reproduced as part of "Municipal Court of the City of Nauvoo, Illinois," *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 16 (1 July 1843): 243-56, and also in *History of the Church* 3:404-24. There are numerous small differences between the two accounts: grammatical corrections ("compelled to lay" becomes "compelled to lie"), word order, numbers spelled out or given as numerals, more paragraphing and long sentences broken into shorter ones in the HC account, the silent correction of typographical errors, spelling variations in proper nouns (*DeWitt*, *Gillum*, and *Bogard* in the *Times and Seasons* become *De Wit*, *Gillum*, and *Bogart* in the HC), and the HC also adds brackets to clarify the text (e.g., "He was buried by Lucius N. Scovil, who is now [1843] the senior Warden of the Nauvoo [Masonic] Lodge.") The few substantive changes are identified in the notes.

38. Coray footnote: "This testimony was given after the death of his father . . ."

39. Coray: "against the state . . ."



in said state, which was for about six months in the year 1838; I being also a resident in said state, during the same period of time. And I do know that said Joseph Smith, senior, never was subject to military duty in any state, neither was he in the state of Missouri, he being exempt by the amputation or extraction of a bone from his leg, and by his having a license to preach the Gospel, or being in other words, a minister of the Gospel. And I do know that said Smith never bore arms as a military man, in any capacity whatever, whilst in the state of Missouri, or previous to that time; neither has he given any orders, or assumed any command, in any capacity whatever. But I do know that whilst he was in the state of Missouri, that the people commonly called 'Mormons,' were threatened with violence and extermination, and on or about the first Monday in August, 1838, at the election at Gallatin, the county seat in Davies county, the citizens who were commonly called 'Mormons,' were forbidden to exercise the rights of franchise, and from that unhallowed circumstance an affray commenced, and a fight ensued among the citizens of that place, and from that time a mob commenced gathering in that county, threatening the extermination of the 'Mormons.'

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*Contextual note:* Roger Launius sees the Mormon actions as provocative. It was generally understood that Caldwell County had specially created for Mormon occupancy and that the Mormons would stay there. When they began settling in Daviess County to the north, "Mormons violated what the non-Mormons, including Doniphan, believed was a pact; seeing them like Indians leaving a reservation, the local citizenry dealt with them in a similar manner" (*Alexander Doniphan*, 48). LeSueur (25) agrees that this was the non-Mormon perception but notes that "the Mormons do not mention any agreement to confine themselves to Caldwell." By mid-October, when Mormon Danites had carried out preemptive strikes, raids for supplies, and also retaliatory attacks, William G. Hartley (*My Best*, 67, 69) argues that the Danites, by 14 October 1838, understood that "a state of war had commenced. No longer did they see the contest merely as a civilian clash. 'No notarized declaration of war was pronounced, and posted, but in attitude and militia conduct such was the case. . . . In peacetime such acts are arson, vandalism, and robbery—clearly crimes. But in wartime they are military actions serving strategic purposes.'"

According to Launius, however, Doniphan, who was both a militia officer and the Mormons' legal counsel, "always believed that regardless of who had started the conflict, the Mormons had at this point become the aggressors" (*Alexander Doniphan*, 54. See also LeSueur, chap. 3, "Rumblings of a Conflict,"



and chap. 7, "The Mormons Retaliate").

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

The said Smith and myself, upon hearing that mobs were collecting together, and that they had also murdered two of the citizens of the same place, and would not suffer them to be buried, the said Smith and myself went over to Davies county to learn the particulars of the affray; but upon our arrival at Diahman, we learned that none were killed, but several were wounded. We tarried all night at Col. Lyman Wight's. The next morning the weather being very warm, and having been very dry for some time previous, the springs and wells in that region were dried up. On mounting our horses to return, we rode up to Mr. Black's, who was then an acting justice of the peace, to obtain some water for ourselves and horses. Some few of the citizens accompanied us there, and after obtaining the refreshment of water,<sup>40</sup> Mr. Black was asked, by said Joseph Smith, senior, if he would use his influence to see that the laws were faithfully executed, and to put down mob violence, and he gave us a paper written by his own hand, stating that he would do so. He also requested him, (Mr. Black) to call together the most influential men of the county the next day, that we might have an interview with them; to this he acquiesced, and accordingly, the next day they assembled at the house of Col. Wight, and entered into a mutual covenant of peace to put down mob violence, and to protect each other in the enjoyment of their rights. After this we all parted with the best of feelings, and each man returned to his own home. This mutual agreement of peace, however, did not last long; for but a few days afterwards the mob began to collect again, until several hundreds rendezvoused at Millport, a few miles distant from Diahman. They immediately commenced making aggressions upon the citizens called 'Mormons,' taking away their hogs and cattle, and threatening them with extermination, or utter destruction;<sup>41</sup> saying that they had a cannon, and there should be no compromise only at its mouth; frequently taking men, women, and children prisoners, whipping them and lacerating their bodies with hickory withes, and tying them to trees, and depriving them of food until they were compelled to gnaw the bark from the trees to which they were bound, in order to sustain life, treating them in the most cruel manner they could invent or think of, and doing everything they could to excite the indignation of the 'Mormon' people to rescue them, in order that they might make that a pretext for an accusation

40. HC 3:405: "obtaining water . . ."

41. Coray: "hogs or cattle, and threatening them with utter extermination or destruction"

for the breach of the law, and that they might the better excite the prejudice of the populace, and thereby get aid and assistance to carry out their hellish purposes of extermination. Immediately on the authentication of these facts, messengers were dispatched from Far West to Austin A. King, judge of the fifth judicial district of the state of Missouri, and also to Major-Gen. Atchison, Commander-in-Chief of that division, and Brigadier-General Doniphan, giving them information of the existing facts, and demanding immediate assistance. General Atchison returned with the messengers, and went immediately to Diahman, and from thence to Millport, and he found the facts were true as reported to him; that the citizens of that county were assembled together in a hostile attitude, to the amount of two or three hundred men, threatening the utter extermination of the 'Mormons.' He immediately returned<sup>42</sup> to Clay county, and ordered out a sufficient military force to quell the mob. Immediately after they were dispersed, and the army returned, the mob commenced collecting again; soon after, we again applied for military aid, when General Doniphan came out with a force of sixty armed men to Far West; but they were in such a state of insubordination, that he said he could not control them, and it was thought advisable by Colonel Hinkle, Mr. Rigdon, and others, that they should return home. General Doniphan ordered Colonel Hinkle to call out the Militia of Caldwell, and defend the town against the mob, for, said he, you have great reason to be alarmed; for, he said, Neil Gillum, from the Platte Country, had come down with two hundred armed men, and had taken up their station at Hunter's Mill, a place distant about seventeen or eighteen miles north-west of the town of Far West, and, also, that an armed force had collected again at Millport, in Davies county, consisting of several hundred men, and that another armed force had collected at De Witt, in Carroll county, about fifty miles south-east of Far West, where about seventy families of the 'Mormon' people had settled, upon the bank of the Missouri River, at a little town called De Witt. Immediately a messenger, whilst he was yet talking, came in from De Witt, stating, that three or four hundred men had assembled together at that place, armed *cap-a-pie*, and that they threatened the utter extinction of the citizens of that place, if they did not leave the place immediately, and that they had also surrounded the town and cut off all supplies of food, so that many of them<sup>43</sup> were suffering with hunger. General Doniphan seemed to be very much alarmed, and appeared to be willing to do all he could<sup>44</sup> to assist, and to relieve the suf-

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42. HC 3:406: "he at once returned . . ."

43. HC 3:406: "so that many of the inhabitants . . ."

44. RLDS: "willing to do all that he could . . ."

ferings of the 'Mormon' people. He advised that a petition be immediately got up and sent to the Governor. A petition was accordingly prepared, and a messenger immediately despatched to the Governor, and another petition was sent to Judge King. The 'Mormon' people throughout the country were in a great state of alarm,<sup>45</sup> and also in great distress. They saw themselves completely surrounded with armed forces, on the north, and on the north-west, and on the south, and also Bogard,<sup>46</sup> who was a Methodist preacher, and who was then a Captain over a Militia company of fifty soldiers, but who had added to his number, out of the surrounding counties, about a hundred more, which made his force about one hundred and fifty strong, was stationed at Crooked Creek, sending out his scouting parties, taking men, women, and children prisoners, driving off cattle, hogs, and horses, entering into every house on Log and Long Creeks, rifling their houses of their most precious articles, such as money, bedding, and clothing, taking all their old muskets and their rifles or military implements, threatening the people with instant death if they did not deliver up all their precious things, and enter into a covenant to leave the state or go into the city of Far West by the next morning, saying that 'they calculated to drive the people into Far West, and then drive them to hell.' Gillum also was doing the same on the north-west side of Far West; and Sashiel<sup>47</sup> Woods, a Presbyterian Minister, was the leader of the mob in Davies county, and a very noted man, of the same society, was the leader of the mob in Carroll county; and they were also sending out their scouting parties, robbing and pillaging houses, driving away hogs, horses, and cattle, taking men, women, and children, and carrying them off, threatening their lives, and subjecting them to all manner of abuses that they could invent or think of.

"Under this state of alarm, excitement, and distress, the messengers returned from the Governor, and from the other authorities, bringing the fatal news that the 'Mormons' could have no assistance. They stated that the Governor said, 'that the Mormons had got into a difficulty with the citizens, and they might fight it out, for all what he cared,<sup>48</sup> he could not render them any assistance.'

"The people of De Witt were obliged to leave their homes and go into Far West; but did not until many of them had starved to death for want of

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45. RLDS: "state of great alarm . . ."

46. GAS on Coray: "Bogart." He makes this correction on most, but not all, occurrences of the name in this affidavit.

47. Coray: "Sashall"

48. HC 3:407 and RLDS: "for all he cared . . ."

proper sustenance, and several died on the road there, and were buried by the way side, without a coffin or a funeral ceremony, and the distress, sufferings, and privations of the people cannot be expressed. All the scattered families of the 'Mormon' people, in all the counties except Davies, were driven into Far West, with but few exceptions.

"This only increased their distress, for many thousands who were driven there had no habitations or houses to shelter them, and were huddled together, some in tents, and others under blankets, while others had no shelter from the inclemency of the weather. Nearly two months the people had been in this awful state of consternation, many of them had been killed, whilst others had been whipped until they had to swathe up their bowels to prevent them from falling out. About this time, General Parks came out from Richmond, Ray county, who was one of the commissioned officers who was sent out to Diahman, and I, myself, and my brother Joseph Smith, senior, went out at the same time.

"On the evening that General Parks arrived at Diahman, the wife of the late Don Carlos Smith, my brother, came in to Colonel Wight's, about eleven o'clock at night, bringing her two children along with her, one about two years and a half old, the other a babe in her arms. She came in on foot, a distance of three miles, and waded Grand River, and the water was then about waist deep, and the snow about three inches deep. She stated that a party of the mob, a gang of ruffians, had turned her out of doors, had taken her household goods, and had burnt up her house, and she had escaped by the skin of her teeth. Her husband at that time was in Virginia,<sup>49</sup> and she was living alone. This cruel transaction excited the feelings of the people in Diahman, especially Col. Wight, and he asked Gen. Parks, in my hearing, *how long we had got to suffer such base violence?* Gen. Parks said he did not know how long. Col. Wight then asked him what should be done? Gen. Parks told him, 'he should take a company of men, well armed, and go and disperse the mob wherever he should find any collected together, and take away their arms.' Col. Wight did so precisely, according to the orders of Gen. Parks, and my brother Joseph Smith, senior, made no words about it.<sup>50</sup> And after Col. Wight had dispersed the mob, and put a stop to their burning houses belonging to the 'Mormon' people, and turning women and children out of doors, which they had done up to that time, to the amount of eight or ten houses, which were consumed up to ashes. After being cut short in their intended designs, the mob started up a new plan. They went to work, and moved their families out

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49. GAS: "Tennessee"; HC 3:408: "Tennessee [on a mission]"

50. HC 3:408: "made no order about it."

of the county, and set fire to their houses, and not being able to incense the 'Mormons' to commit crimes, they had recourse to this stratagem—to set their houses on fire, and send runners into all the counties adjacent, to declare to the people, that the 'Mormons' had burnt up their houses, and destroyed their fields; and if the people would not believe them, they would tell them to go and see if what they had said was not true. Many people came to see—they saw the houses burning, and being filled with prejudice, they could not be made to believe, but that the 'Mormons' set them on fire; which deed was most diabolical and of the blackest kind, for indeed the 'Mormons' did not set them on fire, nor meddle with their houses or their fields. And the houses that were burnt, together with the pre-emption rights, and the corn in the fields, had all been previously purchased by the 'Mormons,' of the people, and paid for in money, and with waggons and horses, and with other property about two weeks before, but they had not taken possession of the premises; but this wicked transaction was for the purpose of clandestinely exciting the minds of a prejudiced populace and the Executive, that they might get an order, that they could the more easily carry out their hellish purposes, in expulsion or extermination, or utter extinction of the 'Mormon' people. After witnessing the distressed situation of the people in Diahman, my brother Joseph Smith, senior, and myself, returned back to the city of Far West, and immediately dispatched a messenger, with written documents, to General Atchison, stating the facts as they did then exist, praying for assistance, if possible, and requesting the editor of the "Far West," to insert the same in his newspaper, but he utterly refused to do so. We still believed that we should get assistance from the Governor, and again petitioned him, praying for assistance, setting forth our distressed situation. And in the mean time, the presiding judge of the county court issued orders, upon affidavits made to him by the citizens, to the sheriff of the county, to order out the militia of the county, to stand in constant readiness, night and day, to prevent the citizens from being massacred, which fearful situation they were exposed to every moment. Every thing was very portentous<sup>51</sup> and alarming. Notwithstanding all this, there was a ray of hope yet existing in the minds of the people, that the Governor would render us assistance. And whilst the people were waiting anxiously for deliverance—men, women, and children frightened, praying and weeping—we beheld at a distance, crossing the prairies, and approaching the town, a large army in military array, brandishing their glittering swords in the sunshine, and we could not but feel joyful for a moment, thinking that probably the Gover-

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51. IE and Nibley: "portentious"

nor had sent an armed force to our relief, notwithstanding the awful forebodings that pervaded our breasts. But to our great surprise, when the army arrived, they came up and formed in a line in double file, in one half mile on the east<sup>52</sup> of the city of Far West, and dispatched three messengers with a white flag to come to the city. They were met by Captain Morey, with a few other individuals, whose names I do not now recollect. I was, myself, standing close by, and could very distinctly hear every word they said. Being filled with anxiety, I rushed forward to the spot, expecting to hear good news, but, alas! and heart-thrilling<sup>53</sup> to every soul that heard them—they demanded three persons to be brought out of the city, before they should massacre the rest. The names of the persons they demanded, were Adam Lightner, John Cleminson, and his wife. Immediately the three persons were brought forth to hold an interview with the officers who had made the demand, and the officers told them, they had now a chance to save their lives, for they calculated<sup>54</sup> to destroy the people, and lay the city in ashes. They replied to the officers, and said, "If the people must be destroyed, and the city burned to ashes, they would<sup>55</sup> remain in the city and die with them." The officers immediately returned, and the army retreated, and encamped about a mile and a half from the city. A messenger was immediately dispatched with a white flag, from the colonel of the militia of Far West, requesting an interview with General Atchison, and General Doniphan; but, as the messenger approached the camp, he was shot at by Bogard, the Methodist preacher. The name of the messenger was Charles C. Rich, who is now Brigadier-General in<sup>56</sup> the Nauvoo Legion. However, he gained permission to see General Doniphan. He also requested an interview with General Atchison. General Doniphan said that General Atchison had been dismounted by a special order of the Governor, a few miles back, and had been sent back to Liberty, Clay county. He also stated, that the reason was, that he (Atchison), was too merciful unto the 'Mormons,' and Boggs would not let him have the command, but had given it to General Lucas, who was from Jackson county, and whose heart had become hardened by his former acts of rapine and bloodshed, he being one of the leaders in murdering, driving, plundering, and burning, some two or three hundred houses belonging to the 'Mormon' people in that county, in the years 1833 and 1834.

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52. HC 3:409: "on the south . . ."

53. Coray: "heart-rending"

54. HC 3:410: "intended"

55. IE and Nibley: "we will"

56. IE and Nibley: "of"

"Mr. Rich requested General Doniphan to spare the people, and not suffer them to be massacred until the next morning, it then being evening. He coolly agreed that he would not, and also said, that, 'he had not as yet received the Governor's order, but expected it every hour, and should not make any further move until he had received it; but he would not make any promises so far as regarded Neil Gillum's army,' (he having arrived a few minutes previously, and joined the main body of the army, he knowing well at what hour to form a junction with the main body). Mr. Rich then returned to the city, giving this information. The colonel immediately dispatched a second messenger with a white flag, to request another interview with General Doniphan, in order to touch his sympathy and compassion, and if it were possible, for him to use his best endeavours to preserve the lives of the people. On the return of this messenger, we learned that several persons had been killed by some of the soldiers, who were under the command of General Lucas. One Mr. Carey had his brains knocked out by the breech<sup>57</sup> of a gun, and he lay bleeding several hours, but his family were not permitted to approach him, nor any one else allowed to administer relief to him whilst he lay upon the ground in the agonies of death. Mr. Carey had just arrived in the country, from the state of Ohio, only a few hours previous to the arrival of the army. He had a family consisting of a wife and several small children. He was buried by Lucius N. Scovil,<sup>58</sup> who is now the senior warden of the Nauvoo Lodge. Another man, of the name of John Tanner, was knocked on the head at the same time, and his skull laid bare the width of a man's hand, and he lay, to all appearance, in the agonies of death for several hours; but by the permission of General Doniphan, his friends brought him out of the camp, and with good nursing he slowly recovered, and is now living. There was another man, whose name is Powell, who was beat<sup>59</sup> on the head with the breech of a gun until his skull was fractured, and his brains ran out in two or three places.<sup>60</sup> He is now alive, and resides in this county, but has lost the use of his senses; several persons of his family were also left for dead, but have since recovered. These acts of barbarity were also committed by the soldiers under the command of General Lucas, previous to having received the Governor's order of extermination.

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57. Coray and *Times and Seasons* (T&S) 4:249: "britch" here and in the sentence below about Powell.

58. Coray: "Scoville"

59. Nibley (but not IE): "beaten"

60. *Times and Seasons* 4:250: "and his brains ran out . . ."; IE and Nibley omit: "and his brains ran out in two or three places."



"It was on the evening of the thirtieth of October, according to the best of my recollection, that the army arrived at Far West, the sun about half an hour high. In a few moments afterwards, Cornelius Gillum arrived with his army and formed a junction. This Gillum had been stationed at Hunter's Mills for about two months previous to that time—committing depredations upon the inhabitants, capturing men, women, and children, and carrying them off as prisoners, lacerating their bodies with hickory withes. The army of *Gillum* were painted like Indians, some of them were more conspicuous than were others, designated by red spots, and he also was painted in a similar manner, with red spots marked on his face, and styled himself the "*Delaware chief*." They would whoop, and hallow,<sup>61</sup> and yell, as nearly like Indians as they could, and continued to do so all that night. In the morning early the Colonel of militia sent a messenger into the camp, with a white flag, to have another interview with Gen. Doniphan. On his return he informed us that the Governor's orders had arrived. General Doniphan said, 'that the order of the Governor was, to exterminate the Mormons by God, but<sup>62</sup> he would be d—d if he obeyed *that order*, but General Lucas might do what he pleased.' We immediately learned from General Doniphan, that the Governor's order that had arrived was only a copy of the original, and that the original order was in the hands of Major General Clark, who was on his way to Far West with an additional army of six thousand men.'<sup>63</sup> Immediately after this there came into the city a messenger from Haun's Mill, bringing the intelligence of an awful massacre of the people who were residing in that place, and that a force of two or three hundred, detached from the main body of the army, under the superior command of Colonel Ashley, but under the immediate command of Captain Nehemiah Comstock,<sup>64</sup> who, the day previous, had promised them peace and protection, but on receiving a copy of the Governor's order, 'to *exterminate or to expel*,' from the hands of Colonel Ashley, he returned upon them the following day, and surprised and massacred the whole population of the town,<sup>65</sup> and then came on to the town of Far West, and entered into conjunction with the main body of the army. The messenger informed us, that he, himself, with a few others, fled into the thickets, which preserved

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61. *Times and Seasons* 4:250: "and hallow . . ."; Coray: "and hallow . . ."; RLDS: "and halloo . . ."; HC 3:411: "and halloo . . ."

62. Nibley: "the Mormons but . . ."

63. This quotation mark, a typographical error, is not replicated in IE or Nibley.

64. *Times and Seasons* 4:250: "Nehemiah Conpstock"; Coray: "... but under the superior command of Col Ashby, but under the superior command of Captain Nehemiah Comstock"

65. Coray and *Times and Seasons* 4:250: "massacreed the whole population . . ."; HC 3:412: "and massacred nearly the whole population . . ."



them from the massacre, and on the following morning they returned, and collected the dead bodies of the people, and cast them into a well; and there were upwards of twenty, who were dead, or mortally wounded, and there are several of the wounded, who are now living in this city. One of <sup>66</sup> the name of Yocum, has lately had his leg amputated, in consequence of wounds he then received. He had a ball shot through <sup>67</sup> his head, which entered near his eye and came out at the back part of his head, and another ball passed through one of his arms.

"The army during all the while they had been encamped in Far West, continued to lay waste fields of corn, making hogs, sheep, and cattle common plunder, and shooting them down for sport. One man shot a cow, and took a strip of her skin, the width of his hand, from her head to her tail, and tied it around a tree to slip his halter into to tie his horse to. The city was surrounded with a strong guard, and no man, woman, or child, was permitted to go out or come in, under the penalty of death. Many of the citizens were shot, in attempting to go out to obtain sustenance<sup>68</sup> for themselves and families. There was one field fenced in, consisting of twelve-hundred acres, mostly covered with corn. It was entirely laid waste by the horses of the army,

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Comments

Col. Hinkle was sent by the church to see if it was possible to make a treaty of Peace with them and when he returned he said he did not think there would be any difficulty at all in coming upon terms of stipulation with the mob.—

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

and the next day after the arrival of the army, towards evening,<sup>69</sup> Colonel Hinkle came up from the camp, requesting to see my brother Joseph, Parley P. Pratt, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, and George W. Robinson,<sup>70</sup>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

stating that the officers of the army wanted a mutual consultation with those men, also stating that Generals Doniphan, Lucas, Wilson, and Graham, (however, General Graham is an honourable exception: he did all he could to preserve the lives of the people, contrary to the order of the Governor,) he (Hin-

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66. Nibley: "by"

67. IE and Nibley: "ball through"

68. Coray: "subsistence"

69. Coray: "by the horses of the army towards evening . . ."

70. RLDS: "George Robinson"

kle) assured them that these generals had pledged their sacred honour, that they should not be abused or insulted; but should be guarded back in safety in the morning, or so soon as the consultation was over. My brother Joseph replied, that he did not know what good he could do in any consultation, as he was only a private individual; however, he said that he was always willing to do all the good he could, and would obey every law of the land, and then leave the event with God. They immediately started with Col. Hinkle to go down into the camp. As they were going down, about half way to the camp, they met General Lucas, with a phalanx of men, with a wing to the right and to the left, and a four-pounder in the centre. They supposed he was coming with this strong force to guard them into the camp in safety; but, to their surprise, when they came up to General Lucas, he ordered his men to surround them, and Hinkle stepped up to the General and said, 'These are the prisoners I agreed to deliver up.'

*Lucy: 1844-45*

—Note 2 falls after deliver up 17th line from the bottom of said column [*Times and Seasons* 5:250] It was agreed that the man who brought the prisoners should go in his shirt sleeves accordingly Hinkle did not wear his coat which signified to the mob that he was the traitor—<sup>71</sup>

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*Contextual note:* A note in the RLDS 1880 edition, repositioned here from the end of the chapter, presents Hinkle in a more positive light:

In justice to the several survivors of Elder George M. Hinkle, who are in full faith of the Gospel, and in the Church, we should state that during the later years of that elder's life, he labored diligently to spread the truth, and a number of those who were by his labors convinced of the truth, are with the Church. Colonel Hinkle himself stated to several, that the part performed by him, by which it was supposed that he betrayed his brethren, was misunderstood, and a sufficient opportunity to explain and exculpate himself was not afforded him. That he retained [blank in 1880 edition; "his" in 1912, 1969] faith and an affection for the martyrs until his death, is certain." [A second note giving the following reference follows immediately in the 1912, 1969 editions:] The defense of Colonel Hinkle was published in *Messenger and Advocate*, the organ of Sidney Rigdon, August 1, 1845, in which he claims that the terms of surrender were laid before Joseph Smith and he said, "I will go," and his fellow prisoners voluntarily accompanied him. He

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71. This note is on the same page as the completion of "Comment" (above) and "Note 3," describing Joseph Sr.'s and Lucy's reaction to Joseph Jr.'s arrest at the beginning of chap. 50.

also claims that W. W. Phelps, John Corrill, and A. Morrison were as much implicated as was he. —H.C.S.”

Stephen C. LeSueur also presents a more balanced view of Hinckle’s motives and activities. He concludes that the hostages believed they had been “betrayed” because they misunderstood two facts: first, Hinckle had not negotiated; Lucas had dictated terms and was prepared to attack the city within the hour. Second, Hinckle and the other representatives (Reed Peck and John Corrill) probably assured Joseph Smith and the others that they could discuss the terms with Lucas; Lucas, however, refused to speak to them. Hinkle’s son reported that his father “always maintained that the leading men of the church had never given him a chance to explain his actions in Missouri and had condemned him on the spot without judge or jury, and having once condemned him they stuck to it and never gave him a chance.” He had to leave Missouri on foot, carrying his youngest children in his arms “with the Gentiles persecuting him and the Saints shunning him as they had been warned” (LeSueur, 177, 222-23).

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*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

[Hyrum’s affidavit continues:] General Lucas drew his sword, and said, ‘Gentlemen, you are my prisoners,’ and about that time the main army<sup>72</sup> were on their march to meet them. They came up in two divisions, and opened to the right and left, and my brother and his friends were marched down through their lines, with a strong guard in front, and the cannon in the rear to the camp, amidst the whoopings, hollowings,<sup>73</sup> yellings, and shoutings of the army, which were so horrid and terrific, that they frightened the inhabitants of the city.<sup>74</sup> It is impossible to describe the feelings of horror and distress of the people. After being thus betrayed, they were placed under a strong guard of thirty men, armed *cap-a-pie*, which were relieved every two hours. There they were compelled<sup>75</sup> to lie on the cold ground that night, and were told in plain language that they need never expect their liberties again. So far for their honours pledged. However, this was as much as could be expected from

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72. Coray: “this time the main body of the army . . .”

73. HC 3:413: “howlings”; RLDS: “hallooings”

74. At this point, Lucy’s rough draft reads: “<Note> A 3 falls after city 6 lines from bottom of same column. When this yelling commenced . . .” Lucy here describes the reaction she and her husband had to the invasion of the city. See material paired with the beginning of chap. 50.

75. RLDS: “They were compelled . . .”

a mob under the garb of military and executive authority in the state of Missouri. On the next day, the soldiers were permitted to patrol the streets, to abuse and insult the people at their leisure, and enter into houses<sup>76</sup> and pillage them, and ravish the women, taking away every gun, and every other kind of arms or military implements. And about twelve o'clock that day, Col. Hinkle came to my house with an armed force, opened the door, and called me out of doors and delivered me up as a prisoner unto that force. They surrounded me and commanded me to march into the camp. I told them that I could not go, my family were<sup>77</sup> sick, and I was sick myself, and could not leave home. They said, they did not care for that, I must and should go. I asked when they would permit me to return. They made me no answer, but forced me along with the point of the bayonet into the camp, and put me under the same guard with my brother Joseph; and within about half an hour afterwards, Amasa Lyman was also brought, and placed under the same guard. There we were compelled to stay all that night, and lie on the ground; but along some time in the same night, Col. Hinkle came to me and told me that he had been pleading my case before the court-martial, but he was afraid he should not succeed. He said there was a court-martial then in session, consisting of thirteen or fourteen officers, Circuit Judge A. A. King; and Mr. Birch, District Attorney, also Sashiel Woods, Presbyterian priest, and about twenty other priests of the different religious denominations in that county. He said they were determined to shoot us on the next morning in the public square in Far West. I made him no reply. On the next morning about sunrise, Gen. Doniphan ordered his brigade to take up the line of march, and leave the camp. He came to us where we were under guard, to shake hands with us, and bid us farewell. His first salutation was, 'By God, you have<sup>78</sup> been sentenced by the court-martial to be shot this morning; but I will be d—d if I will have any of the honour of it, or any of the disgrace of it;<sup>79</sup> therefore I have ordered my brigade to take up the line of march,<sup>80</sup> and to leave the camp, for I consider it to be cold blooded murder, and I bid you farewell,' and he went away.<sup>81</sup> This movement of General Doniphan made considerable ex-

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76. Nibley: "the houses"

77. Nibley: "was"

78. Nibley: "salutation was, 'You have . . .'"

79. Nibley: "the honor of it, or any disgrace of it . . ."

80. Coray: "the honour of it; therefore I have ordered my brigade to take up a line of march . . ."

81. Peter H. Burnett, a frontier attorney not identified in Hyrum Smith's affidavit or in *History of the Church*, says that he was, with Amos Rees and Alexander Doniphan, employed as counsel by Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Lyman Wight in early 1839. He was in the militia, not acting

citement in the army, and there were<sup>82</sup> considerable whisperings amongst the officers. We listened very attentively, and frequently heard it mentioned by the guard, that the d—d ‘Mormons’<sup>83</sup> would not be shot this time.<sup>84</sup> In a few moments the guard was relieved with a new set; one of the new guard said, that the d—d ‘Mormons’ would not be shot this time, for the movement of General Doniphan had frustrated the whole plan, and that the officers had called another court-martial, and had ordered us to be taken to Jackson county, and there to be executed. And in a few moments two large waggons drove up, and we were ordered to get into them. While we were getting into them, there came up four or five men armed with guns, who drew up, and snapped their guns at us, in order to kill us. Some flashed in the pan, and others only snapped, but none of their guns went off. They were immediately arrested by several officers, and their guns taken from them, and the drivers drove off.

Lucy: 1844-45

soon after the waggon was driven through the place <Far West> and My sons were allowed to see their families but not permitted to speak to them nor <this was before we came to the waggon> to visit me to describe this scene is impossible you

Coray/Pratt: 1853

We requested of General Lucas, to let us go to our houses, and get some clothing. In order to do this we had to be driven up into the city. It was with much difficulty that we could get his permission to go and see our families, and get some cloth-

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as an attorney, when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were arrested, but he agrees that the court-martial condemning them to death was illegal: “These men had never belonged to any lawful military organization, and could not, therefore, have violated military law. I . . . went to Doniphan and assured him that we of Clay County would stand by him” (53, 63). Burnett also left an arresting portrait of Joseph Smith’s charisma (66-67) during this period when, in March 1839, Burnett represented the Smiths as co-counsel with Rees in Daviess County’s district court.

82. Nibley: “was”

83. Throughout, *Times and Seasons* and Coray use “damned” and “by God”; Pratt, HC, and IE use “by God” but “d—d”; Nibley silently omits both.

84. Joseph Smith III reports visiting Alexander Doniphan in Richmond, Missouri, in 1884 with his brother Alexander. Joseph describes Doniphan, then in his seventies, as “a tall, handsome, and splendidly-built man.” Joseph thanked him, on behalf of the family, for his refusal to carry out the execution of Joseph and Hyrum in Far West. Then “I asked him how it had happened that he, so young a man . . . had had the courage to defy his superior officers and take such a stand against their definite orders. His reply was that it was because of that very youth; that he had come of a long-lived race, would doubtless live to a good old age, and felt that he could not afford to go through a long life with the blood of helpless fellow men upon his hands.

“He was a very unassuming man and quite modest. He even blushed a little over our compliments and our expressed gratitude” (JS III, 35-36).

have read something of how they were rushed from their wives and children amid their sobs and screams yet no one can realize this thing without considering the circumstances—which were that there was no human calculation in the affair except that which was made upon the mercy of men who had already <passed> sentence of death upon them—

Little Joseph clung to his father and exclaimed Oh my father why can you not stay with us— That ~~question~~ The [sic] answered his question by pushing the child from his father with their swords but there is a day when that question will be repeated why did tear the servant of God from his family and from his home and treat him thus cruelly—If any of you who did this deed are living let me warn you to prepare yourselves to answer that question before the bar of God for I testify to you in the name of Jesus you will have it to do—repent therefore and be converted that your sins may be blotted out when the times of refreshment shall come from the presence of the Lord—<sup>85</sup> I here relate the col came and asked Emma to visit her husband [a line across the page separates this text from what follows] Now Joseph HS's testimony as far as prisoner

ing; but, after considerable consultation, we were permitted to go under a strong guard of five or six men to each of us, and we were not permitted to speak to any one of our families, under the pain of death. The guard that went with me ordered my wife to get me some clothes immediately—within two minutes; and if she did not do it, I should go off without them. I was obliged to submit to their tyrannical orders, however painful it was, with my wife and children clinging to my arms and to the skirts of my garments, and was not permitted to utter to them a word<sup>86</sup> of consolation, and in a moment was hurried away from them at the point of the bayonet. We were hurried back to the waggons and ordered into them, all in about the same space of time. In the mean while, our father, and mother, and sisters,<sup>87</sup> had forced their way to the waggons to get permission to see us, but were forbidden to speak to us, and we were immediately driven off for Jackson county.

85. See Jacob 6:9: "... will bring you to stand with shame and awful guilt before the bar of God?"; Acts 3:19: "Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord."

[Notes 86 and 87 appear on page 657.]

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

[Hyrum's affidavit continued:] We travelled about twelve miles that evening, and encamped for the night. The same strong guard was kept around us, and was relieved every two hours, and we were permitted to sleep on the ground. The nights were then cold, with considerable snow on the ground, and for the want of covering and clothing we suffered extremely with the cold. That night was the commencement of a fit of sickness from which I have not wholly recovered unto this day, in consequence of my exposure to the inclemency of the weather. Our provision was fresh beef, roasted in the fire on a stick; the army having no bread, in consequence of the want of mills to grind the grain. In the morning, at the dawn of day, we were forced on our journey, and were exhibited to the inhabitants along the road, the same as they exhibit a caravan of elephants or camels. We were examined from head to foot by men, women, and children, only I believe they did not make us open our mouths to look at our teeth. This treatment was continued incessantly, until we arrived at Independence, in Jackson county. After our arrival at Independence, we were driven all through the town for inspection, and then we were ordered into an old log house, and there kept under guard as usual, until supper, which was served up to us, as we sat upon the floor, or on billets of wood, and we were compelled to stay in that house all that night and the next day. They continued to exhibit us to the public, by letting the people come in and examine us, and then go away and give place for others alternately, all that day and the next night; but on the morning of the following day, we were all permitted to go to the tavern to eat and to sleep, but afterwards they made us pay our own expenses for board, lodging, and attendance, and for which they made a most exorbitant<sup>88</sup> charge. We remained in the tavern about two days and two nights, when an officer arrived with authority from General Clark to take us back to Richmond, Ray county, where the General had arrived with his army to await our arrival there; but on the morning of our start for Richmond, we were informed by General Wilson, that it was expected by the soldiers that we would be hung up by the necks on the road, while on the march to that place, and that it was prevented by a demand made for us by General Clark, who had the command in consequence of seniority, and, that it was his prerogative to execute us himself, and he should give us up into the hands of the officer, who would take us to General Clark, and he might do

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86. Coray: "utter to them one word . . ."

87. Nibley but not IE: "sister"

88. IE and Nibley: "exhorbitant"



with us as he pleased. During our stay at Independence, the officers informed us that there were eight or ten horses in that<sup>89</sup> place belonging to the 'Mormon' people, which had been stolen by the soldiers, and that we might have two of them to ride upon, if we would cause them to be sent back to the owners after our arrival at Richmond. We accepted of them, and they were rode<sup>90</sup> to Richmond, and the owners came there and got them. We started in the morning under our new officer, Colonel Price,<sup>91</sup> of Keysville, Chariton county, Mo., with several other men to guard us over. We arrived there on Friday evening, the ninth day of November, and were thrust into an old log house, with a strong guard placed over us. After we had been there for the space of half an hour, there came in a man, who was said to have some notoriety in the penitentiary, bringing in his hands a quantity of chains and padlocks. He said he was commanded by General Clark to put us in chains. Immediately the soldiers rose up, and pointing their guns at us, placed their thumb on the cock, and their finger on the trigger, and the state's prison keeper went to work, putting a chain around the leg of each man, and fastening it on with a padlock, until we were all chained together, seven of us.

"In a few moments came in General Clarke.<sup>92</sup> We requested to know of him what was the cause of all this harsh and cruel treatment. He refused to give us any information at that time, but said he would in a few days; so we were compelled to continue in that situation—camping on the floor, all chained together, without any chance or means to be made comfortable, having to eat our victuals as they were served<sup>93</sup> up to us, using our fingers and teeth instead of knives and forks. Whilst we were in this situation, a young man, of the name of Grant,<sup>94</sup> brother-in-law to my brother, William Smith, came to see us, and put up at the tavern where General Clark made his quarters. He happened to come in time to see<sup>95</sup> General Clark make choice of his men to shoot us on Monday morning, the twelfth day of November; he saw them make choice of their rifles, and load them with two balls in each; and after they had prepared their guns, General Clark saluted them by saying, '*Gentlemen, you shall have the honour of shooting the Mormon leaders, on Monday morning at eight o'clock!*' But in consequence of the influence of our friends,

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89. IE and Nibley: "the"

90. Nibley: "ridden"

91. RLDS: "Colonel (Sterling) Price"

92. IE and Nibley: "Clark."

93. Coray: "our victuals as it was served . . ."

94. RLDS: "by the name of Grant . . ."; HC 3:417: "by the name of Jedediah M. Grant . . ."

95. RLDS: "to come in to see . . ."



the heathen General was intimidated, so that he durst not carry<sup>96</sup> his murderous design into execution, and sent a messenger immediately to Fort Leavenworth to obtain the military code of laws. After the messenger's return, the General was employed, nearly a whole week, examining the laws, so Monday passed away without our being shot. However, it seemed like foolishness to me, for so great a man as General Clark pretended to be, should have to search the military law to find out whether preachers of the Gospel, who never did military duty, could be subject<sup>97</sup> to court-martial. However, the General seemed to learn that fact after searching the military code, and came into the old log cabin, where we were under guard and in chains, and told us he had concluded to deliver us over to the civil authorities, as persons guilty of treason, murder, arson, larceny, theft, and stealing. The poor, deluded General did not know the difference between theft, larceny, and stealing. Accordingly, we were handed over to the pretended civil authorities, and the next morning our chains were taken off, and we were guarded to the Court-house, where there was a pretended court in session; Austin A. King being the judge, and Mr. Birch, the District Attorney, the two extremely, and very honourable gentlemen, who sat on the court-martial when we were sentenced to be shot. Witnesses were called up and sworn, at the point of the bayonet, and if they would not swear to the things they were told to do, they were threatened with instant death; and I do know, positively, that the evidence given in by those men, whilst under duress, was false. This state of things was continued twelve or fourteen days, and after that, we were ordered by the judge, to introduce some rebutting evidence, saying, if we did not do it, we would be thrust into prison. I could hardly understand what the judge meant, for I considered we were in prison already, and could not think of anything but the persecutions of the days of Nero, knowing that it was a religious persecution, and the court an inquisition; however, we gave him the names of forty persons, who were acquainted with all the persecutions and sufferings of the people. The judge made out a subpoena, and inserted the names of those men, and caused it to be placed in the hands of Bogard, the notorious Methodist minister, and he took fifty armed soldiers, and started for Far West. I saw the subpoena given to him and his company, when they started. In the course of a few days they returned with most all<sup>98</sup> those forty men, whose names were inserted in the subpoena, and thrust them into jail, and we were not permitted

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96. HC 3:417: "influence of our friend, the inhuman general was intimidated, so that he dared not carry . . ."

97. Nibley: "subjected"

98. Nibley: "with most of"

to bring one of them before the court; but the judge turned upon us, with an air of indignation, and said, 'Gentlemen, you must get your witnesses, or you shall be committed to jail immediately, for we are not going to hold the court<sup>99</sup> open, on expense, much longer for you, anyhow.' We felt very much distressed and oppressed at that time. Colonel Wight said, 'What shall we do? Our witnesses are all thrust into prison, and probably will be, and we have no power to do anything, of course we must submit to this tyranny and oppression; we cannot help ourselves.' Several others made similar expressions, in the agony of their souls, but my brother Joseph did not say anything, he being sick at that time with the tooth-ache, and ague, in his face,<sup>100</sup> in consequence of a severe cold brought on by being exposed to the severity of the weather. However, it was considered best by General Doniphan and Lawyer Reese, that we should try to get some witnesses, before the pretended court. Accordingly, I myself gave the names of about twenty other persons; the judge inserted them in a subpoena, and caused it to be placed in the hands of Bogard the Methodist priest, and he again started off with his fifty soldiers, to take those men prisoners, as he had done to the forty others. The judge sat and laughed at the good opportunity of getting the names, that they might the more easily capture them, and so bring them down to be thrust into prison, in order to prevent us from getting the truth before the pretended court, of which himself was the chief inquisitor or conspirator. Bogard returned from his second expedition, with one prisoner only, whom he also thrust into prison.<sup>101</sup>

"The people at Far West had learned the intrigue, and had left the state, having been made acquainted with the treatment of the former witnesses. But we, on learning that we could not obtain witnesses, whilst privately consulting with each other what we should do, discovered a Mr. Allen, standing by the window on the outside of the house; we beckoned to him as though we would have him come in. He immediately came in.<sup>102</sup> At that time Judge King retorted upon us again, say-

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99. Nibley: "testimony"

100. HC 3:418: "toothache and pain in his face . . ."

101. Sidney Rigdon's affidavit, created on 1 July 1843 at the same time as Hyrum's, gives a different version of the witness situation, although Rigdon acknowledges that he was too ill to attend the court sessions and is describing evening discussions between the prisoners and their defense counsel. As he tells it, Doniphan and Rees advised the Mormons "not to introduce any evidence at that trial. Doniphan said it would avail us nothing, for the judge would put us in prison, if a cohort of angels were to come and swear we were innocent." He also warned that if the prisoners identified potential witnesses "a band . . . would go and drive them out of the country, or arrest them and have them cast into prison, or else kill them to prevent them from swearing. It was finally concluded to let the matter be so for the present" (HC 3:464).

102. Coray does not include this sentence.

ing, 'Gentlemen, are you not going to introduce some witnesses; also, saying it was the last day he should hold the court open for us, and if we did not rebut the testimony that had been given against us, he should have to commit us to jail. I had then got Mr. Allen into the house, and before the court, so called. I told the judge we had one witness, if he would be so good as to put him under oath; he seemed unwilling to do so, but after a few moments' consultation the state's attorney arose and said, he should object to that witness being sworn, and, that he should object to that witness giving in his evidence at all; stating that this was not a court to try the case, but only a court of investigation on the part of the state. Upon this, General Doniphan arose, and said, 'He would be God d—d, if the witness should not be sworn; and that it was a damned shame,<sup>103</sup> that these defendants should be treated in this manner; that they could not be permitted to get one witness before the court, whilst all their witnesses, even forty at a time, have been taken by force of arms, and thrust into the *bull pen*—in order to prevent them from giving their testimony.' After Doniphan sat down,<sup>104</sup> the judge permitted the witness to be sworn, and enter upon his testimony. But so soon as he began to speak, a man by the name of Cook, who was a brother-in-law to priest Bogard, the Methodist, and who was a lieutenant, and whose place at that time was to superintend the guard, stepped in before the pretended court, and took him by the nape of his neck, and jammed his head down under the pole or log of wood that was placed up around<sup>105</sup> the place where the inquisition was sitting, to keep the by-standers from intruding upon the majesty of the inquisitors, and jammed him along to the door, and kicked him out of doors. He instantly turned to some soldiers, who were standing by him and said to them<sup>106</sup> 'go and shoot him, d—n him, shoot him, d—n him.'<sup>107</sup>

"The soldiers ran after the man to shoot him—he fled for his life, and with great difficulty made his escape. The pretended court immediately arose, and we were ordered to be carried to Liberty, Clay county, and there to be thrust into jail. We endeavoured to find out for what cause, but, all that we could learn was, because we were 'Mormons.'

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*Contextual note:* Hyrum's description of Austin King's control of this case drew the following skeptical comments from Roger Launius:

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103. HC 3:419: "He would be ——if the witness should not be sworn, and that it was a damned shame . . ."; Nibley: "be ——, if the witness should not be sworn; and that it was a d—— shame . . ."

104. Coray: "Doniphan had done speaking . . ."

105. HC 3:19: "wood, that was around . . ."

106. GAS has written a headnote on this page: "Elihu Allen."

107. Nibley: "'Go and shoot him, shoot him.'"

The Mormon refusal to compromise, first in the Jackson County case and later in others, placed Doniphan in the unenviable position of having to settle a case in which the Mormons would accept nothing less than total victory. As a result they got nothing.

Doniphan left no comments about this case, and Hyrum Smith's statements about witness intimidation and outright jailing seem so egregious as to be unbelievable, even if irregularities and bias found display. It is more likely that Doniphan and his associates made a tactical decision not to tip the hand of their defense in preliminary hearings. . . . Mounting a hefty defense at this time might even further incriminate his clients. . . . The central question . . . becomes one of rectifying the Mormon affidavits made afterward with this argument. While there were some instances of abuse at the Richmond proceedings and anti-Mormonism expressed throughout it, the Mormons were writing accounts of the episode after the fact to establish their complete innocence of any wrongdoing. They downplayed or ignored altogether any of their actions that might be incriminating and, in some instances, may have fabricated abuse on the part of the judge and his entourage. (*Alexander Doniphan*, 21, 68-69)

Launius does not identify which incidents he thinks may have been fabricated, but he criticizes the laments of the leaders jailed during the admittedly "horrendous winter" of 1838-39: "They grouched about the unfairness of it all, convincing themselves of the evil nature of the state of Missouri. . . . They complained of the overt bias of the Richmond court of inquiry and of the wickedness of Austin King. They even whined about Doniphan's inability to gain their immediate release and blamed him for conspiring with the Missourians to persecute the innocent Saints" (Launius, *Alexander Doniphan*, 68-69).

Launius thinks that Doniphan's ability to get twenty-nine defendants released for lack of evidence and twenty-four more set free on bail ("they immediately fled, . . . an outcome anticipated and fully acceptable to King and Doniphan") are signs of his successful strategy. Only twelve were still held in Richmond jail, charged with murder in the Crooked River battle, and, in Liberty Jail, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin, and Alexander McRae. Their court date was set for March 1839, the court's next term. Doniphan filed a writ of habeas corpus to force the circuit court to convene on 25 January 1839. His friend, Joel Turnham, was the judge, but Turnham ruled against all of the seven defendants except Sidney Rigdon, who had chosen to defend himself. His eloquence in describing "the persecutions of the Saints" and his personal sufferings reduced everyone to tears and he was "freed on the spot." He left Missouri on 5 February 1839 (*ibid.*, 69-70). Launius does not explain why, if King's verdict in the preliminary hearing was *not* abusive, that the March 1839 court term passed without their case being heard; finally, King ordered the prisoners moved to Daviess County for yet

another grand jury hearing. They were again bound over for trial. Doniphan succeeded in getting the venue changed to Boone County in the east and, while being transported, they were allowed to escape on 16 April (*ibid.*, 69-70). See also LeSueur's careful description and analysis, chap. 12, "The Richmond Court of Inquiry," in which he concludes that Hyrum Smith lied in affirming that the Missourians fired their own homes to inflame popular opinion against the Mormons<sup>108</sup> and also in claiming that Mormon military operations in Daviess County were authorized by the state militia. He acknowledges that defense witnesses were intimidated and threatened with prosecution but finds unbelievable the claim that potential witnesses were immediately arrested since no first-person accounts support this claim. He agrees that the death of King's brother-in-law, killed during the 1833 troubles in Jackson County, was a reason for him to recuse himself but finds claims of discrimination and prejudice about King exaggerated given that it was a preliminary hearing. He summarizes: "The hearing was properly held; the evidence against [the Mormons] was basically true; the judge committed them according to the evidence. Nevertheless, the judicial investigation, as a whole, was not fair because local officials did not examine the activities of non-Mormons who committed crimes during the disturbances. Blame for the conflict fell exclusively—and thus unjustly—upon the Mormons" (*ibid.*, 207, 212-13, 217).

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*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

The next morning a large waggon drove up to the door, and a blacksmith came into the house with some chains and handcuffs. He said his orders from the judge were to handcuff us, and chain us together. He informed us that the judge had made out a mittimus, and sentenced us to jail for treason; he also said, the judge had done this, that we might not get bail; he also said the judge stated his intention to keep us in jail, until all the 'Mormons' were driven out of the state; he also said that the judge had further stated, that if he let us out before the 'Mormons' had left the state, that we would not let them leave, and there would be another d—d fuss kicked up. I also heard the judge say myself, whilst he was sitting in his pretended court, that there was no law for us, nor the 'Mormons' in the state of Missouri; that he had sworn to see them exterminated, and to see the Governor's order executed to the very letter, and that he would do so; however, the blacksmith proceeded, and

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108. According to Clark Johnson ("Let Far West," 244n52), this attempt to frame the Mormons happened only once and only in Millport.

put the irons upon us, and we were ordered into the waggon, and were driven off for Clay county,<sup>109</sup> and as we journeyed along on the road, we were exhibited to the inhabitants. And this course was adopted all the way, thus making a public exhibition of us, until we arrived at Liberty, Clay county. There we were thrust into prison again, and locked up, and were held there in close confinement for the space of six months, and our place of lodging<sup>110</sup> was the square side of a hewed white oak log, and our food was anything but good and decent. Poison was administered to us three or four times; the effect it had upon our system, was, that it vomited us almost to death, and then we would lay some two or three days in a torpid, stupid state, not even caring or wishing for life. The poison being administered<sup>111</sup> in too large doses, or it would inevitably have proved fatal, had not the power of Jehovah interposed on our behalf, to save us from their wicked purpose.<sup>112</sup> We were also subjected to the necessity of eating human flesh for the space of five days, or go without food, except a little coffee, or a little corn bread—the latter I chose in preference to the former. We none of us partook of the flesh, except Lyman Wight. We also heard the guard which was placed over us, making sport of us, saying, that they had fed us upon ‘Mormon beef.’ I have described the appearance of this flesh to several experienced physicians, and they have decided that it was human flesh. We learned afterwards, by one of the guard, that it was supposed that that act of savage cannibalism, in feeding us with human flesh, would be considered a popular deed of notoriety, but the people, on learning that it would not take, tried to keep it secret; but the fact was noised abroad before they took that precaution. Whilst we were incarcerated in prison, we petitioned the supreme court of the state of Missouri, for habeas corpus, twice; but were refused both times, by Judge Reynolds,<sup>113</sup> who is now the<sup>114</sup> Governor of that state. We also petitioned one of the county judges for a writ of habeas corpus, which was granted in about three weeks afterwards, but were not<sup>115</sup> permitted to have any trial—we were only taken out of jail, and kept out for a few hours, and then remanded back again. In the course of three or four days after that time, Judge Turnham came into the jail in the evening,

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109. Coray: “and they drove off for Clay county . . .”

110. HC 3:420: “lodging [bed]”

111. RLDS: “The poison was administered . . .”

112. Nibley: At this point, Nibley inserts ellipses, his second use of them, then omits the four sentences: “We were also subjected . . . took that precaution.”

113. RLDS: “by John Reynolds”

114. Nibley: “who is now for the . . .”

115. Nibley: “but we were not . . .”

and said, he had permitted Mr. Rigdon to get bail, but said he had to do it in the night, and had also to get away in the night, and unknown to any of the citizens, or they would kill him, for they had sworn to kill him if they could find him. And as for the rest of us, he dared not let us go, for fear of his own life, as well as ours. He said it was d—d hard<sup>116</sup> to be confined under such circumstances; for he knew we were innocent men! and he said the people also knew it; and that it was only a persecution and treachery, and the scenes of Jackson county acted over again, for fear that we would become too numerous in that upper country. He said the plan was concocted from the Governor, down to the lowest judge; and, that that Baptist priest,<sup>117</sup> Riley, was riding into town every day to watch the people, stirring up the minds of the people against us all he could, exciting them, and stirring up their religious prejudices against us,<sup>118</sup> for fear they would let us go. Mr. Rigdon, however, got bail, and made his escape to Illinois. The jailor, Samuel Tillery, Esq., told us also, that the whole plan was concocted by the Governor, down to the lowest judge, in that upper country, early in the previous spring, and that the plan was more fully carried out<sup>119</sup> at the time that General Atchison went down to Jefferson city with Generals Wilson, Lucas, and Gillum, the selfstiled 'DELAWARE CHIEF.' This was some time in the month of September, when the mob were collected at De Witt, in Carroll county. He also told us that the Governor was now ashamed enough of the whole transaction, and would be glad to set us at liberty if he dared to do it; but, said he, you need not be concerned, for the governor has laid a plan for your release. He also said that Esquire Birch, the state's attorney, was appointed to be circuit judge, on the circuit passing through Davies county, and that he (Birch) was instructed to fix the papers, so that we would be sure to be clear of any incumbrance in a very short time.

"Some time in April we were taken to Davies county, as they said, to have a trial; but when we arrived at that place, instead of finding a court or jury, we found another inquisition, and Birch, who was the district attorney—the same man who was one of the court-martial when we were sentenced to death—was now the circuit judge of that pretended court, and the grand jury that was empannelled were all at the massacre at Haun's Mill, and lively actors in that awful, solemn, disgraceful, cool-blooded murder; and all the pretence they made of excuse was, they had done it,<sup>120</sup> because the Governor or-

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116. Nibley: "it was hard"

117. Coray: "and, that, that damned Baptist priest . . ."

118. Coray: "stirring up their minds against us . . ."

119. Coray: "was manfully carried out . . ."

120. Coray: "excuse was they the Governor made them do it"; RLDS: "... excuse was, that



dered them to do it.<sup>121</sup> The same jury sat as a jury in the day time, and were placed over us as a guard in the night time; they tantalized and boasted over us of their great achievements at Haun's Mill and other places, telling us how many<sup>122</sup> houses they had burned, and how many sheep, cattle, and hogs they had driven off<sup>123</sup> belonging to the 'Mormons,' and how many rapes they had committed, and what kicking and squealing there was among the d—d bitches,<sup>124</sup> saying that they lashed one woman upon one of the d—d 'Mormon' meeting benches, tying her hands and feet fast, and sixteen of them abused her as much as they had a mind to, and then left her bound and exposed in that distressed condition. These fiends of the lower region boasted of these acts of barbarity, and tantalized<sup>125</sup> our feelings with them for ten days.<sup>126</sup> We had heard of these acts of cruelty previous to this time, but were slow to believe that such acts of cruelty had been perpetrated. The lady who was the subject<sup>127</sup> of their brutality did not recover her health, to be able to help herself, for more than three months afterwards.<sup>128</sup> This grand jury constantly celebrated their achievements with grog and glass in hand, like the Indian warriors at their dances, singing and telling each other of their exploits, in murdering the 'Mormons,' in plundering their houses, and carrying off their property. At the end of every song, they would bring in the chorus, 'God d—n God, God d—n Jesus Christ, God d—n the Presbyterians, God d—n the Baptists, God d—n the Methodists!' reiterating one sect after another in the same manner, until they came to the 'Mormons:' to them it was, 'God d—n, the God d—n Mormons! we have sent them to hell.' Then they would slap their hands and shout, 'Hosannah, hosannah, glory to God!' and fall down on

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they had done it . . ."

121. Nibley: "to do it." His third and last ellipsis occurs at this point. He omits the next section describing rapes and drunken ceremonies, beginning: "The same jury" and ending: "larceny, theft, and stealing."

122. Coray: "Haun's Mills and other places telling how many . . ."

123. RLDS: "driven off. [rest of the sentence describing the rape omitted] These fiends . . ."

124. HC 3:422: "the d— b—s . . ."

125. *Times and Seasons* 4:255 and Coray: "tauntalized"

126. Joseph Smith gives the dates differently (HC 3:309-15); they arrived at Gallatin, Daviess County, on Monday, 8 April, the trial began on Tuesday, 9 April, and ended on 11 April when "the grand jury brought in a bill for 'murder, treason, burglary, arson, larceny, theft, and stealing'" against all five prisoners.

127. Coray: "object"

128. Of this omission, Robert Cooper, a great-grandson of Martha Jane and Howard Coray, notes approvingly that it is a description "so vivid about the terrible atrocities which the Mormons suffered at the hands of the mob that the writer certainly agrees with those who deleted it from the edition for general consumption" (8).



their backs, and kick with their feet a few moments; then they would pretend to have swooned away in a glorious trance, in order to imitate some of the transactions at camp meetings. Then they would pretend to come out of their trance, and would shout, and again slap their hands, and jump up, while one would take a bottle of whiskey and a tumbler, and turn it out full of whiskey, and pour it down each other's necks, crying, 'D—n it, take it, you must take it;' and if any one refused to drink the whiskey, others would clinch him, while another poured it down his neck, and what did not go down the inside went down the outside. This is part of the farce acted out by the grand jury of Davies county, while they stood over us as guards for ten nights successively. And all this in the presence of the *great Judge Birch!* who had previously said in our hearing that there was no law for 'Mormons' in the state of Missouri. His brother was then acting as district attorney in that circuit, and, if anything, was a greater cannibal<sup>129</sup> than the judge. After all these ten days of drunkenness, we were informed that we were indicted for *treason, murder, arson, larceny, theft, and stealing*.<sup>130</sup> We asked for a change of venue from that county to Marion county, but they would not grant it; but they gave us a change of venue from Davies to Boon county,<sup>131</sup> and a mittimus was made out by the pretended Judge Birch, without date, name, or place. They fitted us out with a two-horse waggon and horses, and four men, besides the sheriff,<sup>132</sup> to be our guard. There were five of us. We started from Gallatin, the sun about two hours high p.m.,<sup>133</sup> and went as far as Diahman that evening, and staid till morning. There we bought two horses of the guard, and paid for one of them in our clothing which we had with us, and for the other we gave our note. We went down that day as far as Judge Morin's, a distance of some four or five miles. There we staid until the morning, when we started on our journey to Boon county, and travelled on the road about twenty miles distance. There we bought a jug of whiskey, with which we treated the company, and while there the sheriff showed us the mittimus before referred to, without date or signature, and said that Judge Birch told him never to carry us to Boon county, and never to show the mittimus, 'and,' said he, 'I shall take a good drink of grog, and go to bed, you may do as you have a mind to.' Three others of the guard drank pretty freely of whiskey, sweetened with honey; they also went to bed, and were soon asleep, and the other guard went

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129. HC 3:423: "ruffian"

130. End of Nibley's omitted material.

131. RLDS: "Boone County"

132. See William Morgan, *Biographical Summaries*.

133. RLDS: "two hours high in the afternoon . . ."

along with us and helped to saddle the horses. Two of us mounted the horses, and the other three started on foot, and we took our change of venue for the state of Illinois, and, in the course of nine or ten days, we arrived in Quincy, Adams county, [Illinois,]<sup>134</sup> where we found our families in a state of poverty, although in good health, they having been driven out of the state previously, by the murderous militia, under the exterminating order of the Executive of Missouri. And now the people of that state, a portion of them, would be glad to make the people of this state believe that my brother Joseph has committed treason, for the purpose of keeping up their murderous and hellish persecution; and they seem to be unrelenting, and thirsting for the blood of innocence, for I do know, most positively, that my brother Joseph has not committed treason,<sup>135</sup> nor violated one solitary item of law or rule in the state of Missouri.

"But I do know that the 'Mormon' people, *en masse*, were driven out of that state after being robbed of all they had, and they barely escaped with their lives, as well as my brother Joseph, who barely escaped with his life. His family also were robbed of all they had, and barely escaped with the skin of their teeth, and all of this in consequence of the exterminating order of Governor Boggs, the same being confirmed by the Legislature of that state. And I do know, so does this court, and every rational man who is acquainted with the circumstances, and every man who shall hereafter become acquainted<sup>136</sup> with the particulars thereof will know, that Governor Boggs, and Generals Clark, Lucas, Wilson, and Gillum, also Austin A. King, have committed treason upon the citizens of Missouri, and did violate the constitution of the United States, and also the constitution and laws of the state of Missouri, and did exile and expel, at the point of the bayonet, some twelve or fourteen thousand inhabitants from the state; and did murder some three or four hundreds<sup>137</sup> of men, women, and children, in cold blood, and in the most horrid and cruel manner possible; and the whole of it was caused by religious bigotry and persecution, because the 'Mormons' dared to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and agreeable to his divine will, as revealed in the Scriptures of eternal truth, and had turned away from following the vain traditions of their fathers, and would not worship<sup>138</sup> according to the dogmas and commandments of those men who preach for hire and divine for money, and teach for doctrine the precepts<sup>139</sup> of men, expecting that the constitu-

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134. Brackets in 1853 edition; IE and Nibley include "Illinois" but omit the brackets.

135. RLDS: "Joseph had not committed treason . . ."

136. Nibley: "acquainted"

137. HC 3:424: "did murder a large number . . ."

138. Coray: "would not preach"; GAS: "would not ~~preach~~ <worship>"

[Note 139 appears on page 669.]

tion of the United States would have protected them therein. But, notwithstanding the 'Mormon' people had purchased upwards of *two hundred thousand dollars' worth of land*, most of which was entered and paid for at the land office of the United States, in the state of Missouri; and although the President of the United States has been made acquainted with these facts, and the particulars of our persecutions and oppressions, by petition to him and to Congress, yet they have not even attempted to restore the 'Mormons' to their rights, or given any assurance that we may hereafter expect redress from them. And I do also know most positively and assuredly, that my brother, Joseph Smith, Senior, has not been in the state of Missouri since the spring of the year 1839. And further this deponent saith not.<sup>140</sup>

"HYRUM SMITH."

Lucy: 1844-45

Coray/Pratt: 1853

#### CHAP. L.

#### REMOVAL OF THE SMITH FAMILY TO ILLINOIS.

<Note> A 3 falls after city 6 lines from bottom of same column [T&S 4:250]. When this yelling commenced Mr Smith and I stood in the door of the house and in the midst of it 5 or 6 guns were discharged which we supposed to have been fired at them and of course concluded that they were shot down My Husband folded his arms tight over his breast grasping his sides ~~with his hand~~ and cried out groaning with mental agony Oh My God! My God! they have murdered my ~~children~~ <son> and I must die for I ~~can~~ I cannot live without ~~them~~ <him>.

At the time when Joseph went into the enemy's camp,<sup>141</sup> Mr. Smith and myself stood in the door of the house in which we were then living, and could distinctly hear their horrid yellings. Not knowing the cause, we supposed they were murdering him. Soon after the screaming commenced, five or six guns were discharged. At this, Mr. Smith, folding his arms tightly across his heart, cried out, "Oh, my God! my God! they have killed my son! they have murdered him! and I must die, for I cannot live without him!"

139. Coray: "commandments"

140. Pratt 1853 note: \*"*Times and Seasons*, vol. iv, p. 246"; the RLDS editions have the same note; it is omitted from IE and Nibley.

[Note 141 appears on page 670.]

The s I was unable to answer him in all our other troubles I had been able to speak a word of consolation to him but now I was could do nothing but mingle my cries and groans with his. Still the ~~sh~~ shrieking and screaming continued to [sic] tongue can ever express the sound that was conveyed to our ears nor the sensations that was produced in our hearts it was like the mingled screeching of ~~herdes of owles~~ of a hundred owls mingled ~~who~~ <with> with the howling of an army of blood hounds and the screaming of a thousand painters all famished [written over "famishing"] for the prey which was <being> torn piece-meal among them—

My husband ~~threw himself upon the bed and~~ was <immediately> taken sick and never ~~wa~~ regained his health afterwards although ~~2 years~~ he lived 2 years ~~after~~ after—

Note 4 follows the word Joseph <guard> at line left column Page 250 When they <Hyrum> arrived at the camp he was seated<sup>143</sup>

Note 4 follows people 4 line from bottom of P. 250. When the prisoners arrived at the camp they were seated on a log placed there for the purpose before they were taken

I had no word of consolation to give him, for my heart was broken within me—my agony was unutterable. I assisted him to the bed, and he fell back upon it helpless as a child, for he had not strength to stand upon his feet. The shrieking continued; no tongue can describe the sound which was conveyed to our ears; no heart can imagine the sensations of our breasts, as we listened to those *awful* screams. Had the army been composed of so many blood-hounds, wolves, and panthers, they could not have made a sound more terrible.

My husband was immediately taken sick, and never afterwards entirely recovered, yet he lived about two years, and was occasionally quite comfortable, and able to attend meetings.<sup>142</sup>

It will be seen by the testimony of Hyrum, that he was taken by the officers the next day after he arrived at the camp, and that he was seated with Joseph on a log, which was placed there for the purpose before he was taken. The soldiers crowded around them, and swearing that they would shoot them, snapped several

141. Nibley note: "October 31, 1838."

142. Nibley note: "Joseph Smith, Sr., died on September 14, 1840."

143. This note is on the bottom of the same page as note 1 (Hinkle's shirt sleeves as the sign that he is the traitor) and note 2 (the reaction of Joseph Sr. and Lucy to the arrest of Joseph).

and the soldiers began to crowd round raging and swearing that they would shoot them several guns were snapped at them before any one interfered to ~~tak~~ protect them then Captain [blank] Martin ordered his men to ~~to pla~~ surround the prisoners instantly with drawn swords and loaded muskets Now I swear by God if any <one> of atempts to harm a hair of the head of one of them prisoners I will ~~cut~~ his damned head off in a minute ~~and men~~ said he do you protect <them> and if any man offers to ~~shoet~~ lift a gun to his face to shoot them ~~th~~ prisoners cut him down instantly for they are innocent men. I know they are innocent just look at them they ~~they~~ show the fact in their very faces ~~that~~

This man was but a captain but he stood there on guard and kept his men at there places 2 nights and a day untill they were taken from this place.

Note 5 falls after "see us" 16 line from the botom Page 251 right colum here is a small mistake when the news came to us that our sons were to be taken away the messenger told us that if we ever saw sons again alive we would have to go to them as they were in the waggon to

guns at them, before any one interfered for their protection. At length Captain Martin ordered his men to surround the prisoners with drawn swords and loaded muskets, "and now," continued he, (drawing his own sword,) "I swear by God, that if any man attempts to harm a hair of their heads, I'll cut his d—d head off the minute he does it. Do you (speaking to his men) protect them, and if any man attempts to lift his gun to his face to shoot those prisoners, cut him down instantly, for they are innocent men, I know they are innocent—look at them, they show it plainly in their very countenances."

This man was but a captain, yet he assumed the responsibility of protecting my sons. And for two nights and a day, he stood constantly on guard, keeping his men to their posts; he neither slept himself, nor suffered his company to rest, until Joseph and Hyrum were removed from the place.<sup>144</sup>

When they were about starting from Far West, a messenger came and told us, that if we ever saw our sons alive,<sup>145</sup> we must go immediately to them, for they were in a waggon that would start in a few minutes for Independence, and in all probability they would never return alive.<sup>146</sup> Receiv-

144. GAS drew a bracket around this paragraph and the one above beginning, "It will be seen . . ." and wrote in the margin, "This is merely Martin's braggadocia [sic] made to Mother Smith with the design to lead astray her daughter Lucy."

145. RLDS: "if we ever would see our sons alive . . ."

146. In Lucy's October 1845 conference address, she relates this story but does not say daughter Lucy was present: "A man came in & said Mother Smith if you ever want to see Joseph again you must go now—for he is going, to be shot in Jackson County—He took me by the hand & it <was as> much as we could do to get thru the crowd to the waggon The men lifted up their swords

be driven away and would be gone in a few minutes. My husband was then too ill to be able to go but I and Lucy started alone for we were the only well ones of family when we came within about 400 yards of the waggon we could go no farther because of the men with which they were surrounded—

<I am the mother of the prophet I cried and> is there not a gentleman here I-ried who will assist me through this crowd to that waggon that I may take a last look at my children and speak to them once more before they die one individual volunteered to make a pathway through the army and we went on through the midst of swords ~~and~~ muskets pistols and bayonets threatened with death at every step untill at last we arrived there.

The man who accompanied me spoke to Hyrum who sat in front and told him his mother was there and wished him to reach his hand to her ~~he~~ he did so but I was not permitted to see them for the cover of the waggon was ~~tied~~ made of very heavy cloth and tied closely down in front and nailed fast at the sides ~~and~~ I-~~tho~~ we shook hands withe him and

ing this intimation, Lucy and myself set out directly for the place. On coming within about four<sup>147</sup> hundred yards of the waggon, we were compelled to stop, for we could press no further through the crowd.

I therefore appealed to those around me, exclaiming, "I am the mother of the Prophet—is there not a gentleman here, who will assist me to that waggon, that I may take a last look at my children, and speak to them once more before I die?" Upon this, one individual volunteered to make a pathway through the army, and we passed on, threatened with death at every step, till at length we arrived at the waggon.

The man who led us through the crowd spoke to Hyrum, who was sitting in front, and, telling him that his mother had come to see him, requested that he should reach his hand to me. He did so, but I was not allowed to see him: the cover was of strong cloth, and nailed down so close, that he could barely get his hand through. We had merely

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& swore I should not see them I finally got to the waggon & put up my hand—he took hold of my hand & kissed it—I said Joseph let me hear your voice once more—Said he God Bless you my poor Mother—they were taken away they were in bonds & irons" (Lucy Smith, Minutes, Bolton version, pp. 11-12).

147. GAS on Coray: "about ~~four~~ <a> hundred yards . . ."

## PART 5. THE MISSOURI EXPERIENCE

the other prisoners ~~and~~ who sat in the fore part of the waggon but before we ~~left~~ had time to do so several men exclaimed drive over them calling to us to get out of the way <and> swearing at us <and treading> us in the most dreadful manner.

Our friend then conducted us to the hinder part of the waggon where Joseph was and spoke to him saying Mr Smith your mother and sister is here and wishes to shake hands with you Joseph ~~shoved~~ crowded his hand through between the waggon and cover where it was nailed down ~~out~~ <to> the end board I <we> caught hold of his hand but it he did not speak to us I could not bear to leave him with out hearing his voice Oh Joseph said I do speak to your poor mother once more. I cannot go untill I hear you speak God bless you Mother he said and then a cry was raised and the waggon dashed tearing my son from just as Lucy was pressing his hand to her to bestow upon it a sisters last kiss for we knew that they were sentenced to be shot we succeed in getting to the house again although we were scarcely able to support ourselves—

I will now return to my ~~own~~ family at home ~~before~~ For sometime nothing was heard in the house but sighs and groans as we did not then know but we had seen Joseph and Hyrum for the last time but in the

shaken hands with him, when we were ordered away by the mob, who forbade any conversation between us, and, threatening to shoot us, they ordered the teamster to drive over us.

Our friend then conducted us to the back part of the waggon, where Joseph sat, and said, "Mr. Smith, your mother and sister are here, and wish to shake hands with you." Joseph crowded his hand through between the cover and waggon,<sup>148</sup> and we caught hold of it; but he spoke not to either of us, until I said, "Joseph, do speak to your poor mother once more—I cannot bear to go till I hear your voice." "God bless you, mother!" he sobbed out. Then a cry was raised, and the waggon dashed off, tearing him from us just as Lucy was pressing his hand to her lips, to bestow upon it a sister's last kiss—for he was then sentenced to be shot.

For some time our house was filled with mourning, lamentation, and woe; but, in the midst of my grief,<sup>149</sup> I found consolation that surpassed all earthly comfort. I was filled with the Spirit of God, and re-

148. RDLS: "the cover and the waggon . . ."

149. Coray: "the midst of our grief . . ."



midst of my grief I found consolation that surpassed all ~~the~~ earthly comfort I was filled with the spirit of God and received the following by the gift of prophecy—

I Let your heart be comforted concerning your children for they ~~live~~ shall <not> harm a hair of their heads<sup>151</sup> and before 4 years ~~his~~ <Joseph> shall speak before the judges and great men of the land and his voice shall be heard in their councils and ~~before~~ <in> 5 years from this time he will have power over all his enemys

my children said do not cry any more the mob will not kill them for the Lord has signified to me that he will deliver them out of the hands of their enemies. This was a great comfort to us all and we were not so much distressed afterwards as to their lives being taken—

As soon as william was able to stir about a little he besaught his father to leave the place and ~~move~~ <move> to Illinois but Mr Smith would not consent to do this for he was in hopes that our sons would be liberated and peace be settled again William still expostulated with him but to no effect and he at last de-

ceived the following by the gift of prophecy<sup>150</sup>.—

“Let your heart be comforted concerning your children; they shall not be harmed by their enemies; and, in less than four years, Joseph shall speak before the judges and great men of the land, for his voice shall be heard in their councils. And in five years from this time he will have power over all his enemies.”

This relieved my mind, and I was prepared to comfort my children. I told them what had been revealed to me, which greatly consoled them.

As soon as William was able to stir about a little he besought his father to move to Illinois, but Mr. Smith would not consent to this, for he was in hopes that our sons would be liberated, and peace again be restored. William continued to expostulate with him, but to no effect, as Mr. Smith declared that he would

150. IE and Nibley: “prophesy”

151. See Alma 11:44: “and even there shall not so much as a hair of their heads be lost . . .”; Luke 21:18: “But there shall not an hair of your head perish.”



clared that he would not go away from Far West unless he was called upon to do so by revelation very well Father said William I can give you revelation then and he rehearsed the vision which he had related to me—Mr Smith made answer to this that the family might get ready to start and then if we were obliged to go there would be nothing to hinder us—

Our buisness had been trading in corn and wheat as well as keeping a public house<sup>153</sup> and when the state Mob came in we had some corn and wheat on hands but ~~no~~ or very little flour or meal and we sent a young man that lived with us to Mill with some 14 bags of Grain to be ground but he was obliged to leave in consequence of the mob who so near at hand that miller deemed it unsafe for him to allow the brethren to remain about his mill least they <mob> Militia should burn his premises—We were therefore obliged to blair our corn in a samp mortar<sup>154</sup> to make bread of and it was all the bread stuff we had for a length of time—

not leave Far West, except by revelation. William said that he had revelation; that he himself knew that we would have to leave Far West. Mr. Smith finally said<sup>152</sup> that the family might get ready to move, and then, if we were obliged to go, there would be nothing to hinder us.

Our business in Far West had been trading in corn and wheat, as well as keeping a boarding house. When the mob came in, we had considerable grain on hand, but very little flour or meal, therefore we sent a man who was living with us to mill with fourteen sacks of grain; but the miller considered it unsafe to allow the brethren to remain about his premises, as the mob were near at hand, and he was afraid they would burn his buildings. Consequently, the young man returned without his grain, and, for bread-stuff, we were for a long time obliged to pound corn in a samp-mortar.

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152. Coray makes only one change in the two preceding sentences, omitting the phrase "except by revelation" so that the sentence ends: "declared that he would not leave Far West." GAS on Pratt rendered the previous two sentences thus: "~~William continued to expostulate with him, but to no effect, as Mr. Smith declared that he would not leave Far West, except by revelation. William said that he had revelation; that he himself knew that we would have to leave Far West. Mr. Smith <he> finally said . . .~~" In the margin GAS wrote: "Not in the original." GAS on Coray marks out the entire passage from "William continued" to "to leave Far West. Mr. Smith . . ." so that it reads: "and peace again be restored <but> finally said . . .". IE and Nibley make similar changes: ". . . peace again be restored, but finally said that the family might get ready . . ."

153. Coray: "tavern . . ."

154. *Samp* is a coarse hominy; a samp mortar is a grinding implement designed to produce it.

but there were many who subsisted some time on parched corn for they were all driven in from the country and there was more than an acre of land in front of our house that was covered with beds laying in the open sun where men women and children were compelled to sleep in all weather for these were the last who had got into the city and all the houses were so full that there was no room for them. It was enough to make the heart ache to hear <see> children in the open sun and wind sick with colds and very hungry crying round their mothers for food and their parents destitute of the means of making them comfortable

Many subsisted altogether upon parched corn for some length of time.

The brethren were all driven in from the country. There was an acre of ground in front of our house completely covered with beds, lying in the open sun, where families were compelled to sleep, exposed to all kinds of weather; these were the last who came into the city, and, as the houses were all full, they could not find a shelter. It was enough to make the heart ache to see the children, sick with colds, and crying around their mothers for food, whilst their parents were destitute of the means of making them comfortable.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

while their houses which lay a short distance from the city were pillaged of every thing eatable their fields thrown open for the horses belonging to nob to lay waste and destroy and their fat cattle shot down and turning to carion before their eyes while a strong guard which was set over us for the purpose prevented us from making use of a particle of the stock that was killed on every side of us.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

~~There relate samuels~~  
~~The brethren had been warn Many~~

It may be said that this evil certainly might have been provided against if Joseph Smith had the spirit of prophecy to this I reply that he did all in his power to get the brethren to move into the city before they heard of the mob but they did not hearken to council and let this be an everlasting warning to the

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

It may be said that, if Joseph Smith had been a Prophet, he would have foreseen the evil, and provided against it. To this I reply, he did all that was in his power to prevail upon his brethren to move into Far West, before the difficulty commenced, and at a meeting, three weeks previous, he urged the brethren to make all possible haste in moving both their houses and their provi-

saints not to reject the council of the authorities of the church because they do not understand the reason of its being given you —

if the brethren at Hauns Mill had observed to do what they were advised repeatedly to do their lives would no doubt have been preserved for they would have been at Far West with the rest of the brethren

~~William~~ I shall not attempt here to give a detail of facts which ~~h~~ are already published my Mind is loath to dwell upon these days of sorrow ~~and~~ more than is necessary my readers will find a relation of ~~these~~ many things in the various publications which were written during that years and the year following ~~the~~ ~~sa~~ that will satisfactory to them ~~an~~ things which I did not see ~~but~~ and therefore shall not attempt to write—

When William began to be able to walk he went to the stable to see after his horse and not finding him he enquired of one of the mob officers where his horse was. And the officers replied that he had sent ~~him~~ with a dispatch to another part of the county and the messenger had

sions into the city. But this counsel appeared to them unreasonable and inconsistent, therefore they did not heed it.

If the brethren at Haun's Mill had hearkened to counsel, it would, without doubt, have saved their lives;<sup>155</sup>

but, as the consequences of their negligence are already published,<sup>156</sup> and as my mind is loth to dwell upon these days of sorrow, I shall only give those facts which have not been published.

While the mob was in the city, William went out one day to feed his horse, but the horse was gone. It was not long, however, before a soldier, who had been absent on a despatch,<sup>157</sup> rode him into the yard. William took the horse by the bridle, and ordered the soldier to dismount,

155. Jacob Haun had sought counsel from Joseph Smith the day before, 29 October, explaining that he felt the thirty-five families settled there were strong enough to defend the mill. Joseph Smith advised him to "move in, by all means, if you wish to save your lives," adding that their lives were more important than their property, "but there is no need of your losing either if you will only do as you are commanded." Haun returned with the message that "If we thought we could maintain the mill it was Joseph's council for us to do so if we thought not to come to Farewest." The next day, an estimated 240-300 men "fired seventeen hundred rounds," killing eighteen men and boys and wounding twelve (David Lewis, *Diary*, qtd in Johnson, "Let Far West," 237).

156. Coray: "consequences of our negligence . . ."

157. RLDS: "absent with a dispatch"

taken him William told him that the horse must be returned for he would not have him used in any such way in a little while the despatch came up and William took the horse by the bridle and ordered the rider to dismount and the officer ~~also~~ <sup>ca</sup> seconding the order it was obeyed and the <was> horse led to the stable ~~In as the saints were now moving from~~

which he did, and left the horse in William's hands again.

Soon after this the brethren were compelled to ~~on~~ lay down their arms and sign away their property it was done immediately in front of our house and could hear <Cap> Wilson Gen. Clarks speech ~~<and>~~ <sup>when</sup> he distinctly in which he declared that my sons ~~should~~ must die that "there<ir> die was cast their doom was fixed their fate was sealed ~~and &~~" and also that "if he could invoke the spirit of the unknown God to rest upon us he would advise us to scatter abroad &c"

Soon after this the brethren were compelled to lay down their arms, and sign away their property. This was done quite near our house, so that I could distinctly hear General Clark's notable speech on this occasion;<sup>158</sup> and, without any great degree of alarm, I heard him declare, concerning Joseph and Hyrum, that "their die was cast, their doom was fixed, and their fate was sealed."

And I thought of the words of Paul ~~to the Athenians~~ of the scripture which saith Ye "know not God I speak this to your shame"<sup>159</sup> for Gen. Clark did not know that he could not measure arms with the Almighty or he would not have told so

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158. GAS on Coray has edited this passage thus: "~~Soon after this~~ the brethren were compelled to lay down their arms; and sign away their property. This was done quite near our house. [GAS: new paragraph] ~~so that I could distinctly hear~~<d> General Clark's notable speech ~~on this occasion;~~ and, without . . ." IE and Nibley: "The brethren were compelled to lay down their arms, and sign away their property. This was done quite near our house. I distinctly heard General Clark's notable speech . . ."

159. See 1 Corinthians 6:5: "I speak to your shame."

positively what was to befall my imprisoned children<sup>160</sup> Soon after Hyrum left home his youngest son was born this was his second wife's first child her confinement was considered rather premature being probably brought on by her extreme anxiety about her husband whom she never saw but once afterwards before she left the state in which he was held a prisoner she suffered in her sickness beyond description but in her afflictions her sister stood by her and devoted her whole time to Nursing and comforting her as they were equally alone as respected their husbands for one was imprisoned and the other flying for his life ~~For~~ However she gained sufficient strength to accompany Emma to the prison once before they left the state.<sup>161</sup>

After this william repaired with his family to Quincy and from thence to Plymouth where he settled himself and sent the team back after us.<sup>164</sup>

Not long after Hyrum left home, Joseph,<sup>162</sup> his youngest son, was born. This was Mary's first child.<sup>163</sup> She never saw her husband but once after she became a mother before leaving the state. She suffered beyond description in her sickness, but, in all her afflictions, her sister, Mrs. [Mercy Rachel Fielding] Thompson, stood by her to nurse and comfort her, and, by the best of attention, she gained sufficient strength to accompany Emma to the prison once before she left the state. At this time, my husband sent to Joseph to know if it was the will of the Lord that we should leave the state. Whereupon Joseph sent him a revelation which he had received while in prison, which satisfied my husband's mind, and he was willing to remove to Illinois as soon as possible.

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160. A pointing hand labeled "Mary Smith" appears here. A half sheet with thirteen lines of writing is inserted loose in Lucy's rough draft. The recto begins with a duplicate drawing of the hand labeled "Mary Smith" and text that begins: "Soon after Hyrum left . . ."

161. The Coray text is substantially the same except for adding Mary's sister's name as "Mrs. Thomson," which Pratt corrects to "Thompson." The few lines of text on the verso of the short sheet in Lucy's rough draft follow, beginning: "After this william repaired . . ."

162. GAS on Coray: "after Hyrum was taken, Joseph Fielding . . ." GAS on Pratt does not change the verb and adds "F." instead of "Fielding." IE and Nibley both include "Fielding." Nibley note: "He was born on November 13, 1838."

163. Coray: "first child. Her confinement was considered rather premature. being probably brought on, by her anxiety with regard to her husband; whom she never saw but once she became a mother, before leaving the state."

164. This passage is repeated (see next paragraph) on two different pages.

Mr Smith sent William <to Joseph and got a revelation> made his arrangements as soon as possible to remove his family to Illinois and in a short time had them comfortably situated in the town of Plymouth and sent back his team for his fathers family

but we loaded the waggon with our goods but just before we were ready to start he word came that Sydney Rigdons family were ready to start and they must have the waggon

thus we were compeled to remain a season longer untill William sent again the waggon was again loaded and again unloaded for another messenger came saying that Emma my sons wife was ready and she must have the waggon however we after a long time succeeded in getting one waggon in which to convey beds and clothing for My own family and 2 of our sons in law and their families and this was our dependance for a place to ride and to convey all our baggage.<sup>166</sup> Don Carlos my youngest

After this, William took hi own family, without further delay, to Quincy, thence to Plymouth, where he settled himself, and afterwards sent back the team for his ather's family.<sup>165</sup>

Just as we got our goods into the waggon, a man came to us and said, that Sidney Rigdon's family were ready to start, and must have the waggon immediately. Accordingly, our goods were taken out, and we were compelled to wait until the team could come after us again.

We put our goods into the waggon a second time, but the waggon was wanted for Emma and he family, so our goods were again takn out.

However, we succeeded fter a long time, in getting one singl waggon to convey beds, clothing, ail provisions for our family, Salisbury's family,<sup>167</sup> and Mr. M'Lerry's<sup>18</sup> family, besides considerable luggge for Don Carlos, who, with his fanly and the remainder of his baggagewas

165. GAS on Pratt has placed a question mark beside this short paragraph.

166. Joseph Smith's official history notes on 14 February 1839: "My brotler Don Carlos Smith had carried a petition to the mob, to get assistance to help our father's family out of Missouri. I know not how much he obtained, but my father and mother started this day for Quincy, with an ox team" (HC 3:261). Joseph Jr. could not have known these facts from first-hand knowledge since he was in prison at this point. Further, according to Lucy, the wagon was pulled by horses, not oxen.

167. Nibley note: "Catherine was married to W. J. Salisbury."

168. Coray: "Jenkins Saulisbury . . . Mr. McLerry"; GAS on Pratt: "M'Lerie's"; RLDS: "McCleary's"; IE: "McLeries"; Nibley: "McCleary." Nibley note: "Sophronia was married to William McCleary."

son was in company with us he rode with his wife and children in a one horse buggy and the greatest part of their baggage was in our waggon.

In consequence of our crowded situation we left a large stock of provision and most of our furniture ~~les~~ in boxes and barrels in the house—

but that was not the worst for our horses were what is termed wind broken and every hill which we came to we were obliged to get out and walk which was bothe tiresome to the patience and the body.

The first day we arrived at ~~the house one Mr.~~ a place called Tinney's Grove where we lodged in an old log house and spent a rather uncomfortable manner the day after I travelled on foot half the day and at night came to the house of one Mr. Thomas who was then a member of the Church My husband was very much out of health as he had not yet recovered from the shock occasioned by the capture of Hyrum and Joseph and he suffered much with a sever cough—

crowded into a buggy,<sup>169</sup> and went in the same company with us.<sup>170</sup>

For the want of teams, we were compelled to leave most of our provisions and furniture.<sup>171</sup>

Another inconvenience which we suffered was, the horses were wind-broken, consequently we were obliged to walk much of the way, especially up all the hills, which was very tiresome.<sup>172</sup>

The first day we arrived at a place called Tinney's Grove,<sup>173</sup> where we lodged over night in an old log house, which was very uncomfortable. Half of the succeeding day I travelled on foot. That night we stayed at the house of one Mr. Thomas, who was then a member of the Church.<sup>174</sup>

169. Coray: "considerable baggage for Don Carlos. Don Carlos and his family with the remainder of his baggage, were crowded into a horse buggy . . ." RLDS note: "A light vehicle, drawn by one horse."

170. Nibley note: "Joseph Smith, Sr., and family made the journey from Missouri to Illinois sometime in February 1839."

171. IE and Nibley omit this sentence and the next: "For the want of . . . which was very tiresome."

172. Coray: "hills; which was very tiresome both to the patience and the body." GAS on Pratt (but not on Coray) put a question mark next to this paragraph, beginning "For the want of teams . . ." and ending "was very tiresome." RLDS: ". . . which was very tiresome work."

173. GAS on Pratt but not on Coray: "at a place called Tinney's Grove . . ." He has pencilled

[Note 174 appears on page 682.]

the 3<sup>th</sup> day in the afternoon ~~we so~~ it commenced raining when night arrived we stopped at a house and asked permission to stay over night the man of the house showed us a miserable out ~~door~~ house which filthy enough to sicken the stomach even to look at it and told us if we would clean this place out and haul our own wood we might lodge there ~~as to wood that was so far off that at the late hour in which we arrived there it was not possible to get any but~~ we cleaned out the place so ~~that~~ as to be able to lay our beds down and < here we > spent the night ~~with- out fire~~ the next morning we ~~de- manded our kind~~ the land lord charged us 75 cents for the use of this shed

and we went on in the pouring rain | we asked for shelter at many places but were refused admittance & untill near night we travelled through the rain and mud without finding any one who was willing to take us in<sup>175</sup>

On the third day, in the afternoon, it began to rain. At night we stopped at a house, and asked permission to stay till morning. The man to whom we applied showed us a miserable out-house, which was filthy enough to sicken the stomach, and told us if we would clean this place, and haul our own wood and water, we might lodge there. To this we agreed, and with much trouble, we succeeded in making a place for our beds. For the use of this loathsome hovel, he charged us seventy-five cents.

We travelled all the next day in a pouring rain. We asked for shelter at many places, but were refused. At last we came to a place quite like the one where we spent the previous night. Here we spent the night without fire.

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"Qy" [Query] in the margin.

174. GAS on Pratt but not on Coray: "Mr. Thomas, ~~who was then a member of the Church.~~"

175. Although Lucy does not mention anyone else traveling with the family party, Perrigrine Sessions, son of David and Patty Sessions, relates an experience that seems to illuminate this laborious trek out of Missouri. Recopying his diary entry for 27 February 1846 in final form later in his life, he describes leaving for Missouri with two companions. This incident prompted him to record an experience that he had not recorded earlier: "one circumstance that I here name in thirty eight [1838] when on my way out of Missouri near Palmira [Palmyra, MO, about ten miles from Hannibal] in company with Father Joseph Smith the Father of the Prophet Joseph Smith and Carlos Smith in a snow storm cald to farm house to by some corn and stay all night Father Smith asked the man if we could camp there and by some feed he says are you Mormons Father Smith said yes said he Dam you you cant stay here with many other insulting words we all turned from him and when we had got into the street Father Smith took off his hat altho the snow falling and with an uplifted hand said in the name of the lord whome we serve let that man bee cursed in his basket and in his Store and let his name be cut of from under heaven and we all said Amen when I come to travil the roade againe tho years had pased this was brought fresh to my mind for behold there was naught to mark the spot but the ruins of his house burnt to ashes his Orchard broken down



at last we came to another place  
very much like the one where we  
spent the night before here we  
staid all night without fire.

The day after which was the 5 from  
the time we started we got to  
Palmira ~~here we stopped~~ just before  
we came to this place Don carlos  
called to us and said Father this ex-  
posure is too bad and I will not bear  
it any longer and the first place I  
come to that looks comfortable I  
shall drive up to the house and stop  
go in and do you follow me

we soon came to a handsome, neat  
looking farm <house> which was  
surrounded with every appearance  
of comfort. The house stood a short  
distance from the road but there  
was a large gate which opened into  
the field in front of it. Don Carlos  
opened the gate and drove into the  
field and then after he had assisted  
us through he left us and started to  
see the landlord who met him be-  
fore he came to the house—Land-

On the fifth day, just before arriving  
at Palmyra, in Missouri,<sup>176</sup> Don Car-  
los called to Mr. Smith, and said,  
“Father, this exposure is too bad,  
and I will not bear it any longer; the  
first place that I come to that looks  
comfortable, I shall drive up and go  
into the house, and do you follow  
me.”

We soon came to a farmhouse,  
surrounded with every appearance  
of plenty. The house was but a short  
distance from the road, having in  
front of it a large gate. Through this  
Don Carlos drove, without hesitat-  
ing to ask the privilege, and, after as-  
sisting us through, he started to the  
house, and, meeting the landlord, he  
said, “I do not know but that I am  
trespassing, but I have with me an  
aged father, who is sick, besides my

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his Wife and three children were burned to death in his house and he at this time was in close confinement and incane [insane] here I saw the Power of the Holy Priesthood manifest for at the next house we were received kindly and Father Smith left his blessing upon the house and family here my eyes beheld his words fulfilled to the letter all this Passed and the too men ignorent of the curseing or the blessing placed upon them[.]”

My thanks to Donna Toland Smart for permission to use this quotation from “Wanderings: The Journals of Perrigrine Sessions,” which she edited, typescript, 96-97. Since Joseph Sr. was in Missouri only once in his life and since he and Don Carlos were indisputably together during this exodus of 1838-39, it is probably correct to attribute this occurrence to the Smith family’s last few days in Missouri. A more precise date, however, is probably February 1838. Emma Smith had started out of the state on 7 February 1839, and the Joseph Sr. family, by Lucy’s account, could not have left before then since Emma’s leaving preempted their wagon.

176. GAS on Coray: “Palmira, Mo . . .” Usually GAS corrects “Palmira” to “Palmyra” but he did not in this case.

lord said D.C. I do not know but I am trespassing but I have with me an aged father who is sick besides My Mother and a number of <women with> small children we have now travelled 2 days and a half in this rain and we shall die if we are compelled to go much farther ~~and~~ <but> if you will allow us to stay with you over night we will pay you almost any price for our accommodations.

Why what do you mean sir said the gentleman do you not consider us human beings ~~or that~~ do you think that we would turn Any thing that was flesh and blood away from our doors in such a time as this where is your parents drive your waggons to the door and help your wife children out I will attend to the others—

he then assisted Mr Smith and myself ~~out~~ into the room where his lady was sitting but as she was not well and he was affraid the dampness of this room might cause<sup>177</sup> her to take cold he ordered a black servant to make her a fire in another room he ~~the took~~ helped each one of the family into the house and hung their cloaks and shawls and as he hung them up to dry he said he never in his life saw a family ~~in~~ so uncomfortable from the effects of rainy weather.

mother, and a number of women, with small children. We have travelled two days and a half in this rain, and if we are compelled to go much further, we shall all of us lie. If you will allow us to stay with you over night, we will pay you almost any price for our accommodation."

"Why, what do you mean, sir!" said the gentleman, "Do you not consider us human beings! Do you think that we would turn any thing that is flesh and blood from our door, in such a time as this! Drive up to the house and help your wife and children out: I'll attend to your father and mother and the rest of them."

The landlord then assisted Mr. Smith and myself into the room in which his lady was sitting, but as she was rather ill, and he feared that the dampness of our clothing would cause her to take cold, he ordered a black servant to make a fire for her in another room. He then assisted each of our family into the house, and hung up our cloaks and shawls to dry.

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177. Coray: "dampness would cause . . ."

At this house we had every thing that could conduce to our comfort as this gentleman Whose name was Esqr. Man did all that he could do to assist us he brought us milk for our children hauled us water to wash with furnished good beds to sleep in &c. &c. in short he left nothing undone

and in the evening he remarked that he had been sent by the people ~~to the~~ as a representative from the county the year before and at the house of representatives he met one Mr Carroll who was sent there from the county where the Mormons resided and said Squire Man if I ever felt like fight any man it was him for he never raised his hand nor his voice in behalf of that abused people once while the house was in session and my blood boiled to hear ~~h~~ how they were treated but I never was a member of the house before and had not sufficient confidence to take a stand in their behalf upon the floor or I would have done it if ~~and~~ had been a man of a little more experience

After spending the night here with this good man we set out again the next morning although it still rained for we were obliged to travel in order to avoid being detained by high water we went on through mud and rain untill we arrived <sup>178</sup>within 6 miles of the Mississippi river

At this house we had everything which could conduce to comfort. The gentleman, who was Esquire Mann, brought us milk for our children, hauled us water to wash with, and furnished us good beds to sleep in.

In the evening, he remarked that he was sent by his county, the year before, to the House of Representatives, where he met one Mr. Carroll, who was sent from the county in which the "Mormons" resided; "and if ever," said Esquire Mann, "I felt like fighting any man, it was him. He never once raised his voice, nor even his hand, in behalf of that abused people, once while the House was in session. I was never a member of the House before, and had not sufficient confidence to take a stand upon the floor in their behalf, as I should have done, had I been a man of a little more experience."

After spending the night with this good man, we proceeded on our journey, although it continued raining, for we were obliged to travel through mud and rain to avoid being detained by high water. When we came within six miles of the Mississippi river,

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178. New page: "16" in a curlicued circle is hand-written at the left and right top margins.

here the ground ~~beea~~ was low and swampy so much so that a person on foot would sink in above their ankles at every step here also the weather grew colder and it commenced snowing and hailing but notwithstanding all this we were compelled to go on foot as the horses were not able to draw us

as we were were crossing this place Lucy lost her shoes several times and her father had to thrust his cane into the mud to ascertain where they were because they were so completely covered with mud and water

when we came to the river we could not cross nor yet find a place of shelter for there were many saints there waiting to go over into quincy ~~we~~ the snow had now fallen to the depth of 6 inch ~~<es>~~ and was still falling but we were very tired and ~~we~~ we made up our beds on the snow and went to rest with what comfort we might under such circumstances

the next morning we were covered with snow as we lay in our beds but ~~b~~ we rose and after considerable pains succeeded in folding up our frozen bedding we tried to light a fire but finding it impossible we resigned ourselves to our situation and waited patiently for some opportunity to offer itself for crossing the river

the weather grew colder, and, in the place of rain, we had snow and hail; and the ground between us and the river was so low and wampy, that a person on foot would sink in over his ankles<sup>179</sup> at every step, yet we were all of us forced to wade, or rather wade, the whole six miles.

On reaching the Mississippi, we found that we could not cross that night, nor yet find shelter, for many Saints were there before us, waiting to go over to Quincy. The snow was now six inches deep, and still falling. We made our beds upon it, and went to rest with what comfort we might under such circumstances.

The next morning our beds were covered with snow, and much of the bedding under which we lay was frozen. We rose and tried to light a fire, but, finding it impossible, we resigned ourselves to our comfortless situation.<sup>180</sup>

179. Coray: "would sink to his ankles . . ."

180. Lucy described this incident again in her October 1845 conference address: "it rained three days as hard as it could rain—but we had to travel & nothing to shelter us—I walked 6 miles

## PART 5. THE MISSOURI EXPERIENCE

soon after samuel came over from Quincy and finding us he with seymore Brunsons assistance obtained permission of the ferryman to have us cross that day and about sunset we a landed in Quincy where samuel had hired a house into which we moved ~~although it was already occupied by~~ <and when we got into it we our household consisted of> five ~~other~~ families ~~name~~ namely Mr Smith and myself with our daughter and henry and Hyran Holt [Hoit?] also the family of Samuel Smith Jenkins Saulsbury Mr. McLery and brother Graves—<sup>181</sup>

Soon after this, Samuel came over from Quincy, and he, with the assistance of Seymour Brunson, obtained permission of the ferryman for us to cross that day. About sunset, we landed in Quincy. Here Samuel had hired a house, and we moved into it, with four other families.<sup>182</sup>

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in the bottom—my clothes were wet so high up [sic] could scarcely walk & when we got to the Quincy river it snowd [sic] it rained it hailed—We lay <our bed> on the cold snow & a blanket over in & took off our wet stockings & did the best we could—in the morning the cover was frozen stiff—we could not make a fire for the snow” (Lucy Smith, Minutes, Bolton version, p. 12).

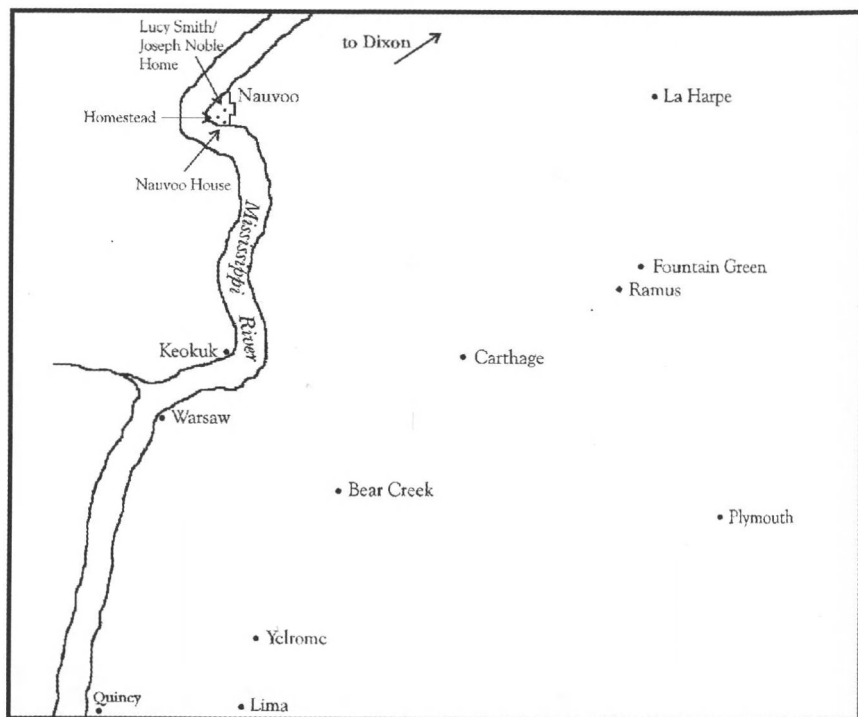
181. New page: “17” handwritten at the left and right top margins.

182. On 16 March 1839, Wilford Woodruff records visiting the Smith family in Quincy. Sharing the house were “Father & Mother Smith the patriarch of the Church & also Samuel & Carlos & their families” (1:320).



*Part b.*

*The Nauvoo Years*



Map 5. The Smith Family in Nauvoo



Lucy: 1844-45

We spent the evening relating our adventures in escaping from the hands of our enemies Samuels Story was very interesting for he was compelled to fly with a company of others and leave his family behind

he said that they suffered very much on their rout with hunger as there was several of them and they were pursued by their enemies for which cause they did not consider it safe to expose themselves to being seen by the inhabitants

upon one occasion they became so faint that they were almost in despair after counseling together a short time they concluded to appoint samuel to receive the word of the Lord and then unite in prayer for that the Lord would communicate <to> them his will concerning what he would have them to do

Coray/Pratt: 1853

## CHAP. LI.

JOSEPH AND HYRUM ESCAPE FROM THEIR PERSECUTORS,<sup>1</sup> AND RETURN TO THEIR FAMILIES.

We spent the evening after we arrived in Quincy in relating our adventures and escapes, while making our exit from the land of Missouri, and the following circumstance, during our evening's conversation, was related by Samuel, who, in company with a number of others,<sup>2</sup> fled for his life before the enemy:—

He said that they travelled the most secluded route that they could find, as they considered it unsafe to be seen by the inhabitants of the country.

Game being very scarce, they soon lacked for provisions, and finally ran out altogether; yet they pursued their journey, until they became so weak that they could proceed no further. They then held a council, in which Samuel was appointed to receive the word of the Lord, and they united in prayer to God, that he would make known to them the means and time of their deliverance.

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1. Coray: "ESCAPE FROM PRISON . . ."; GAS on Coray: "ESCAPE FROM PRISON <THEIR PERSECUTORS> . . ."

2. Coray: "several others . . ." This party consisted of five men, led by Charles C. Rich.

after continuing in prayer for some-  
time it was signified to samuel that  
in the course of 2 <1/2> or 3 hours  
they might obtain some refresh-  
ment<sup>3</sup> by travelling in a certain di-  
rection he made this known to the  
company and he set out with 2 oth-  
ers in quest of the promised food

and after travelling several miles  
they came to an indians wigwam  
They told them by signs that they  
were hungry and the squaw made  
some cakes with all possible speed  
and baked them in a pan over the  
fire and gave each one of them 2  
they then told her that there was  
more of their friends in woods far off  
and in a trice she made a quantity  
more of her wheat cakes and gave  
them to the brethren on a piece of  
birch bark She also gave them to un-  
derstand by signs that she would  
send but she had but little and her  
papooses would be hungry if she let  
them have any more.

The brethren traveled on ~~length of~~  
~~time~~ after this but succeeded in get-  
ting sufficient food to sustain them in  
that none of the company perished

in a short time they separated and  
took different routs through the  
country for Quincy where samuel ar-  
rived some time before we got there.

After a short supplication, it was  
manifested to Samuel that they  
might obtain sustenance by travel-  
ling a short distance in a certain di-  
rection. This he made known to the  
company, and immediately set out  
with two others in quest of the prom-  
ised food.

After travelling a short time, they  
came to an Indian wigwam, and  
made known to the Indians by signs<sup>4</sup>  
that they were hungry. Upon this  
the squaw, with all possible speed,  
baked them some cakes, and gave  
each of them two; after which she  
sent the same number to those who  
remained in the woods, giving them  
to understand that she would send  
more, but she had very little flour,  
and her papooses<sup>5</sup> would be hungry.

From this time onward, the  
brethren succeeded in getting food  
sufficient to sustain them, so that  
none of them perished.

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3. Coray: "subsistence"

4. Coray: "and made known to them by signs . . ." RLDS: "by signs made known to the  
Indians . . ."

5. Pratt and RLDS add a translation note: "children." IE and Nibley do not.

It was but a few days before samuel moved his family into another house this left rather more room for those who were ~~left but~~ remained we ~~has~~ soon found that we had many kind neighbors in fact they were all kind one in particular I would mention who lived across the street from us by the name of Messer this man and his wife seemed to seek every opportunity to oblige us and while we were there they took care that we were accomodated with every thing that we needed which was at their command

We had not been in Quincy one week when Lucy my youngest daughter was taken very sick with a pain in her head and dreadful distress in her limbs ~~and~~ occasioned by her exposure in coming from Missouri She utterly refused from the first take any nourishment whatever I took care of her myself several

In a few days, Samuel moved his family into<sup>6</sup> another house, and we were then less crowded.<sup>7</sup>

Soon after he left, Lucy was taken violently ill, and for several days she refused to take any kind of nourishment whatever. I had not long the privilege of taking care of her, as I was shortly seized with the cholera myself, and, although I suffered dreadfully with the cramp, which usually attends this disease, it was

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6. Nibley: "to"

7. This was apparently about 6 March 1839. On that date, Don Carlos, who was "in misery" on the third day of a toothache, wrote a hasty note to Hyrum and Joseph reporting on the status of the family. Joseph Sr. and Lucy, he said, "stood their journey remarkable well. They are in tolerable health." They shared the household with "Hyrum's children and mother Grinold's." Their stepmother Mary Fielding Smith, still slowly recuperating, was living about half a mile away with baby Joseph F., her sister Mercy and Mercy's husband, Robert B. Thompson, in a house "with old Father Dixon." Emma and the children were staying with "Judge Cleveland" about three miles out of Quincy. Samuel's wife Mary was in ill health. "We are trying to get a house, and to get the family together; we shall do the best we can for them," promised Don Carlos (HC 3:272-73). William was living "forty miles away" and Don Carlos transmitted his anxiety "to have you liberated, and see you enjoy liberty once more." William, who arrived before the letter was sent, added his apologies for not visiting Hyrum and Joseph at Liberty Jail, pleading both the press of business and also his anxiety lest an excessive number of visitors arouse the suspicions of the Missourians that the Saints "would rise up to liberate you . . . [and] make it worse for you." He added, "We all long to see you and have you come out of that lonesome place," and, like Don Carlos, promised, "Do not worry about them [your families], for they will be taken care of. All we can do will be done; further than this, we can only wish, hope, desire, and pray for your deliverance" (HC 3:274).

days untill I was taken in a similar manner myself the day on which I was taken Mr Miliken a young man to whom she was engaged to be married came to see her and he was obliged to watch with her <all> that day for I my disease proved to be a very severe case of Cholera and although I suffered dreadfully with cramp which usually attends that complaint yet that was nothing in comparison to another pain which operated upon the marrow of my bones and sometimes seemed to me to be almost bursting the bones themselves assunder

every thing that was known to be good for such diseases and could be obtained was administered in [written over "to"] my case but without effect

<sup>8</sup>supposing that I could not live any length of time Lucy wanted to ~~to see~~ me but she was unable to stand on her feet and samuel carried her down the stairs in his arms several times before I got any better at last a young man who was a botanic physician<sup>9</sup> was brought who gave me a kind of herb tea that releived me immediately so that I went to sleep very soon after I took it and and continued from that time getting better untill I recovered

nothing in comparison to another pain, which operated upon the marrow of my bones. It seemed sometimes as though it would almost burst the bones themselves asunder.

Everything that could be obtained which was considered good for such diseases was administered in my case, but without effect.

At length we applied to a young botanic physician, who gave me some herb tea that relieved me immediately.

During my sickness, Samuel brought Lucy downstairs several times in his arms to see me, as they did not expect me to live any length of time, and they were willing that she should be gratified. When I recovered, I found that she had taken nothing but ice water, while I was

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8. The order of the next several items (the Messers' kindness, the stages of daughter Lucy's illness, calling the botanic physician, and the recovery of both) differs between the Lucy and Pratt versions. The Pratt version follows the Coray manuscript.

9. Coray: "a kind of herb tea . . ." It is possible that this botanic physician was Willard Richards, a Thomsonian physician who frequently applied his "natural" remedies to Joseph Jr. and other members of the Smith family during the Nauvoo period. On the other hand, Richards was thirty-five, which is not particularly young. Arthur Millikin, whom Lucy calls "young" only a few sentences above, was twenty-two.

during our sickness the ladies of Quincy ~~were~~ sent us every delicacy which could be obtained with the hopes of pleasing our appetites particularly Lucy's as she was not inclined to take any kind of food into her stomach

and when I got better I found that since she was sick she had ate nothing but ice and drunk ice water but her fever was broken and in a little while by careful nursing she was able to walk about a little—

previous to this however Mr Smith had sent one brother Lumereaux to Missouri to see if any intelligence could be obtained concerning the prisoners this man received strict injunctions from the brethren not to return untill he saw my sons or knew Where they were he had now been gone a long time and no intelligence came of him or the prisoners

~~when Lucy~~ about the time that Lucy began to walk <go> about on her feet a little Brother Partridge and Brother Morley came from near Lima to see if Lumereaux had written or returned and upon learn-

sick, but her fever was broken, and, by careful nursing, she was soon able to walk about.<sup>10</sup>

Whilst we were sick, the ladies of Quincy sent us every delicacy which the city afforded; in fact, we were surrounded with the kindest of neighbours. One Mr. Messer and family, in particular, sought every opportunity to oblige us while we remained in the place.

Previous to our sickness in Quincy, my husband sent brother Lamoreaux to Missouri, under strict injunctions<sup>11</sup> to see Joseph and Hyrum, or find out where they were before he should return.

About the time that Lucy began to walk about a little, brother Partridge and brother Morley came to our house from Lima, to see if brother Lamoreaux had either written or returned. When they came we had

10. On 11 April 1839, Don Carlos, writing a letter full of "tenderness and brotherly affection" to his still-incarcerated brothers, reported that "my health and that of my family is good; mother and Lucy have been very sick, but are getting better. Your families are in better health now than at any other period since your confinement" (HC 3:314).

11. IE and Nibley: "instructions"

ing that he had not been heard of Bro Partridge was in despair he said that he never would consent to having another messenger sent on such buisness that he would go himself for says he you cannot get any body to do as they ought to do just then news came that Lumereaux had come back but had not seen Joseph or Hyrum upon this Brother Partridge felt worse than ever and blamed Lumereaux very much with non performance of duty—

I listened to him some time at last an assurance entered my heart that my sons would be at home by the following night and it filled my soul with such joy that I exclaimed aloud with tears Brother Patridge I shall see my sons again before tomorrow night

No said he Mother Smith I am perfectly discouraged I do'nt know as we shall ever see them again in the world at any rate do not flatter yourself that they will be here as soon as that for I tell you will be disapointed I always believed every thing you told me before but I have no faith in what you say <for> I cannot see any prospect of your prophecy being fulfilled but if it proves to be true I will never dispute you again while I live—

heard nothing of him, but while they were with us he arrived in Quincy, and sent us word that he had seen neither Joseph nor Hyrum. At this information brother Partridge was in despair, and said that when another messenger was to be sent, he would go himself, as it was hardly possible to find a man that would do as he was instructed.<sup>12</sup>

I listened to him some time in silence; at last the Spirit, which had so often comforted my heart, again spoke peace to my soul, and gave me an assurance that I should see my sons before the night should again close over my head. "Brother Partridge," I exclaimed, in tears of joy,<sup>13</sup> "I shall see Joseph and Hyrum before to-morrow night."

"No, mother Smith," said he, "I am perfectly discouraged; I don't believe we shall ever see them again in the world. At any rate, do not flatter yourself that they will be here as soon as that, for I tell you that you will be disappointed. I have always believed you before, but I cannot see any prospect of this prophecy being fulfilled, but, if it is so, I will never dispute your word again."

12. IE and Nibley: "he would go himself, as he was instructed."

13. Nibley: "tears of joys"

I asked him if he would stay in town long enough to see if I told him the truth and he did so

that night upon lying down upon my bed to go to sleep I saw my sons in vision on the prairie in Missouri they appeared to be very tired and hungry they had but one horse<sup>14</sup> and I saw them stop and tie the horse to the burnt Stub of a sappling after which they laid down<sup>15</sup> on the ground to rest themselves and as they lay there oh how pale and faint they looked I sprang up in bed oh Father <I> said I see Joseph and Hyrum and they are so weak they can scarcely stand and now they are lying on the cold ground asleep Oh! how I want to give them something to eat

Mr Smith begged me to be quiet saying I was nervous but it was impossible for they were still before my eyes and I saw them untill they had lain there near 2 hours then one of them went away to try to get something to eat and but did not succeed and

I asked him if he would stay in town long enough to prove my sayings, whether they were true or false. He promised to do so. Brothers Partridge and Morley soon afterwards left the house, in order to get further information upon the subject.

After falling asleep that night, I saw my sons in vision. They were upon the prairie travelling, and seemed very tired and hungry. They had but one horse. I saw them stop and tie him to the stump of a burnt sapling, then lie down upon the ground to rest themselves; and they looked so pale and faint that it distressed me. I sprang up, and said to my husband, "Oh, Mr. Smith, I can see Joseph and Hyrum, and they are so weak they can hardly stand."<sup>16</sup> Now they are lying asleep on the cold ground! Oh, how I wish that I could give them something to eat!"

Mr. Smith begged me to be quiet, saying that I was nervous; but it was impossible<sup>17</sup> for me to rest—they were still before my eyes—I saw them lie there full two hours; then one of them went away to get something to eat, but not succeeding,

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14. Joseph III remembers that this horse, which Joseph and Hyrum had "stolen" from their guards by surreptitious purchase, was "a dark chestnut sorrel stallion, named Medley" (JS III, 6). According to Joseph's account, the five prisoners—Joseph, Hyrum, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae, and Caleb Baldwin—traveled together with two horses among the five and reached Quincy at the same time, as witness young Lucy's joyous encounter with Caleb Baldwin below. However, Mother Lucy here mentions seeing only Joseph, Hyrum, and one horse.

15. Coray: "tie him to the stub of a burnt sapling, then lay down . . ."

16. Coray: "scarcely stand . . ."; RLDS: "can hardly endure . . ."

17. RLDS: "it seemed impossible . . ."

they traveled on Hyrum rode at this time and Joseph walked by his side holding himself up by the stirrup leather I could see him almost reel with weakness and yet I could not help him My soul was grieved and I could not sleep so I arose from my bed and spent the night walking the floor

the next day I commenced making preparations for their reception as confidently as though I had received word that they would be there to supper but ~~at~~ the day was so long so tedious ~~I though~~

in the afternoon near sunset I went up stairs to consult with Lucy about my cooking and as we came down she was before me and when she came to bottom of the stairs she screamed out there is Mr Baldwin this man had been in prisoners with my sons Oh my brothers said she where are they—Mr. Baldwin told us that Hyrum and Joseph were then on their way over the river and would soon be in Quincy Lucy caught her bonnet and started for Hyrums house as hard as she could run but the excitement was not sufficient to keep up her strength and when she got to the door she fell prostrate on the floor after she had communicated the happy news to them

she returned to assist me ~~in my~~ ~~preparations.~~ Hyrum and Joseph landed soon after and went immediately to see their families they with

they travelled on. This time Hyrum rode and Joseph walked by his side, holding himself up by the stirrup leather. I saw him reel with weakness, but could render him no assistance. My soul was grieved, I rose from my bed, and spent the remainder of the night in walking the floor.

The next day I made preparations to receive my sons, confident that the poor, afflicted wanderers would arrive at home before sunset.

Some time in the afternoon, Lucy and I were coming down stairs—she was before me. When she came to the bottom of the steps she sprang forward, and exclaimed, "There is brother Baldwin. My brothers—where are they?" This was Caleb Baldwin, who was imprisoned with them. He told us that Joseph and Hyrum were then crossing the river, and would soon be in Quincy. Lucy, hearing this, ran to carry the tidings to Hyrum's family, but the excitement was not sufficient to keep up her strength. When she came to the door she fell prostrate. After recovering a little, she communicated the welcome news.

When Hyrum and Joseph landed, they went immediately to see their families, and the next day, they together with their wives and



their wives and the rest of ~~the~~ our connections spent the next day with us when the news went abroad that they smiths had been liberated and were now at home the Quincy Greys came down to our house and saluted them in the most polite manner our friends swarmed around us and we spent the day in eating and drinking and making merry

during <in> the afternoon I asked Joseph in presence of the company if they were not on the prairie in the situation in which I have related that I saw them in vision they replied that they were I then asked brother Partridge if he now believed what I had told him the evening before he said he would forever after that time acknowledge me a true prophet— The day passed of [sic] very pleasantly and My sons returned to their homes as happy as it was possible for them to be

### Chapter

At little subsequent to this we were visited by a man by the name of Miller from McDonough county who showed a very friendly disposition and ~~requested us to~~ informed us that he had a quantity of land where he lived and also a number of log houses that were somewhat out of repairs but if the brethren were

the rest of our connexions, visited us.<sup>18</sup> The Quincy Grays also came to our house, and saluted my sons in the most polite manner.

During the afternoon, I asked Joseph and Hyrum, in the presence of the company, if they were not on the prairie the night previous in the situation which I have already related. They replied in the affirmative. I then asked brother Partridge<sup>19</sup> if he believed what I told him two days before. He answered that he would for ever after that time acknowledge me to be a true prophetess. The day passed pleasantly, and my sons returned to their homes, happy in their freedom and the society of their friends.

In a short time after Joseph and Hyrum landed in Illinois,<sup>20</sup> George Miller, who is now the second Bishop of the Church,<sup>21</sup> came and informed us that he had a quantity of land in his possession; also, that upon this land were a number of log houses, which the brethren might occupy if they chose, and that he

18. Coray: "visited with us."

19. Coray omitted "Partridge," which GAS inserted.

20. Nibley note: "Joseph and Hyrum arrived in Quincy about May 1, 1839."

21. RLDS: "who is now (1844) the second bishop of the Church . . ."; RLDS (1912, 1969)

disposed to settle on his premises they might have the use of the houses by repairing them.

We were much pleased with the disposition which he manifested and before he left ~~Samuel~~ my sons Samuel and <Don Carlos and> Jenkins Saulsbury<sup>22</sup> my son in Law agreed with him for a piece of Land sufficient for both of them to work that season Samuel returned with him and after making preparations for their families They removed them to that place

would charge them nothing for the use of them, unless it would be to repair them a little, as they needed something of this kind.

My sons were pleased with his offer, and Samuel, Don Carlos, and W. J. Salisbury, renting some land of him, moved upon his premises as soon as preparations could be made for their families.

## CHAP. LII.

A PURCHASE MADE IN THE TOWN OF COMMERCE—JOSEPH THE PROPHET GOES TO WASHINGTON—THE DEATH OF JOSEPH SMITH, SENIOR.

In [blank] Joseph and Hyrum came to this place which was then called commerce to look at the <a> situation and make a purchase of land in order to gather the saints together again if possible on the same land He succeeded in buying a large tract of land from [blank] White who was one of the proprietors of commerce and returned for their families

In the spring of 1839, Joseph and Hyrum made a purchase<sup>23</sup> of a tract of land in Commerce, of one Mr. White, and, after moving their families thither,

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note: "George Miller was called to succeed Edward Partridge, presiding bishop (see Doctrine and Covenants 107:8). At the October conference of 1844, N. K. Whitney was made first bishop and George Miller second. There is no evidence that he was relegated to second place in the lifetime of Joseph Smith. —H.C.S."

22. Coray: "J. W. Saulsbury"; GAS: "W. J. Saulsbury"

23. RLDS: "Joseph and Hyrum made purchase . . ."; Nibley note: "Forty miles north of Quincy"

*Lucy: 1844-45*

we remained ~~but~~ but a short time in Quincy after they left as we were not ready to leave at that time but in a few days my sons sent a team after us to bring us from Quincy to commerce for my husband's health was so poor that he was unable to tend to any kind of buisness and they wanted to have their father near them

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Jacob Bigler came after us but when he saw how poor my husband's health was he thought best to leave the heavy wagon which he had brought and get a carriage that would be more pleasant to travel in ~~In this vehicle~~

The morning before we ~~were~~ started Mr. Messer came in and said that he could not go to work for he wanted to stay with us while ~~here~~ remained "this" siad [*sic*] Mr M "is the first time I ever left my work on account of a neighbor leaving the place." He remained with us all the forenoon and in the afternoon returned with his wife and staid till near dark ~~and when they~~ I have always had the warmest attachment for this family and I pray God that his choicest blessings may rest upon them—

The next morning we set out for commerce and proceeded about 20 [*sic*] miles when our carriage broke down ~~and~~ leaving us in the middle of the Prarie unable to proceed on our journey untill Brother Bigler some distance and get ~~assistanee~~ another

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

sent brother Jacob Bigler<sup>24</sup> back for Mr. Smith and myself.

When our good friend, Mr. Messer, learned that we were about leaving Quincy, he came and spent a whole day with us.

The next day we set out for Commerce. After proceeding about ten miles, our carriage broke down, and, although my husband was quite sick, we were compelled to remain in the sun at least three hours before another vehicle could be procured.

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24. IE and Nibley: "Jacob G. Bigler." Jacob G. Bigler, however, is Jacob Bigler's son and was only nine in 1839, making him an improbable choice for a teamster. Jacob, the father, was forty-six in 1839.

waggon—here my husband and I sat in the burning sun nearly 3 hours before the necessary aid could be obtained

we then started on and soon arrived at Bear creek below Lima this stream was very high and it was very dangerous for stranger to cross it at all but<sup>25</sup> Providentially we took the right course and with much difficulty got across

and arrived at sister Lawrence's house near Lima just after dark here we staid over night and the next day came to commerce where we found those of our family who were there in good health

We moved into a small log room near Joseph's dwelling<sup>26</sup> here we might have enjoyed ourselves in quiet retirement but my husband's health still failed and we found that medicines were of but little benefit for he was fast sinking into the consumption

After this we started on, and soon arrived at Bear Creek, below Lima.

We found this stream so high that it was dangerous to ford, especially for those who were unacquainted with the crossing place, but, fortunately, we took the right direction, and, with much difficulty, succeeded in getting across.

That night we stayed with sister Lawrence, and the next day arrived in Commerce where we found our children in good health.

We moved into a small room attached to the house in which Joseph was living. Here we might have enjoyed ourselves, but Mr. Smith continued to sink, his health constantly failing, until we found that medicine was of no benefit to him.

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25. Here appears a curious symbol, something like a rectangle set diagonally on its lower left corner and containing the letter X or Y.

26. According to Joseph Smith III, Lucy and Joseph Sr. lived first in "a small log house on the west side of the frame attachment to the block house" constructed by Hugh White. Joseph and Emma lived in the White house (Homestead). Joseph III remembered it as "a double house with a half story above"—a two-room house of squared logs to which Joseph and Emma added a living room with a fireplace on the back, thereafter using the two original rooms as bedrooms. This house, which stood on the "east side of Main Street, on the northwest corner of the block in which the Nauvoo House stands and across Water Street, south, from the Nauvoo Mansion," was where Joseph Sr. died (JS III, 5). In 1843 the church built the Mansion House, planned as an L-shaped, two-story structure of twenty-two rooms with stabling for thirty horses and vehicles. The family moved in on 31 August 1843. Five months later, Joseph rented the Mansion House to Ebenezer Robinson to manage as a hotel. The terms were \$1,000 a year plus "board for myself and family and horses." The Smith family occupied six rooms (Miller and Miller, 121-23).

but as the season advanced the brethren who had settled here began to fell [sic] the effects of their hardships which joined to the unhealthiness of the climate brought them down with agues bilous fever to such an extent that there was some whole families <in> which there was not one who was able to give another a drink of cold water or even th to help themselves.

Joseph Hyrums family were mostly sick My youngest daughter Lucy was also very sick and there was in fact but few of the inhabitants of the place who were well. Joseph and Emma had the sick brought to their house and took care of them there and they continued to have them brought as fast as they were taken down untill their home which consisted of four rooms was so crowded that they were under the necessity of spreading a tent in yard for the reception of that part of the family who were still on their feet Joseph and Emma devoted their whole time and attention to the care of the sick during this time of distress <trials>

(<Silas> Smith) <[illegible]> came up from Pike County to consult my husband upon some upon some church buisness and returned with the intention of bringing his family but was taken sick and died before he returned we ever saw him again here follows the stor

As the season advanced the brethren began to feel the effects of the hardships which they had endured, as also the unhealthiness of the climate in which we were then situated. They came down with agues<sup>27</sup> and bilious fevers to such an extent, that there were whole families in which not one was able to help himself to a drink of cold water.

Among the sick were Hyrum and his family, also my daughter Lucy. Joseph and Emma, seeing the distress, commenced taking the sick into their own house, with the view of taking care of them, and making them more comfortable. This they continued to do, until their house became so crowded that they were compelled to spread a tent for that part of the family who were still on their feet, in order to make room in the house for the sick.

During this time of distress, Silas Smith, my husband's brother, came up from Pike county, Illinois, to consult with Mr. Smith in relation to some Church business, and returned with the intention of bringing his family hither, but was taken sick and died before he could accomplish it,

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27. IE and Nibley: "with the agues," usually considered to be malaria.

and we never saw him again.

Here follows the story told by Aunt Mary if this be the correct time If not proceed as follows<sup>28</sup>

William came from Plymouth and informed us that he had sent to Missouri for ~~the reman~~ <sup>the remainder</sup> our furniture and the provision which we left there and that nothing remained of all that we had left as they had been destroyed or disposed of in some other way—

When william returned he took Hyrum's oldest daughter Lovina with him to plymouth—thinking that the ride and change of atmosphere would be a benefit to her but she grew much worse in <&> a little while she was supposed to be on her death bed and her uncle sent word to us that he was affraid that she would not live untill we could get there.

her father was not able to set up when the news came but Lucy and I started although Lucy was quite sick and I was myself unable to go had it not been in a case of estremity. We found her very low but some better than we expected for she had revived a little since the messenger had left her

My son William also came from Plymouth about this time, and informed us that he had sent to Missouri for our provisions and furniture, and that all had been destroyed by the mob.<sup>29</sup>

When he returned home, he took Lovina, Hyrum's eldest daughter, with him, hoping, as she was sick, that the ride would be a benefit to her. In this he was disappointed, for she grew worse instead of better, so that in a short time he considered it necessary to send for her father, as she was not expected to live.

As her father was not able to sit up when the messenger arrived, myself and Lucy went in his stead. On our arrival at Plymouth, we found Lovina better, and she continued to mend until she regained her health.

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28. A curlicue line separates this instruction from the text that follows. "Aunt Mary" is Mary Atkin/Aikens Smith, Silas's wife.

29. Coray: "William also came from Plymouth, about this time, and informed us that he had sent to Missouri for our provisions and furniture, and that all had been destroyed by the mob"; IE and Nibley: "informed us that our provisions and furniture, all had been destroyed in Missouri by the mob."

Lucy was sick for sometime and after a short time she continued to get better from this time untill she got quite well but Lucy still But the ague seemed to take a fresh hold upon Lucy as the journey ~~ba~~ over the prairie in the hot sun ~~hav~~ in the dry season of the year at a time when it was almost impossible to get a drink of cold water to cool her fever during the whole day's ride had been a great disadvantage to her health and she remained completely under the power of the disease untill the sickness abated in Commerce so much that Joseph ~~was able~~ could leave home long enough to make ~~us~~ a visit at Plymouth

Lucy was lying on the bed <up stairs> in a high fever when she heard her brother's voice below but before he had time to get up the steps she ~~met~~ flew down as though she had been ~~her in~~ perfectly well. <and> she was so overjoyed to see her brother ~~that~~ and hear that her relatives were all alive <and> through <with> the dreadful siege of sickness which they had suffered that the excitement performed an entire cure so that she did not have the ague again and soon got her strenght

But the ague took a fresh hold on Lucy, and she remained completely under the power of the disease untill the sickness in Commerce had so abated that Joseph was able to make us a visit.

When he arrived, Lucy was lying up stairs in a high fever. Upon hearing his voice below, she sprang from her bed and flew down stairs, as though she was altogether well, and was so rejoiced to hear that her relatives were all still living, and in better health than when she left them, that the excitement performed an entire cure. She soon regained her strength, and we returned home.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

We soon returned to commerce and when the weather became cold the sal-low faces of the community began to assume a more fresh and ruddy hue and all was bustle and buisness some building some fencing some hauling wood and indeed there was none who were Idle but all hands were as active in gath-

ering around them the comforts of life as though they had never been disturbed from their possessions and had no reason to distrust the lasting friendship of those who professed to be their friends how often have I looked upon the <as> innocent cheerful countenances of our brethren and wondered at the difference which there was between them and the dark lowering wicked look of our persecutors who thronged our lovely city at the time when Joseph and Hyrum was taken prisoners The fact is our brethren when they have the spirit of the gospel upon them meditate no evil and consequently they fear no evil until they are taught to fear as the sheep is taught to fear the fierce wolf or tiger but they have had sufficient experience now I think to make them more wary than they once were so that they will be likely for the future calculate both ways and not look-at [blank] Lick the hand just raised to shed their blood untill they look round them sharply for the murderous steel before they <fall> like some who have fallen beneath the stroke of Death—

*Lucy: 1844-45*

It now became a duty for Joseph to attend to the fulfillment of a commandment which he received while in prison to go as soon as he was situated so that he could ~~de-se~~ leave home to the city of Washington and petition congress for redress he at that if their was any virtue in the government that they might not fail to do justice for want of a correct understanding of the facts

accordingly Joseph set off with Sydney Rigdon Dr Foster Elias Higbee and Porter Rockwell for the seat of government they started on the [blank]<sup>30</sup>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

It now became necessary for Joseph to take a journey to the city of Washington, for he had been commanded of the Lord, while in prison, to pray for redress at the feet of the President, as well as of Congress, when his family should be so situated that he could leave home.

Accordingly, Joseph started, in company with Sidney Rigdon, Elias Higbee, Dr. Foster, and Porter Rockwell,<sup>31</sup> to fulfil this injunction.<sup>32</sup>

30. At this point in Lucy's manuscript, she tells the story of Don Carlos's printing venture in Nauvoo and subsequent death; see Appendix, after Don Carlos's first letter to Agnes. The order of events in the Pratt document follows the Coray manuscript.

31. GAS on Coray: "<Orin> Porter Rockwell"

32. Nibley note: "Joseph and party left for [sic] Nauvoo on October 29, 1839."



I observed before that a commandment was given which caused a number of the brethren to go to Washington ~~they~~ When they arrived drew near the end of their journey [rest of this page blank]  
<sup>33</sup>They waited upon his excellency Matthias [sic] Van Buren and for sometime they had not opportunity of laying their grievances before him as he chose rather to give his attention to the frivolous compliments <chat> of visitors who had no other buisness but to compliment him upon his fine circumstances than to lend an ear to the complaints of a distressed people over whom he had the jurisdiction and who looked to him and his heartless associates for protection and redress—

At length however he concluded to listen to them and after hearing the entire history of our oppression and the abuse which we had received from the our commencement of our existence as a people until the slaughter of our brethren at Hauns Mill and our final expulsion from our own ~~houses~~ homes concluding with an appeal to him for his assistance as the principle officer of this mighty <great> republic—has not every one read our tale of woe if you have not ~~make~~ I beseech you to

After arriving in Washington, Joseph and Sidney<sup>34</sup> waited upon his Excellency Martin Van Buren, but it was some time before they had an opportunity of laying their grievances before him;

however, they at length succeeded in getting his attention. After listening to the entire history of the oppression and abuse, which we had received at the hands of our enemies,

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33. New page: "17" is handwritten at the right and left top margins.

34. Nibley note: "Joseph and Judge Higbee called on Martin Van Buren. Sidney Rigdon was ill and could not accompany them."

take the trouble to do so I have not told the half but if you will pruse a pamphlet entitled (Persecutions <Missouri>) you will then be able to appreciate this ~~mighty~~ and Magnanimous reply of this mighty ruler of a Mighty republic when his heart was under the fresh influence of the story of his people's grief hear

Hear it ye nations Hear it oh ye dead. Gentlemen your cause is just but I can do nothing for you.

he replied,<sup>35</sup> "GENTLEMEN, YOUR CAUSE IS JUST ; BUT I CAN DO NOTHING FOR YOU ! "<sup>36</sup>

The matter was, however, laid before Congress. They, too, concluded that our cause was just, but that they could do nothing for us, as Missouri was a sovereign, independent state; and that the 'Mormons' might appeal to her for redress, for, in their opinion, she neither wanted the power nor lacked the disposition to redress the wrongs of her own citizens.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

You that at the peril of your lives your fortunes and your sacred honor stepped forth and ~~were~~ placed your names upon the list attached to the declaration of independance ~~back~~ and nobly stood a targets for vengeance of the oppressor willing to sacrafice your own lives to save your coutrymen Look

35. Coray: "he wisely replied"; GAS: "he ~~wisely~~ replied"

36. Lucy referred again to this incident in her October 1845 conference address: "Joseph then went to the City of Washington as he had a revalation to importune at the Governor's feet and Presidents feet & the Lord said—if they would not heed him He would vex the nation—When he got home he preached down between Mr. Durfee's and the Mansion House he told the brethren & sisters that he had done all he could for them says he they are determined we shall not have justice while we stay in Nauvoo—But says he keep good courage you shall never suffer for bread as you have done before & what is recorded here is recorded in Heaven— . . . Now says he I am going to lay this case of their taking away our property &c I am going to take it up before the Highest Cort in Heaven he repeated it 3 times—little did I think he was going to leave us so soon to take this case to heaven—we never could get justice till he took it there" (Lucy Smith, Minutes, Bolton version, pp. 12-13).

down upon Your children—Spirit of our departed Washington ~~listen~~ <but> for a <little> moment did you expect that sacred seat which you so lately occupied ~~would~~ and in which you dealt out even hande justice to all would so very soon be filled by one that can do nothing for even your <sup>37</sup>fellow soldiers when they are murdered upon the soil ~~whi~~ that you and they defended breast to breast—but we are your children we love the constitution and the law and we will abide the same we love those hearts ~~who~~ from whose pure depths that constitution emmanated we love the hands that fought for us in our infant years we have your brethren in our midst some who battled by your side we honor and we cherish ~~them and will~~ and <we> love them. The scheme of our national salvation we dearly love but Oh the hands in which they are placed they will not take them for their ensample—~~they have broken the Law~~—therefore we go mourning all the day long and the chain of the oppressor lays heavy on our necks our feet are fettered as our hands are shackled and behold we are cast into prison ~~still we have~~ Nor is this all we are even murdered and yet no one hathe raised the yoke but still we bow down and bear our gref— — —

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Josep remained with his brethren in ~~missouri~~ Washington untill a decision was had upon the subject while he was absent His father's ~~health~~ was fe very feeble his cough increased and he became so weak that I ~~often~~ was often under the necessity of lifting from his bed ~~€~~ one night as I was raising him up ~~and~~ he said Mother I do'n't know ~~by~~ but I shall die here alone with you and perhaps in your arms while you are lifting me—Oh no Father said I you will not for when you die you will have all your chidren round you I will said he if you say so in real earnest I believe it will be so I told that it was impressed upon my mind that

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

During Joseph's absence, Mr. Smith was at times very weak, and coughed dreadfully, so that some nights I<sup>38</sup> had to lift him out of bed. On one occasion of this kind, he expressed a fear that he should die with me alone. I told him this would not be the case, for it was impressed upon my mind that, when he died, he would have his children around him. This comforted him much, for he was very anxious to live until Joseph should return, that he might bless him again before he should die.

37. New page: "18" is written at the right and left top margins.

38. IE and Nibley: "we"

such would be the case— ~~and~~ he was much comforted by this ~~and~~ <for> he had been very anxious to live untill Joseph returned ~~of~~ that he might bless him again before he died

he ~~however~~ he got some better before spring so that he walked around the neighborhood and even attended to blessing some few of the brethren among whom was Elder John E. Page and his wife Mary on this occasion he stood upon his feet near 3 hours and when he got through blessing and preaching he laid hands on Brother [...] who ~~had~~ was terribly afflicted with the black canker but was healed very sudenly for there was great manifestations of the spirit of God at this meeting and a person was blessed whom he had never seen before that day and who had not been in the church a fortnight when he blessed her he repeated a prophecy that had ~~before~~ been pronounced upon her head by Bro. Page word for word and ~~told~~ ~~her~~ <said> that the spirit testified <to him> that she was told these things in her confirmation this surprised her for She had just arrived in Nauvoo with Bro Page and sister Page and she knew that there had not one word passed between him and my husband upon the subject [blank]<sup>39</sup>

This was in the winter of 1840. Before spring he got some better, so that he was able to walk about a little, and attend a few blessing meetings, in one of which he blessed Mrs. Page,<sup>40</sup> the wife of one of the Twelve, and a young woman whom brother Page had baptized and confirmed on Bear Creek but a few days previous.<sup>41</sup> In blessing the latter, Mr. Smith repeated a prophecy which had been pronounced upon her head in her confirmation, as precisely as though he had been present when it was uttered, stating that the spirit testified that these things had been predicted upon her head in her confirmation, which very much surprised her, as she knew that he had not received any intimation of the same, except by the Spirit of God.

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39. A negative view of Joseph and Lucy during this period is the recollection of William Law, who had become second counselor in the First Presidency in January 1841. Interviewed in 1887 at age seventy-eight, he recalled: "Old Lucy was in her dotage at that time; she seemed a harmless old woman. Old Joe sold blessings, so much a head, always in the same style—that my sons should be

[Notes 40 and 41 appear on page 711.]

One day subsequent too <On the day of>

On the [blank] day of [blank] I he having had a relapse was confined again to his bed and not able to help himself out it I was standing by the window and saw Joseph coming for he had just arrived from Washington Mr S I told Mr Smith that Joseph was coming and cried for joy at the thought of being spared to see his face again Joseph came in immediately into the room and before he left him he laid hands on him and assisted him out of bed—

In March, 1840, Joseph returned from the city of Washington. At this time Mr. Smith had suffered<sup>42</sup> a relapse, and was confined to his bed. On Joseph's arrival, he administered to him, and, for a short time my husband was better.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

Joseph then went ~~the~~ <His> family were rejoiced to see him again for they had heard many reports of danger which threatened his person and ~~they~~ Emma had suffered much uneasiness on the account the church ~~had~~ were ~~much~~ also much rejoiced to meet him ~~again~~ but had they ~~been~~ yielded in their feelings to the influence of circumstances their joy would have been mingled with grief for the Se Senate of the U. <S.> sent back our brethren with documents from their council Hall stating that a Misoury<i> was a sovereign and independent <the place where our difficulties occurred she> state she alone could exercise jurisdiction in the affair of our trouble. see report of the committee on the judiciary times and Seasons vol. 1, Page 74— and that whatever might be the outrages committed upon us by the [...eterate?] State of Missouri we had no hopes of [jearely?] ~~anti~~ we found <that> the state of Illinois as should be inclined to award to us the justice which was denied by a higher ~~authority~~ power we plainly discovered that murder was licensed and every outrage upon us permitted \* <Here occurs the conference

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emperors and my daughters mothers of queens, and that everybody should have as many children as there was sands on the shore. Old Joe was an old tramp" (Cook, *Lau*, 121).

40. Coray: "Mrs. Mary Page"

41. This young woman is Martha Jane Knowlton Coray. See "The Textual History of Lucy's Book."

42. Coray: "taken"

the arrival of H. Coray and his undertaking><sup>43</sup> However we did not loose all hopes of resting from persecution for a season at least for The authorities of Illinois had been very forward to give us every assurance of their favor and it is our motto ever to trust our friends untill they betray our trust and so we [de-  
teted?] in this instance resting perfectly secure upon the laws of which were then and for sometime after promptly executed ~~in our favor~~

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

In the ensuing April [1840] a Conference was held in Nauvoo (formerly Commerce), during which the result of Joseph's mission to Washington was made known to the brethren; who, after hearing that their petition was rejected, concluded, as they had now tried every court which was accessible to them on earth, to lay their case before the Court of Heaven, and leave it in the hands of the great God.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

soon after Josephs arrival he had a house erected purposely for his father and we were soon very comfortably situated <here Howard Coray's leg is broken and Emma's and Joseph's care and the revelation to build the Temple is given revise take notice>

~~and~~ and my husband seemed to revive a little in the spring but when the heat of the ensueing summer came on he began to fail again this was in the summer of 1842 when Missouri again renewed her persecutions against us and sent her officers with writs demanding 50 of our

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Joseph, soon after his arrival, had a house built for us, near his own, and one that was more commodious than that which we previously occupied.<sup>44</sup>

When the heat of the ensuing summer came on, my husband's health began to decline more rapidly than before. This was perhaps caused, in part, by the renewal of the Missouri persecutions, for our sons were now demanded of the authorities of Illinois, as fugitives from

43. See "The Textual History of Lucy's Book" for Howard Coray's arrival at Nauvoo in the spring of 1840.

44. Joseph III remembers his grandparents living in only two houses: the Homestead (Hugh White house) and the Mansion House. However, he may have forgotten the lean-to room against the White house in which they first lived; in that case, this newly constructed dwelling would have been the small log house in which Joseph Sr. died.

brethren My sons with the rest as fugitives—from Justice and as they ~~Me~~ <chose to> called their proceedings just the brethren concluded at this time to fly from such justice and left the city and were obliged to absent themselves from their families sometime before the writs were returned

about this time General John C. Bennet came into the city and undertook to effect something by devising a scheme that would result in the security of our brethren. I do not know what he did I only know that he seemed to be very much engaged about law as well Gospel but <my heart> I was then too full of anxiety about my husband to enquire much into matters which I did not understand ~~and was~~ as <our> Just as Joseph returned from Iowa (for they went into the teritory at this time)

his father was taken with vomiting blood ~~and~~ This was the first time that I alowed myself to doubt but that he would soonner of [*sic*] later recover from his illness but I now ~~be-~~gan concluded that he was appointed unto death<sup>46</sup> I sent for

justice. In consequence of which, they were compelled to absent themselves from the city, until the writs which were issued for their arrest, were returned.

About this time, John C. Bennett came into the city, and undertook to devise a scheme whereby Joseph and Hyrum, besides other brethren who were persecuted in like manner, might remain at home in peace. I do not know what he did, I only know that he seemed to be engaged in the law, as well as the Gospel. My heart was then too full of anxiety about my husband, for me to inquire much into matters which I did not understand; however, the result was, that Joseph returned from Iowa.<sup>45</sup>

On the evening of his return, my husband commenced vomiting blood. I sent immediately for Joseph and Hyrum, who, as soon as they came, gave him something that alleviated his distress. This was on Saturday night.

45. GAS on Coray: "however, ~~the result was~~, Joseph returned <home> from Iowa."

46. For "appointed to death," see Psalms 102:20, 1 Cor. 4:9. Joseph Sr. was dying of "consumption," probably tuberculosis. When his brother John saw him for the last time on 27 August 1840, he wrote sorrowfully: "My brother to all human appearance is nigh unto death. But a few days have passed away since we were seven brothers—boys in the vigor of youth now three are not [Silas, Stephen, and Samuel]—one in unbelief [Jesse] in the state of New York. Three of us in the Church [Asael, Joseph, and John] and it seems that our days are few." Clarissa, John's wife, became ill with malaria in early September, a condition that lasted for the rest of the month. Thus, when Joseph Sr. died on 14 September at 3:00 A.M., John was unable to attend because he needed

~~the children~~ who Joseph and Hyrum  
 who when they came <gave> ~~laid~~  
~~hands~~ <gave him something to re-  
 lieve his distress> on him and he be-  
 came more easy this was on Satur-  
 day night. [a blank of about three  
 lines follows.]

[blank] on Sunday Joseph  
 came in and ~~told~~ said Now Father  
 <I he> I am at liberty <Baptism  
 for the dead> and I can stay with  
 you as much as you wish—Bennet is  
 there and he will fix things so that  
 we will not be in danger of being dis-  
 turbed by the Misourians his father  
 was delighted to hear it ~~and~~ for he  
 knew that he could ~~not~~ live but a  
 short time and he wished Joseph to  
 remain with him—we <had> sent  
 for the children who did not live in  
 the city

~~to~~ and they had all got here save  
 Katharine ~~wh~~ who was detained by  
 a sick husband and her children ~~we~~  
~~Arthur~~ His Mr Smith upon hearing  
 this requested Arthur Miliken who  
 was then in the city ~~at this time~~ Mr

The next morning Joseph came in  
 and told his father, that he should  
 not be troubled any more for the pre-  
 sent with the Missourians; “and,”  
 said he, “I can now stay with you as  
 much as you wish.” After which he  
 informed his father, that it was then  
 the privilege of the Saints to be bap-  
 tized for the dead. These two facts  
 Mr. Smith was delighted to hear, and  
 requested, that Joseph should be bap-  
 tized for Alvin immediately,<sup>47</sup> and, as  
 he expected to live but a short time,  
 desired that his children would stay  
 with him, as much as they could con-  
 sistently.

They were all with him, except  
 Catharine, who was detained from  
 coming by a sick husband. Mr.  
 Smith, being apprised of this, sent  
 Arthur Milikin,<sup>48</sup> who, but a short  
 time previous was married to our

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to care for his wife. Being unable to pay his last respects to his brother “is a grief to me,” he wrote, “but we must all die, but we will live again beyond these scenes of sorrow to meet to part no more” (Jarvis, 21).

47. According to M. Guy Bishop, “Emma Smith was baptized in behalf of her father, Isaac Hale; Lucy Mack Smith, Joseph’s mother, performed the ordinance for her parents, Solomon and Lydia Mack, and for her sister, Lovisa Tuttle; Joseph’s brother Samuel was baptized for Uncle Daniel Mack; and Hyrum Smith acted as proxy for his brother Alvin, whose earlier vision to Joseph had initiated baptisms for the dead. Interestingly, Joseph Smith’s name never appears on the Nauvoo records as a proxy. . . . The Prophet officiated on at least one occasion when he performed the baptisms for 105 persons in the Mississippi River (“What,” 92).

48. RLDS: “Arthur Millikin”



Miliken was very ready to go and ~~mad~~ <made> all haste to get a team and make the necessary preparations for his journey before he went however My husband blessed him as he feared that it might be too late when he returned—

~~he said~~ He took him by the hand and said Arthur my son I have given you my <youngest> Darling <my youngest> child and will you be kind to her Yes Father replied he I will. ~~And~~ Arthur said you shall be blessed ~~and~~ you shall be great ~~and~~ in the eyes of the Lord and <if you will be faithful> you shall have all the desires of your heart in righteousness and Now ~~will~~ I want you to go ~~out~~ after my daughter Katharine for I know the faithfulness of your heart that you will not come back without her—

Arthur then left ~~and When his end drew near he~~ Blessed his children ~~beginning with Hyrum <laying his hands on their heads> to Hyrum he said~~

After he was gone he called us round all round his bed and addressed me first as Mother said he does you not know that you are the mother of the greatest family that ever lived upon the earth ~~it is so and~~ The world loves its own but it does not love us it hates us because we

youngest daughter,<sup>49</sup> after Catharine and her children; but, before he went, my husband blessed him, fearing that it would be too late, when he returned. He took Arthur by the hand, and said:—

“My son, I have given you my youngest darling child, and will you be kind to her?” “Yes, father,” he replied, “I will.” “Arthur,” he continued, “you shall be blessed, and you shall be great in the eyes of the Lord; and if you will be faithful, you shall have all the desires of your heart in righteousness. Now, I want you to go after my daughter Catharine,<sup>50</sup> for I know, that because of the faithfulness of your heart, you will not come back without her.”

Arthur then left, and my husband next addressed himself to me:—

“Mother, do you not know, that you are the mother of as great a family as ever lived upon the earth. The world loves its own, but it does not love us. It hates us because we are not of the world; therefore, all their malice is poured out upon us, and they seek to take away our lives. When I look upon my children, and realize, that although they were

49. Nibley note: “Lucy was married to Arthur Millikin in June, 1840.”

50. Nibley note: “Catherine was living at Plymouth.”

are not of the world<sup>51</sup> therefore all their malice is poured out upon us—and they seek to take away our lives and when I look upon my children and realize that although they were raised up to do the Lord's work yet they must pass through scenes of of trouble and affliction as long as they live upon the Earth ~~it causes~~ my heart is pained and I ~~weep~~ with <dread> to leave ~~them~~ you so surrounded by enemies<sup>52</sup>

at this Hyrum bent over his father and said Father if you are taken ~~with you if you are taken~~ <away> will you not intercede for us at the throne of Grace that our enemies may not have so much power over us to distress and harass us. His Father laid his hands upon Hyrums head and ~~to~~ said<sup>53</sup>

¶ My son Hyrum I seal upon your head your patriarchal Blessing which placed on your head before ~~and~~ for that shall be verified and [“and” is circled] in addition I now give you my dying blessing and [“and” is circled] you shall have a season of peace so that you shall have sufficient rest to accomplish the work which God has given you to do you shall be as firm as the

raised up to do the Lord's work, yet they must pass through scenes of trouble and affliction as long as they live upon the earth; and I dread to leave them surrounded by enemies.”

At this Hyrum bent over his father, and said:—“Father, if you are taken away, will you not intercede for us at the throne of grace, that our enemies may not have so much power over us?” He then laid his hands upon Hyrum's head, and said:—

“My son, Hyrum, I seal upon your head your patriarchal blessing, which I placed upon your head before, for that shall be verified. In addition to this, I now give you my dying blessing. You shall have a season of peace, so that you shall have sufficient rest to accomplish the work which God has given you to do. You shall be as firm as the pillars of heaven unto the end of your days. I

51. See John 15:19: “If ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.”

52. Coray: “live upon the Earth, my heart is pained and I dread to leavethem so surrounded by enemies.”

53. In the blessings that follow, “you” and “thou” are used interchangeably in both Lucy's and Coray's manuscripts, while Pratt standardizes second-person singular pronouns to the correct nominative, objective, and possessive cases: “thou,” “thee,” and “thy/thine.”

pillars of heaven unto the end of  
your days and ["and" is circled] I  
~~now~~ seal upon Your head the patri-  
archal power ~~h~~ and you shall bless  
the people [damaged] this is my dy-  
ing blessing upon your head in the  
[damaged] Jesus ~~even so~~ Amen<sup>54</sup> —  
— — —

[damaged] My son you are called to a  
high and holy [damaged] you are even  
called to do the work of [damaged]  
and now hold out faithful and you  
[damaged] be ~~able to finish~~ blessed  
and your family shall be bless [sic] and  
your children after you shall live to ~~do~~  
finish your work (at this Joseph cried  
out Oh father shall I) <and wept>  
Yes said his father you shall and <you  
shall lay out ~~all~~ the plan of all the work  
that God requires at your hand> be  
faithful to the end ~~an laying out~~ this  
blessing is my dying blessing on your  
head in the name of Jesus ~~and I also~~  
confirm your former blessing upon  
you for ~~you~~ <it> shall ~~receive its~~ be  
fulfilled even so Amen

<sup>55</sup> — Samuel you have been a  
faithful and obedient child. by your  
faithfulness you have brought many  
into the church <and> the

now seal upon your head the patriar-  
chal power, and you shall bless the  
people. This is my dying blessing  
upon your head in the name of Jesus.  
Amen."

To Joseph he said:—

"Joseph, my son, you are called  
to a high and holy calling. You are  
even called to do the work of the  
Lord. Hold out faithful, and you  
shall be blessed, and your children af-  
ter you. You shall even live to finish  
your work." At this Joseph cried out,  
weeping, "Oh! my father, shall I."  
"Yes," said his father, "you shall live  
to lay out the plan of all the work  
which God has given you to do. This  
is my dying blessing on your head in  
the name of Jesus. I also confirm  
your former blessing upon your  
head; for it shall be fulfilled. Even so.  
Amen."

<sup>56</sup> To Samuel he said:—

"Samuel, you have been a faith-  
ful and obedient son. By your faith-  
fulness you have brought many into

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54. Coray: "I now seal upon your head the patriarchal power, & you shall bless the people. In the name of Jesus. Amen." GAS on Coray: "I now seal upon your head the Patriarchal power, & you shall bless the people <(See book)> in the name of Jesus. Amen."

55. At this point, Lucy's rough draft has Don Carlos's blessing, followed by Samuel's, William's, Sophronia's, Katharine's, and Lucy's. Pratt follows the order in Coray, which lists all of the sons in birth order, followed by all of the daughters. No blessing is recorded at this time for any son- or daughter-in-law except for Arthur Milliken, although Robert B. Thompson, during his sermon at Joseph Sr.'s funeral, said that the patriarch also blessed his grandchildren (HC 4:195).

56. IE omits the blessings on Samuel, William, Don Carlos, Sophronia, Katharine, and Lucy with the summary: "He then in turn pronounced blessings upon Samuel, William, Don Carlos,

the Lord has seen your faithfulness  
 and you are blessed in that the  
 Lord has never chastized ~~ent~~ you  
 but has called you home to rest and  
 there is a crown laid up for you  
 which shall grow brighter and  
 brighter untill the perfect day Sa-  
~~muel I have seen your sufferings I~~  
~~have heard thy~~ and when the Lord  
 called you he said ~~that~~ samuel I  
 have seen ~~your~~ <thy> sufferings  
 have heard thy a [damaged] seen  
 thy faithfulness and your skirts are  
 [damaged] of the blood of this gen-  
 eration This is my dy [damaged]  
 sing and all the blessings which I  
 have [damaged] fore pronounced  
 upon you I now seal [damaged] you  
 again even so amen — —

William My son Thou hast  
 been faithful in declaring the word  
 even before the church was organ-  
 ized and thou hast been sick yet  
 thou hast travelled to warn warn  
 the people and when thou couldst  
 not <walk> thou didst ~~be~~ sit by the  
 way side and call upon the Lord un-  
 till he did provide a way for thee to  
 be carried and thou wast sick and af-  
 flicted when thou wast away from  
 thy fathers house and no one knew  
 it to assist thee in thy afflictions ~~nor~~  
 <but> the Lord did see the hon-  
 esty of thy heart and thou wast  
 blessed in thy Mission ~~and th~~

the Church. The Lord has seen your  
 diligence, and you are blessed, in  
 that he has never chastised you, but  
 has called you home to rest; and  
 there is a crown laid up for you,  
 which shall grow brighter and  
 brighter unto the perfect day.

"When the Lord called you, he  
 said, 'Samuel, I have seen thy suffer-  
 ings, have<sup>57</sup> heard thy cries, and be-  
 held thy faithfulness; thy skirts are  
 clear from the blood of this genera-  
 tion.' Because of these things, I seal  
 upon your head all the blessings  
 which I have hitherto pronounced  
 upon you; and this is my dying bless-  
 ing, I now seal upon you. Even so.  
 Amen."

To William he said:—

"William, my son, thou hast  
 been faithful in declaring the word,  
 even before the Church was organ-  
 ized. Thou hast been sick, yet thou  
 hast travelled to warn the people.  
 And when thou couldst not walk,  
 thou didst sit by the way side, and  
 call upon the Lord, until he provided  
 a way for thee to be carried. Thou  
 wast sick and afflicted, when thou  
 wast away from thy father's house,  
 and no one knew it, to assist thee in  
 thy afflictions; but the Lord ~~did~~ see  
 the honesty of thine heart, and thou  
 wast blessed in thy mission. William,

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Sophronia, Catharine, and Lucy." Nibley likewise excludes these blessings, although he includes Samuel's (not those of the daughters or William) in a biographical appendix (339-40).

57. Nibley: "thy sufferings, and . . ."

William thou shalt be blessed and thy voice shall be heard in distant lands from place to place and they shall regard thy teachings ~~thy voice~~ thou shalt be like a roaring lion in the forest for they shall hearken and hear and thou shalt be the means of bringing sheaves to Zion and you shall be great and [damaged] <eyes of many and they> people shall call you blessed and I will bless you <and your children after you> and the blessings which I sealed upon your head before I now confirm again and your days shall be many and you shall do a great work and live as long as you desire life even so Amen

— — Carlos my Darling son you remmember that when I blessed you your blessing never was written and I could not get it done. But now I want [damaged] to get my book which contains the blessings of my family and I want you to <take your pen and> fill out those parts of your blessing that were not written and you shall have the Spirit of the Lord and shall be able to fill up all the vacancies which were left by Oliver when he wrote it<sup>58</sup> you shall be great

thou shalt be blest, and thy voice shall be heard in distant lands, from place to place, and they shall regard thy teachings. Thou shalt be like a roaring lion in the forest, for they shall hearken and hear thee. And thou shalt be the means of bringing many sheaves to Zion, and thou shalt be great in the eyes of many, and they shall call thee blessed, and I will bless thee, and thy children after thee. And the blessings which I sealed upon thy head before, I now confirm again, and thy days shall be many, thou shalt do a great work, and live as long as thou desirest life. Even so. Amen.”

To Don Carlos he said:—

“Carlos, my darling son, when I blessed you, your blessing was never written, and I could not get it done, but now I want you to get my book, which contains the blessings of my family. Take your pen and fill out all those parts of your blessing which were not written. You shall have the Spirit of the Lord, and be able to fill up all the vacancies which were left by Oliver when he wrote it. You shall be great in the sight of the

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58. Joseph Sr. is referring here to the family blessing meeting of 9 December 1834. This “blank” blessing was not unique. Wilford Woodruff later recalled that he asked the dying Joseph Sr. for a blessing “so it might be written as he had blessed me several times & it was not written but Father Smith told me to write down every thing that I could think of in my heart or imagin & he would sign it & it should come to pass but He said a man must keep the Commandments of God in order to obtain the blessings” (Woodruff 4:487). Emma Smith also asked Joseph Jr. for a blessing before his fatal departure to Carthage; harried for time, Joseph “told her to ‘write out the best blessing [she] could think of and he would sign the same on his return.’” She did so on 24 June (Newell and Avery, 190:91).

in the eyes sight of the Lord for he sees and knows the integrity of your heart and you shall be blessed and all that know you shall Bless you and your wife and your children shall also be blessed and you shall live to fulfill all that the Lord has sent you to do even so Amen

Sophronia My oldest daughter thou hadst sickness when thou wast young—thy Mother and thy father did cry over thee to have the Lord spare [damaged]—thou didst see trouble and sorrow [damaged] s trouble Shall be lessened for thou [damaged] en faithful in helping thy father and thy [damaged] in the work of the Lord and thou [damaged] be blessed and the blessings of Heaven [damaged] st down upon you and your last [damaged] be your best days although thou sha [damaged] trouble and sorrow and mourning [damaged] halt be comforted and the Lord will lift you up and the blessings of heaven <the Lord> will rest down upon you and upon your family and your life and your last days shall be your best days and thou shalt live as long as thou desirest life and I pronounce this <dying> blessing with your other blessings I seal upon your head even so Amen

~~After Arthur~~ was after this he said rested some time and then said Katharine has been a sorrowful child trouble has She seen and the Lord has looked down upon her and

Lord, for he sees and knows the integrity of your heart, and you shall be blessed; all that know you shall bless you. Your wife and your children shall also be blessed, and you shall live to fulfill all that the Lord has sent you to do. Even so. Amen.”

To Sophronia he said:—

“Sophronia, my oldest daughter, thou hadst sickness when thou wast young, and thy parents did cry over thee, to have the Lord spare thy life. Thou didst see trouble and sorrow, but thy troubles shall be lessened, for thou hast been faithful in helping thy father and thy mother, in the work of the Lord. And thou shalt be blessed, and the blessings of heaven shall rest down upon thee. Thy last days shall be thy best. Although thou shalt see trouble, sorrow, and mourning, thou shalt be comforted, and the Lord will lift thee up, and bless thee and thy family, and thou shalt live as long as thou desirest life. This dying blessing I pronounce and seal upon thy head, with thine other blessings. Even so. Amen.”

After this he rested some time, and then said:—

“Catharine has been a sorrowful child, trouble has she seen, the Lord has looked down upon her and

seen her patience and has heard her cry and she shall be comforted when her days of sorrow<sup>59</sup> are ended Then shall the Lord look down upon her and she shall have the comforts of life and the good things of the world and then shall she rise up and defend her [cares?] and she shall live to raise up her family and in time ~~and~~ her suffering shall be over for the day is coming when the patient shall receive their reward and she shall rise over her enemies and she shall have houses and ~~land~~ ~~and~~ land and things around her to make her heart glad ~~and she sha~~ and I in this dying blessing confirm her Patriarchal blessing upon her head and she shall receive eternal life even so Amen

— — Lucy Thou art my youngest child thou art my darling— and the Lord gave you unto us to be a comfort to us in our old age and you must take good care of thy mother thou art innocent and thy heart is right before the Lord thou hast been through all the persecution and hast seen nothing but persecution and trouble and [damaged] except when the Lord would cheer ou [damaged] if thou wilt continue <hold out> faithful ~~and th~~ [damaged] be blessed with a house and land and th [damaged] have food and raiment and no more [damaged] persecuted and

seen her patience, and has heard her cries. She shall be comforted when her days of sorrow are ended, then shall the Lord look down upon her, and she shall have the comforts of life, and the good things of this world, then shall she rise up, and defend her cause. She shall live to raise up her family; and in time her sufferings shall be over, for the day is coming when the patient shall receive their reward. Then she shall rise over her enemies, and shall have horses and land, and things round her<sup>60</sup> to make her heart glad. I, in this dying blessing, confirm her patriarchal blessing upon her head, and she shall receive eternal life. Even so. Amen."

To Lucy he said:—

"Lucy, thou art my youngest child, my darling. And the Lord gave thee unto us to be a comfort and a blessing to us in our old age, therefore, thou must take good care of thy mother. Thou art innocent, and thy heart is right before the Lord. Thou hast been with us through all the persecution; thou hast seen nothing but persecution, sickness, and trouble, except when the Lord hath cheered our hearts. If thou wilt continue faithful, thou shalt be blessed with a house and land; thou shalt have food and raiment, and no more be

59. Coray: "when the days of her sorrow . . ."

60. Nibley: "things around her . . ."

driven as thou hast her [damaged]  
and if <continue> faithful and you  
shall receive [damaged] in Heaven  
and you shall live as long an [dam-  
aged] and now I seal this dying bless-  
ing and you [damaged] archal bless-  
ing upon your head even so Amen.

He then called to me again Mother  
said where are you. I was ~~behind the~~  
~~bed~~ standing at his back but went  
immediately to his head ~~you~~ do you  
<not> know that that you are one  
of the most singular women in the  
world I said no I do not. Well said  
he I do—You have brought up my  
children for me by the fireside and  
when I was gone from home you  
comforted them ~~and~~ you have  
brought up all my children and  
could always comfort them when I  
could not ~~therefore~~ a we have often  
<sup>61</sup>wished that we might bothe die at  
the same time but you must not de-  
sire to die when I do for you must  
stay to comfort the children when I  
am gone do not mourn but try to be  
comforted ~~and~~ your last days shall  
be your best days as to being driven  
for you shall have more power over  
your enemies than you have had  
and now be comforted

persecuted and driven, as thou hast  
hitherto been. Now continue faith-  
ful, and thou shalt live long and be  
blessed, and thou shalt receive a re-  
ward in heaven. This dying blessing,  
and also thy patriarchal blessing, I  
seal upon thy head in the name of Je-  
sus. Even so. Amen.

After this he spoke to me again,  
and said:—

“Mother, do you not know,  
that you are one of the most singular  
women in the world?” “No,” I re-  
plied, “I do not,” “Well, I do,” he  
continued, “you have brought up my  
children for me by the fireside, and,  
when I was gone from home, you  
comforted them. You have brought  
up all my children, and could always  
comfort them when I could not. We  
have often wished that we might  
both die at the same time, but you  
must not desire to die when I do, for  
you must stay to comfort the chil-  
dren when I am gone. So do not  
mourn, but try to be comforted.  
Your last days shall be your best  
days, as to being driven, for you shall  
have more power over your enemies  
than you have had. Again I say, be  
comforted.”<sup>62</sup>

61. A new page begins here; it is a half page of sixteen lines, recto and verso.

62. RLDS (1912, 1969) note: “In the blessing recorded above observe that Hyrum and Samuel who were themselves faithful men received no promises for their children. Their families afterward went with the exodus to Utah. Joseph and William received promise not only for themselves but also for their children. Neither of these families went to Utah but both were identified with the Reorganized Church. —H.C.S.”



Pause—Why I can see and hear as well as ever I could—<2nd> Pause <I> have my senses so <perfectly> well as ~~ever~~. 3d. Pause of some minutes—I see Alvin. Pause I shall live 7 or 8 minutes—

he then straightened him self and laid his hands together and began to breath shorter and shorter untill at last his breath stopped without a struggle or even a sigh he departed so calmly that we could not believe for some time but that he would breath again—feelings—

I had lived together 44 years here the reviser will express sympathy ~~evening after Catherine arrived~~ he was buried the next day although katharine had not yet arrived The causes of our apparently hasty movements in this respect was that Joseph could not remain at home any longer as he was about to leave in order to conclude the arrangements which were making ~~the~~ to secure the ~~Saints of the~~ our city from Missouri invaders and his own person from assassination.

He then paused for some time, being exhausted. After which he said, in a tone of surprise, "I can see and hear, as well as ever I could." [A *second pause of considerable length.*] "I see Alvin." [Third pause.] "I shall live seven or eight minutes."

Then straightening himself, he laid his hands together; after which he began to breathe shorter, and, in about eight minutes, his breath stopped, without even a struggle or a sigh, and his spirit took its flight for the regions where the justified ones rest from their labours. He departed so calmly, that, for some time, we could not believe but that he would breathe again.<sup>63</sup>

Catharine did not arrive until the evening of the second day;<sup>64</sup> still we were compelled to attend to his obsequies the day after his decease, or run the risk of seeing Joseph and Hyrum torn from their father's corpse before it was interred, and carried away by their enemies to prison. After we had deposited his remains in their narrow house,<sup>65</sup> my sons fled from the city,

63. Nibley note: "Joseph Smith, Sr., died September 14, 1840." Joseph Sr.'s peaceful and lucid death is fully in the tradition of Christian resignation that Lucy has described in other family death scenes, and Robert B. Thompson, Hyrum's brother-in-law, stressed in his funeral sermon: "There were no reflections of a misspent life—nor fearful forebodings of a gloomy nature in relation to the future; . . . the principles of the Gospel which, 'bring life and immortality to light,' nobly triumphed in nature's final hour, which is not only a consolation to the immediate relatives, but to the Church at large" (HC 4:195-96).

64. Coray: "second day ~~after his decease~~ Still we . . ."

65. Coray: "his last remains in its narrow house . . ."

Lucy: 1844-45

The evening after my husband was buried Katharine came bringing her husband on a bed sick with the ague ~~when~~ she remained with us some length of time for we felt so desolate that we could not endure to be separated more than ~~was~~ <could> possibly be avoided <3 months> ~~soon~~ after this the charter for a city with extensive privileges was received and we rejoiced greatly in the favor, ~~of the~~ at this time Joseph became Lieut General

<sup>66</sup>History rough manuscript continued from book 18 Page 8—

I am convinced that no one but a widow can imagine the feelings of a widow but my situation was ~~worse than~~ is not such as is common in similar cases my beloved companion who had shared my joy and grief for 44 years lay before me a cold lifeless corpse and the cold hand which I held in mine returned the pressure of my own no longer. My Fatherless children stood around me ~~looking~~ gazing [~~...t.....th...th~~] in agony upon those eyes which had <until> a few minutes previous always beamed upon them with the tenderest [blank line]

\*~~This~~ P. 9 This guard was composed of ~~the same~~ <a part of the> mob who had gathered at Carthage before the governor came ~~the~~ and who returned a few days previous ~~to how~~ desolate indeed it then appeared to me for the the one who had shared it when there was but us two and with whom I had spent 44 years of my life was now buried beneath the cold clods of the vally ~~and~~ carrying with

\*and I then thought that there was no evil ~~left which~~ for me to fear upon the Earth that I had experienced in the death of my beloved husband all the grief which ~~to~~ my nature ~~could~~ <was able> bear ~~M~~ that I could never again be called to suffer so great an affliction as I was <a> ~~the at that time sub-~~jected ~~to that~~ and as I reflected upon the many years of happiness which I had spent with him ~~and then~~<sup>67</sup>

I then thought that the greatest sorrow which it was possible for any to experience had fallen upon me and although that portion of my life which lay before me seemed to be [page ends]

~~The gre~~ My children were all there save Katharine Who did not arrive untill ~~2 days later~~ <the evening of the 2nd day> but we were compelled to attend his obseques the day following that on which he died or run the risk of have Seeing Hyrum and Joseph torn from their fathers corpse ~~and~~ carried to prison and perhaps back to Missouri—by our ene-

66. New page begins here. It has a curlicue design but no number in the upper right margin.

67. A curlicue line is drawn across the page here.

mies who had obtained another writ which they were hurrying to the city in order to serve upon my sons—for this cause My Husband was interred before Katharine arrived after which my sons again fled from the City and I returned to my desolate home.

[Beginning of an X'd-out passage with internal strike-outs as well:] Katharine arrived that evening bringing her husband on a bed sick with the ague she remained with us a length of time for we all felt so desolate that we could not bear to be seperated

My own heart was broken and I had but one consolation at to a life which was as Mr Smith said in his dying moments that I might comfort my children <and> all that has passed with me since that time except the calamities which went before is my own family is like a shadow or a dream [end of X'd-out passage]

All that has transpired since that period <except the calamities of my own family> has been as ~~though I looked upon it from another world <time> and as in a night vision~~ every nerve of my mind being then drawn to its utmost tension was <not> left <to much relaxed to be> in a situation to be acted by any thing but a like circumstance—from this time I shall enumerate <the events of> my life as rapidly as possible and ~~whilst~~ shall endeavor to ~~relate~~ supress my feellings <altogether> untill I have related ~~the remainder of what~~ I have to tell the evening after my husband was buried Katherine [...tics?] arrived at house at our house <sup>68</sup>bringing her husband upon a bed sick with the ague she remained with me some time and comforted me what she could

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

and I returned to my desolate home; and I then thought, that the greatest grief which it was possible for me to feel, had fallen upon me in the death of my beloved husband. Although that portion of my life, which lay before me, seemed to be a lonesome, trackless waste, yet I did not think that I could possibly find, in travelling over it, a sorrow more searching, or a calamity more dreadful, than the present. But, as I hasten to the end of my story, the reader will be able to form an opinion with regard to the correctness of my conclusion.

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68. New page: "2" is written at the head of the sheet.

Lucy: 1844-45

Coray/Pratt: 185

## CHAP. LIII.

JOSEPH ARRESTED AT QUINCY—  
DISCHARGED AT MONMOUTH—  
JOSEPH CHARGED WITH AN AT-  
TEMPT TO ASSASSINATE EX-GOV-  
ERNOR BOGGS.

3 months after this we received a charter for a city with very extensive privileges and at the same time Joseph was made Lieutenant General of the Militia of the state of Illinois and placed at the head of and [sic] independent company which was called the Nauvoo legion and chartered <at> the same time—

In the month of December, 1840, we received for Nauvoo, a city charter, with extensive privileges; and, in February of the same winter, charters were also received for the Nauvoo Legion, and for the University of the City of Nauvoo.

Not long after this the office of Lieutenant-General was conferred upon Joseph, by the vote of the people and a commission from the Governor of the state.<sup>69</sup>

In the winter I went to Bear Creek on a visit to <[one]> Mr. Brother S A. Knowltons when I arrived there it was dark and I was very cold and in getting out of the waggon

In the early part of the same winter, I made brother Knowlton a visit on Bear-Creek. While there I had the misfortune to sprain one of my knees, in getting out of a waggon,

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69. Coray: "a commission from the Governor. In the . . ." GAS on Coray: ". . . by the vote of the Nauvoo Legion . . ." RLDS (1912, 1969) note: "The organization of the Nauvoo Legion was authorized by act of the Legislature of Illinois in 1840. Signed by the governor December 16, 1840. Joseph Smith and other officers of the Legion were elected by the militia who were to compose said Legion on February 4, 1841, and subsequently commissioned by the governor. —H.C.S." Joseph III stresses the same point, apparently to defuse the idea that the Nauvoo Legion was an extralegal military group. However, he mistakenly believed, based on the 1853 Pratt edition, that Lucy had claimed Joseph was elected to that office. He clarifies: "The Legislature of the State created the office, . . . [and] Father was invested with the title and office by virtue of the same ordinance which authorized the organization of the Legion as an independent body under the militia laws" (JS III, 24). The Nauvoo Legion had one cohort of cavalry and another of foot, each with its own staff and brigadier general. Don Carlos was one; Wilson Law the other. Joseph Smith as lieutenant-general presided over both with, as his general staff, a major general (John C. Bennett) and "such officers as chief musician, adjutant, and others." Governor Thomas Carlin gave Joseph his commission, then the nation's highest office of military rank. The legion began with six companies; by September 1841, it included sixteen, comprising 1,490 officers and men. Eventually membership topped 2,000 (Miller and Miller, 96-98).

stepped upon a some round substance which settling under my foot brought my round so suddenly that it in trying to save myself from falling I injured my right knee. ~~The cold also settled in it and~~ The cold settled in the injured part and the rheumatism set in I suffered considerable while there but I only remained absent one week and after I returned home my lameness increased ~~and~~ This with other sickness produced by the same cause kept me very low all winter and for 6 weeks I had watchers every night

<Sophronia> Arthur and Lucy ~~were then my nurses~~ took care of me and faithfully did they watch over me never was a disconsolate widow more blessed in her children than I was in them—

The ~~succeeding summer~~ <same winter> Mary Samuels wife was taken suddenly away to meet my husband where parting shall be no more ~~her~~ She had never been well since she was driven with her infant by the Misourians into Far West and that was the cause of her death.

<sup>70</sup>on on the 5 of June 1841 Joseph went with several others on a visit to Quincy and as he was returning Gov Carlin sent one of the old writs

and, a cold settling in the injured part, rheumatism succeeded. Soon after I returned home, I was confined to my bed, and for six weeks I had watchers every night.

Sophronia was then with me, her husband being absent on a mission, and she assisted Lucy and Arthur in taking care of me. They were indefatigable in their attentions, and by their faithful care I was enabled, after a long season of helplessness, to stand upon my feet again.

On the 25th of January, 1841, Mary Smith, Samuel's wife, died, in consequence of her exposures in Missouri.

On the fifth of June, the same year, Joseph went, in company with several others, on a visit to Quincy. As he was returning, Governor

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70. New page: "3" is written in the top center margin.

of which have spoken and had him arrested for trial Joseph choosing to be tried in Monmouth returned the next day with the officers to Nauvoo and after procuring witnesses proceeded to Monmouth

his attorney was Esq. Browning who spoke as he was moved upon by the spirit which was given him in answer to the prayers of the Saints and of course he told the truth and gained the case—

The opposing attorney tried his utmost to convict Joseph of Murder Larceny and treason but before he had spoken many minutes he turned sick and vomited at the feet of the judge which circumstance joined to his advocating the case of <the> Missourians (who are called pukes) obtained to him the name of puke and he was a source of much amusement to the court—

the Church were rejoiced when Joseph returned and many besought him never again to leave the city

About the 1 of Agust Don carlos came to me and told me that his family were all sick and he feared

Carlin sent one of the Missouri writs after him, and had him arrested for murder, treason, &c., &c. Joseph, choosing to be tried at Monmouth, Warren county, the officers brought him to Nauvoo, and, after procuring witnesses, they proceeded to Monmouth.

Esquire Browning spoke in Joseph's defence,<sup>71</sup> and was moved upon by the spirit that was given him, in answer to the prayers of the Saints; and, suffice it to say, he gained the case.

The opposing attorney tried his utmost to convict Joseph of the crimes mentioned in the writ, but before he had spoken many minutes, he turned sick, and vomited at the feet of the Judge; which, joined to the circumstances of his advocating the case of the Missourian who are called *pukes* by their countrymen, obtained for him the same appellation, and was a source of much amusement to the court.

When Joseph returned, the Church was greatly rejoiced, and besought him never again to leave the city.

About the first of August, Don Carlos was taken sick, and on the seventh he died. The particulars of

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71. RLDS note: "Afterwards Honorable O. H. Browning, and Secretary of the Interior under President Lincoln."

that he should soon be brought down with a worse disease than me and told me that he feared that he was going as his father did that he had for a long time suffered such distress in his side that he thought he that the same disease had fastened upon him and would sooner or later take him a way he was taken bedfast the same day and on the 7 day of august he died and on the 8 he was buried under the honors of War.<sup>72</sup>

On the <1> day of September R. B. Thomson who was a very worthy man and partner to Don Carlos in buisness ~~was followed by son leaving an they edited he died with the~~ <died of the> same complaint which took the life of Carlos supposed to be quick consumption

Sept. 15 Joseph's youngest son who was named after Don Carlos died after a long season of suffering sickness and distress

September 24 Hyrum's second son named Hyrum died of a fever <H Smiths sickness at Joseph's>

Thus was I with my children ~~were~~ called to mourn friend after friend — untill Missouri again re-

his death will be given hereafter.<sup>73</sup>

On the first day of September, Robert B. Thompson, who was Hyrum's brother-in-law, and partner to Don Carlos in publishing the *Times and Seasons*,<sup>74</sup> died of the same disease which had carried Carlos out of the world—supposed to be quick consumption.

On the fifteenth of September, Joseph's youngest child died; he was named Don Carlos, after his uncle.

On the twenty-eighth of September, Hyrum's second son, named Hyrum, died of a fever.

The succeeding winter we were left to mourn over the ravages which death had made in our family, with-

72. New page: "4" written at the top center margin. See additional rough draft material on Don Carlos's printing and final illness in Appendix 1.

73. Nibley note: "Don Carlos died August 7, 1841. It is thought that the cause of his death was pneumonia."

74. Coray: Thomson; RLDS: "and partner with Don Carlos . . ." GAS on Pratt, IE, and Nibley: "Thompson, who was Hyrum's brother-in-law, and partner to <Associate Editor with> Don Carlos of the *Times and Seasons* . . ."

newed her ~~far~~ devises and operation to accomplish our intire destruction.

In the summer of 1842 some assassin attempted to shoot Liburn Bogs <ex> governor of Missouri In a trice the cry went forth that Joe Smith had shot Gov Bogs but as <it was discovered by them> Joseph addressed some 4 or 5 thousand persons that the day previous and was at a public training the same day they wer for a while ashamed to bring any process against him but finding nothing else to act upon they took him for shooting the Bogs and the ensueing winter he went to spring Yet in the face of the knowledge of this fact the [sic] pursued him with writs all that summer and he was not suffered to remain any a week at home in peace.

out interruption; but sickness ceased from among us, and the mob retired to their homes.

On the sixth of May, 1842, Lilburn W. Boggs, ex-Governor of Missouri, was said to have been shot by an assassin. And, in consequence of the injuries which we had received, suspicion immediately fastened itself upon Joseph, who was accused of having committed the crime. But, as he was on that day at an officer's drill in Nauvoo, several hundred miles from where Boggs resided, and was seen by hundreds, and, on the day following, at a public training, where thousands of witnesses beheld him, we supposed that the crime, being charged upon him, was such an outrage upon common sense, that, when his persecutors became apprised of these facts, they would cease to accuse him. But in this we were disappointed, for when they found it impossible to sustain the charge in this shape, they preferred it in another, in order to make it more probable. They now accused my son of sending O. P. Rockwell into Missouri, with orders to shoot the ex-Governor; and from this time, they pursued both Joseph and Porter, with all diligence, till they succeeded in getting the latter into jail, in Missouri.<sup>75</sup>

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75. Joseph Smith III, interviewing Alexander Doniphan in Richmond, Missouri, in 1884, asked him point-blank whether he thought Porter Rockwell had attempted to assassinate Boggs and was thoroughly convinced when Doniphan "emphatically" answered: "No, indeed! There was not one scintilla of evidence to connect him with it in any way, or to prove he ever had knowledge of it. The only thing they had against him was that he was a member of the Latter Day Saints Church. . . . He was honorably acquitted." After the courtroom appearance, Doniphan took Rockwell home



He generally kept some friend with in whome he had confidence who came to the city frequently and carried Joseph word to his family and the church at this time

Brother Taylor lay very sick of a fever not able to stand upon his feet but Joseph told <sup>77</sup>that if he would rise ~~and~~ and go withe he would be able to ride the whole way and he should get well. ~~They then~~ Brother Taylor was by his own request assisted to dress and mount his horse—They set of [sic] after dark and traveled 50 miles during the night and the next morning.

They remained away 2 weeks and then Joseph made his family <and myself> a short visit after which he again left when winter came Governor Ford wrote Joseph a letter stating advising him to come to Springfield with a guard sufficient to secure himself against molestation and suffer himself to be tried for the crimes alledged against him—

Joseph, not choosing to fall into their hands, fled from the city, and secreted himself, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another. He generally kept some friend with him, in whom he had confidence, who came frequently to the city. Thus communication was kept up between Joseph, his family, and the Church.<sup>76</sup>

At this time, brother John Taylor lay very sick of the fever, and was so reduced that he was not able to stand upon his feet. Joseph visited him, and, after telling him that he wished to start that night on a journey of fifty miles, requested brother Taylor to accompany him, saying, if he would do so, he would be able to ride the whole way. Brother Taylor believing this, they set out together, and performed the journey with ease.

This time Joseph remained away two weeks; then made his family and myself a short visit, after which he again left us. In this way he lived, hiding first in one place, and then in another, until the sitting of the Legislature, when, by the advice of Governor Ford, he went to Springfield, and was tried before Judge Pope for the crime alleged against him;

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to dinner, persuaded him, much against Rockwell's inclinations, to leave town that very night, and gave him a "ten-dollar gold piece" toward his expenses in putting Independence behind him (JS III, 35).

76. Writing to Emma on 16 August 1842 when hard-pressed by efforts to arrest him, Joseph expresses his appreciation for her "interesting and consoling visits," considers the possibility of moving with his family to Wisconsin, and adds a reassuring message for Lucy and the rest of his family: "Tell Mother Smith that it shall be well with her son, whether in life or in death; for thus saith the Lord God. Tell her that I remember her all the while, as well as Lucy, and all the rest. They all must be of good cheer" (HC 5:105).

77. New page: "5" is written at the top center margin.

Joseph went and was tried before judge pope and honorably acquitted. when he returned there was a jubilee held throughout the City.

In the spring Joseph set out with his family for Dixon to see Emma's sister Mrs Wasson but his little boy Frederick fell out of the carriage and got his leg broke which compelled them to return.<sup>80</sup> They remained untill the next summer and then ~~went to~~ made the intended visit to Dixon but while he was there the Misourians being aprized of his absence from Nauvoo sent sheriff Reynolds to Gov Ford who gave him a writ with which he pursued Joseph to Dixon ~~and took~~ <and took him> him prisoner but did not read the writ. ~~Consequently Jose~~ but ~~for~~ abused him shamefully their proceedings being unlawful. Joseph took them in turn

namely, that of being accessory to the attempted assassination of ex-Governor Boggs.<sup>78</sup> He was again discharged, and, when he returned home, there was a jubilee held throughout the city. The remainder of the winter, and the next spring, we spent in peace.<sup>79</sup>

About the middle of June, 1843, Joseph went with his wife to visit Mrs. Wasson,<sup>81</sup> who was his wife's sister. Whilst there, an attempt was made to kidnap him, and take him into Missouri, by J. H. Reynolds, from that state, and Harmon Wilson, of Carthage, Hancock county, Illinois, who was a Missourian in principle. You have read Hyrum's testimony, and can judge of the treatment which Joseph received at their hands. Suffice to say, he was shamefully abused. Wilson had authority from the Governor of Illinois to take Joseph Smith, junior, and deliver him into the hands of the before named Reynolds; but as neither of them showed any author-

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78. RLDS (1912, 1969) note: "There was not a trial for accessory to attempted assassination but an inquiry before Judge Pope to determine if there was sufficient cause to deliver up Joseph Smith to the officers of Missouri upon the requisition of Missouri's Governor. The decision was that he should be discharged and not be delivered up for trial in Missouri."

79. On 11 February 1843, recorded Joseph Smith, "Mother came to my house to live" (HC 5:271). His journal for the same date notes that he was "changing the furniture in the house to receive Mother Smith in the family" (Faulring, 303). Two weeks later, she fell ill "with inflammation of the lungs," possibly bronchitis or pneumonia. "I nursed her with my own hands," wrote Joseph, until she "was somewhat easier." Four days later he accepted an invitation to dinner at Orson Hyde's (HC 5:290). According to his journal on 3 March, "Mother Smith [is] better" (Faulring, 313). Lucy was still living in the Mansion House when the bodies of her slain sons were brought back from Carthage in June 1844.

80. This accident was during the summer of 1842; the arrest she describes next occurred on a second visit in June 1843.

[Note 81 appears on page 733.]

when he came to a place where he  
could do so and he was cleared  
[---s] <while> they were con-  
victed

ity save a brace of pistols, Joseph  
took them for false imprisonment

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

He then obtained a writ of Habeas Corpus of the Master in Chancery of Lee county, returnable before the nearest court authorized to determine upon such writs; and the Municipal Court of Nauvoo being the nearest one invested with this power, an examination was had before said court, when it was made to appear that the writ was defective and void; furthermore, that he was innocent of the charges therein alleged against him. It was in this case that Hyrum's testimony was given, which is rehearsed in a preceding chapter.<sup>82</sup>

Not long after this I broke up house-keeping, and at Joseph's request, I took up my residence at his house. Soon after which I was taken very sick, and was brought nigh unto death. For five nights Emma never left me, but stood at my bed-side all the night long, at the end of which time, she was overcome with fatigue, and taken sick herself. Joseph then took her place, and watched with me the five succeeding nights, as faithfully as Emma had done. About this time I began to recover, and, in the course of a few weeks, I was able to walk about the house a little, and sit up during the day. I have hardly been able to go on foot further than across the street since.<sup>83</sup>

*Lucy: 1844-45*

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

<sup>84</sup>october 8 1843 Sophronia 2

On the third day of October,

81. RLDS: "Mrs. Wasson, (ten miles southeast of Dixon, Illinois,) . . ."

82. Willard Richards, Joseph's clerk and diarist, captures a vivid vignette of Lucy's affection for her son. After Joseph's success in evading extradition to Missouri, he and his party returned to Nauvoo on 10 January 1843, where "his family and friends assembled" at his home, singing "The Mormon Jubilee" as a song of welcome. "Soon after, his mother came in and got hold of his arm before he saw her which produced a very agreeable surprise on his part and the olde Lady was overjoyed to behold her son free once more." The next day, Lucy, along with Lucy and Arthur Millikan, Samuel and his second wife, Levira Clark Smith, and Hyrum and his second wife, Mary Fielding Smith, were among the friends invited to "a dinner party" at Joseph's and Emma's in celebration of his deliverance. Samuel and Levira must have joined Joseph's party on Monday, 9 January; they were residing at Plymouth, and Joseph stopped to visit him there and have supper with them (Faulring, 291-92).

83. In the Grandin reprinting of the 1853 version, the bottom part of "the street" is cut or broken off.

84. New page: The number "203" is handwritten at the top left margin with "6" about an inch to its right. The first sentence, about Sophronia's death, is written in smaller script than the

daughter of Don Carlos Smith died of the scarlet fever

1843,<sup>85</sup> Sophronia, second daughter of Don Carlos, died of the scarlet fever, leaving her widowed mother doubly desolate.

CHAP. LIV.

JOSEPH AND HYRUM ASSASSINATED.<sup>86</sup>

~~This transaction~~ <there> was <now> followed by a season of peace which lasted untill the winter of 1844 when the Police <of the city> was organized Joseph in addressing them said that if ~~it~~ there were not such men as brutus in the church he might live as long as caesar would have lived ~~but~~ he feared

About the time that John C. Bennett left Nauvoo, an election was held for the office of Mayor, and Joseph, being one of the candidates, was elected to that office. I mention this fact, in order to explain a circumstance that took place in the winter of 1843 and 1844, which was as follows: Joseph, in organizing the city police, remarked, that, "were it not for enemies within the city, there would be no danger from foes without," adding, "If it were not for a Brutus, I might live as long as Caesar would have lived."

~~this was construed into an insinuation that some~~ one of the brethren suspecting that Joseph had alluded to William Law mentioned it to an intimate friend this friend was of a very immaginative ~~disposition~~ turn of mind and his suspicions being roused he went to Law and told a

Some one, who suspected that Joseph alluded to William Law, went to the latter, and informed him that Joseph regarded him as a Brutus; and, that it was his own opinion, that he (Law) was in imminent danger.<sup>87</sup> Law, on hearing this tale, went immediately to Joseph, who straight-

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rest of the sheet but it seems to be in the same hand.

85. According to Cook, *Nauvoo*, 71: "Sophrona [sic] C. Smith [died] sometime between 2-9 October 1843 at Nauvoo 5 years 4 months and 9 days old; scarlet fever."

86. Coray: "... MURDERED."

87. Coray: "in imminent danger of loosing his life." William Law wrote in his journal on 2 January 1844: "This day I learn from remarks made by J. Smith before the city council and police, I am suspected of being a Brutus and consequently narrowly watched, and should any misconceive my motives my life would be jeopardized." The Nauvoo City Council minutes report that Law had heard from a policeman (Daniel Carn) via Eli Norton, that "there was a Judas in General Smith's

tremendous tale which Law believed and when he asked Joseph about it a council was called and Joseph proved what he did say was this satisfied Law and he said that believed that no harm was intended to him or any other person—

way called a council, and had all that knew anything concerning the matter brought together, and thus succeeded in satisfying Law, that he intended no evil in what he had said.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

[After the description of Joseph's and Hyrum's arrest described below in Lucy's manuscript, ending with my editorial notation "[page ends here]," a much damaged page appears next in the microfilm of Lucy's rough draft. It has pieces missing on the top, left, and bottom margins. Its quality of reproduction is equally poor. It seems to be a rapidly written outline of events, some of which were yet to be narrated or instructions for a revised version of Lucy's manuscript, but Lucy's narrative is missing from the point of Joseph's arrest until after their deaths.]

[damaged] daughter could [damaged] nter—watches 6 <Joseph Joseph> [damaged] of Apple the trees [damaged] ied beacon of her [damaged] as flying from [damaged] june 1841 Joseph arrested see Times and seasons <Pages 447-to-449 reviser description of his release—the scene throughtout at Nauvoo [r....ery's?] speech &c—<Mother Smith says many to her that the trial [con....] his Joseph was a prophet> [damaged] [Rig] 1841 Don c Smith died see times and seasons Page 573—(his offices to be noticed church [...and ..at] [damaged] [p..] Joseph and Emma's son D.C. Smith died [damaged] Sept. 1, 1841 death of R. B. Thompson see Times and Seasons, Page 518 vice versa [damaged] 2—little Hyrum died

The Boggs persecution Joseph taken for shooting Bogg continued (reviser will state the circumstances untill he went to springfield)—cleared—Jubilee—prospered throug the winter Joseph staid at home attended to his buisness untill they went <started> to Dixon Fredrick Broke his leg and they came back [damaged] ned at home in peace till the next [damaged] the win-

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cabinet,—one who stood next to him; and he must be taken care of . . . and he was not only a dough-head and a traitor like Judas, but an assassin like Brutus." When Law was dropped from the First Presidency (excommunicated on 18 April 1844), he recorded mixed feelings: "I confess I feel annoyed very much by such unprecedented treatment for it is illegal, inasmuch as I was appointed by revelation . . . but I feel relieved from a most embarrassing situation I cannot fellowship the abominations which I verily know are practiced by this man, concequently I am glad to be free from him and so vile an association" (Black, *Who's Who*, 175; Cook, *Law*, 39, 46; HC 6:165).

ter when the police was organized and the story was carried to Law and Law ~~thought~~ that the police was instructed to kill them guilt this was just be about the time when [damaged] asked Hyrum for Lovina Hyrum [damaged] went to Joseph for his influence [damaged] efused ~~W~~ Jackson went to law to stand by him in a plot [damaged] Hyrum heard of it. a [damaged] said le was affrai [damaged] wished me to spea [damaged] [..es] [verso begins here.] against [damaged] the whole fam [damaged] after talking with Joseph [damaged] greater trouble than w [damaged] still went on going to [damaged] Laws and at ~~conference~~ <a meeting> Sydney exposed Eaton position testimony spoken of soon closed <them> Fosters ran to the Laws and held another meeting. Augustus Spencer went [damaged] his brother Orson and his Mother <again> with [damaged] story Orson told him he must stop [..ors.] his mother so or leave the house—the first the grappled—Augustus choked Orson [damaged] came to Joseph while we were at breakfast [damaged] a warrant—Joseph sent him to Foster—[damaged] not give one—Foster was brought before [damaged] Charles Foster tried to shoot Joseph—Joseph h [damaged] his hands and prevented him—They then continued their meetings untill the [burning?] of the press—The Apostates then left [..en] [damaged] They went before ~~the Jury~~ <Squire Smith> and swore ~~that~~ to those things which are written so that Joseph ~~went soon after went in~~ <and the city [o...]> was [..set] for [damaged] advantage of the habeus corpus—They co [damaged] the governor who came and sent for My sons upon the virtue of the Smith writ when they went and answered to the charges—and they was detained to answer to a charge of treason prefer [damaged] gustus spencer and were MURDERED Death Scene ~~finis~~ William ~~..s~~ the [damaged] ~~oses~~ ~~dea~~ Samuel's death—<meeting at the 70s Hall> not [damaged] return—Carolines death—[damaged; curlicue line drawn across the page at this point] nce from the Eastern countries [damaged] the [... ..ind]

*Lucy: 1844-45*

about this a man by the name of ~~Joseph~~ Joseph Jackson who had been several months in the place asked Hyrum for his daughter Lovina for he wished to make a wife of her Hyrum not choosing to have his daughter marry a man who did not belong to the church refused for this and other reasons to give her to him

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

About this time, a man by the name of Joseph Jackson, who had been in the city several months, being desirous to marry Lovina Smith, Hyrum's oldest daughter, asked her father if he was willing to receive him as a son-in-law. Being answered in the negative, he went and requested Joseph to use his influence

this [.....] Jackson then asked Joseph to his influence with Hyrum to get the girl for him

Joseph refusing to do so Jackson went to Law to get his assistance in stealing Lovina from her father Hyrum heard of this and ~~so asked me what he should do~~ <came to me several times for anxiety he said he was alarmed about her that he felt worse than he did when he was in prison—Jackson went from one to another wherever he could learn that any one had any feeling against our family and called <he had> Secret and meetings and till finally he succeeded in getting a number to join <sup>89</sup>in a conspiracy to Murder the whole smith family which

while these things were going on a man by the name of Eaton who was a friend to got hold of their secrets and exposed them to many of the brethren he said that the Higbees Laws and Fosters were all connected with Jackson in his operations this was proclaimed on the stand by Sydney Rigdon after<sup>90</sup>

in his favour.<sup>88</sup>

As Joseph refused to do so, he next applied to Law, who was our secret enemy, for assistance in stealing Lovina from her father, and, from this time forth, he continued seeking out our enemies, till he succeeded in getting a number to join him in a conspiracy to murder the whole Smith family. They commenced holding secret meetings, one of which was attended by a man named Eaton, who was our friend, and he exposed the plot.

This man declared that the Higbees, Laws, and Fosters, were all connected with Jackson in his operations.

88. Coray: "Joseph Jackson, who had been in the place several months, became enamored of Miss Lovina Smith, Hyrum's oldest daughter, and asked her father's permission to marry her. Being refused, he went and requested Joseph to use his influence in his (Jacksons) favor. This Joseph refused to do. He next applied . . ."

89. New page: "17" is written at the top left margin with "204" at the right top margin.

90. M. G. Eaton made an affidavit summarizing a meeting on 17 March 1844, apparently organized by Joseph H. Jackson and attended by Robert D. Foster and Chauncey Higbee on the subject of "spiritual wifery." Foster said that he had found an individual having dinner with his (Foster's) wife and had extracted the information from her at gunpoint that the guest had been trying to persuade her to participate in spiritual wifery. He does not identify the guest, but it was presumably Joseph Smith. The three men expressed a resolve to "put a stop to such things," by causing an insurrection in the city and relying on help from Carthage citizens. Two months later on 25 June, Dan Jones heard Wilson Law and Joseph H. Jackson declare that they would keep Joseph Smith imprisoned at Carthage no matter what legal pretext they had to use. Jackson, indicating his pistols,



*Contextual note:* Lovina married Lorin Walker on 23 June 1844, in a ceremony performed by Aaron Johnson (Cook, *Nauvoo*, 111). Hyrum returned from his projected escape with Joseph Smith to Iowa to attend the ceremony only four days before his death. Although Lucy obviously feels that Jackson's hatred was motivated by his thwarted desire for Lovina, this romantic subplot is not mentioned even in passing in the *History of the Church*. However, according to the Nauvoo City Council minutes, Joseph complained that William Law "had offered Jackson \$500.00 to kill him" and Hyrum added that Jackson had told him that he "meant to have his daughter; and threatened him if he made any resistance. . . . Jackson had laid a plan with four or five persons to kidnap his daughter, and threatened to shoot any one that should come near, after he had got her into the skiff" (Gregg, 304-5).

I was unable to find any biographical or autobiographical information about Lovina to suggest whether she had been taken in by Jackson's charms and whether Hyrum's concerns about her security were well founded. Lovina would have been sixteen in the spring and summer of 1844, a susceptible age for a girl, especially one whose mother was dead. Thomas Gregg's 1880 *History of Hancock County* calls Jackson "an adventurer of fine appearance and gentlemanly manners" (328). In a salacious and sensational exposé, Jackson himself claims that he had "commenced a correspondence with Hyrum Smith's daughter, and so completely won her confidence, that she watched every movement and reported to me her observations" (27). Since such espionage would obviously be most successful if the relation between Lovina and Jackson were not known and since Hyrum *did* know about Jackson's dubious attentions to Lovina, there is no particular reason to believe Jackson's version, except for the concern Hyrum expressed to Lucy.

Jackson's exposé goes on to accuse Joseph Smith of "murder and conspiracy, of counterfeiting, debauchery, spiritual-wifery, etc."; but according to Gregg, "his little book made but slight impression" (328).<sup>91</sup> Hyrum, Lorenzo

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reportedly said: "The balls are in there that will decide his case" (*History of the Church*, 6:279-80, 579).

91. Jackson claims to have impressed Joseph Smith by not blinking when Joseph tried to stare him down and by presenting himself as a fugitive from justice from Georgia. He also claims to have arranged with Harmon T. Wilson, deputy sheriff in Carthage, to "find out Joe's plans and measures and at a proper time, if I found him to be as base as represented and as I believed him to be, disclose all to the world" (5). Among the crimes he attributes to Joseph were an offer of \$3,000 to kill Boggs and release Rockwell from jail, an incestuous attempt to have Lucy Smith Millikin (his sister), and Lovina (Hyrum's daughter) sealed to him as spiritual wives (Jackson misspells their names as Milligan and Lavina respectively), an attempt to seduce William's wife Caroline for which William gave him "a grand flogging," Hyrum's disclosure that he was married to both Mary and Mercy



Wasson, and Washington Peck all testified that Jackson was a counterfeiter; Wasson and Peck added that Jackson had not only admitted it but had also tried to entice them into stealing and counterfeiting. On 1 April 1844, Chauncey L. Higbee, according to the *Warsaw Signal* of 8 May, claimed that Joseph H. Jackson told him that Joseph Smith “had tried to hire him to murder . . . William Law” (Cook, *Law*, 54n41). Hyrum Smith, speaking of the defection of William and Wilson Law on 7 April 1844, a few days before they were excommunicated on 18 April, charged, “It was that rascal Jackson who presumed upon them. & I do not believe that the Mssrs. Laws would do any thing against me. it was the rascal Jackson who did it—he did it & I wold. not believe Jackson if he was to swear on a Stack of Bibles as big as Mount Etna” (Cook, *Law*, 50n26).

Jackson played a role, certainly, in the final days of the Smith brothers, but he seems to have been much less important than the better-known Fosters and Laws. Still, Jackson’s reputation in Nauvoo was nothing less than malignant. Thirty-five years later, Wilford Woodruff calls him “the murderous Jackson.” Writing from Colorado on 4 July 1879, he sent the Church Historian’s Office a memorandum about an incident reported to him that morning by John Oakley (1819-80), a sixty-one-year-old member living in Colorado who had converted and moved to Nauvoo in the spring of 1843. Joseph Smith, he said, referred him to Jackson as a land agent from whom to buy a farm. Jackson entertained Oakley during their drive out on the prairie with boasts about “shooting down Indians as wolves” and sleeping with rattlesnakes. Their business done, they were about to return when Joseph and William Clayton arrived in a buggy. Joseph sent Oakley and Clayton back in the buggy while he and Jackson “walked arm in arm on foot to Nauvoo.” William Clayton’s diary dates this event to Saturday, 20 May 1843 (George Smith, *Intimate*, 105). Oakley continued:

In the winter following Joseph had a party at his house, & Jackson being present was seane to put his hand into a Box and took out a handful of money & put it in his pocket. Joseph being informed of it, accused him of it. Jackson replyd, said, Joseph Smith I have told you Evry secret that was in my Bosom, and you have never told me one. Jackson putting his hand to his breat [sic] as though He would draw a pistol. Joseph took up a chair & held it over him and said I will thrash you to the floor, if you move your hand another inch Jackson than [sic] hurried out of the door & this Break the Leage of friendship Between them and Jackson boasted afterwards that he had a hand in his martyrdom. (“John Oakley’s [1819-80]

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Fielding (which was true), and the offers of both men to give him various women as spiritual wives (Jackson 5-6, 24, 26-30).

Testimony as to Joseph Smith and Jackson," memorandum by Wilford Woodruff, 4 July 1879)

These two incidents, recounted in juxtaposition, may fit Joseph Smith's pattern of establishing intense and immediate intimacies that could, just as quickly, go sour. In fact, Jackson had apparently only recently arrived in Nauvoo, posing as a Catholic priest; for Clayton, the same day, quotes Joseph Smith as saying that Jackson "appears a fine and noble fellow but is reduced in circumstances. The president feels disposed to employ him and give him a chance in the world. Jackson says he shall be baptized ere long." Only three days later, however, Clayton records that Jackson precipitated a double crisis, first by his behavior toward Eliza Partridge and then, when Joseph was asking Eliza for particulars, with Emma who called and shoved on the door to the room in which the two were talking, while Joseph was holding it shut from the other side. In only three days, according to Clayton, Jackson had slipped from being a "fine and noble fellow" in Joseph's estimation to being "rotten hearted" (George Smith, *Intimate*, 105-6.) When Clayton describes Jackson's association with the cabal of conspirators against Joseph—notably the Laws, the Fosters, and the Higbees—he calls Jackson "a murderer" (*ibid.*, 135).

According to Gregg, a warrant was issued for Jackson's arrest after the murders; but the sheriff said Jackson was too sick to be arrested. Jackson then disappeared (305).

An odd anonymous letter, from a writer who signs himself only "Humanity," to Emma Smith two months after Joseph Smith's murder offers the writer's assistance in "stopping the influence of J. H. Jacksons persecutions and slanderous reports" by reporting statements Jackson has divulged to him "that would sink him beneath the notice [*sic*] of every honest man." The writer, formerly of Indiana and Ohio, had come to Hancock County only during the summer of 1843, and admits that he had "been a Strong AntiMormon but things has gone beyond humanity." He instructed Emma to send a messenger within a specified number of days to McCabe's Tavern in Westpoint, Illinois, and look for a man wearing "a Palm leaf Hat with a black Ribbon tied under the Chin" ("Humanity," Letter to Emma Smith, 19 August 1844). There is no indication that Emma took any action on this proposal, although she obviously passed the letter on to someone who preserved it.

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Lucy: 1844-45

Agustus Spencer was also an inveterate enemy to Joseph but orson his

Coray/Pratt: 1853

There was also another individual, named Augustine Spencer, a dis-

brother a man of much intelligence formerly a baptist minister was one of Joseph's warmest friends. Augustus was at this time in the habit of going into Orson's house and abusing Joseph threatening his life &c at last Orson told he must stop this or leave the house but he refused to go and they grappled

In the contest Augustus caught <choked> his brother terribly—Orson went to Joseph (who was then Mayor of the city) and asked for a warrant for his brother. Joseph advised him to go to Esqr. Foster he did so and Foster refused to give one for which he was brought before Esq. Wells and tried for non performance of duty

here Joseph met Esqr. Fosters brother Charles who made an attempt to shoot him but Joseph caught his hands and prevented him and was compelled to hold him in this way above an hour in order to preserve his own life—

the Apostates with Jackson at their head continued to hold gather strength untill finally they established a printing press in our midst

solute character, (although a member of an excellent family,) who, I believe, was concerned in this conspiracy. About the time of Eaton's disclosures, this man went to the house of his brother Orson, and abused my sons and the Church at such a rate, that Orson finally told him that he must either stop or leave the house.<sup>92</sup> Augustine refused, and they grappled.

In the contest, Orson was considerably injured. He went immediately to Joseph, and, stating the case, asked for a warrant. Joseph advised him to go to Dr. Foster, who was a justice of the peace. Accordingly, he went and demanded a warrant of Foster, but was refused. On account of this refusal, Foster was brought before Esquire Wells, and tried for non-performance of duty.

At this trial Joseph met Charles Foster, the doctor's brother, who attempted to shoot him, as soon as they met, but was hindered by Joseph's catching his hands, and holding him by main force, in which way Joseph<sup>93</sup> was compelled to confine him above an hour, in order to preserve his own life.

Jackson and the apostates continued to gather strength till, finally, they established a printing press in our midst. Through this organ they

92. RLDS: "leave he [sic] house . . ."

93. Coray: "but was prevented by Joseph's catching his hands, . . . and in this way he was compelled . . ."

through this organ the belched forth ~~one continued~~ the most intolerable & the blackest lies that was ever palmed upon a community

Several gentlemen from the East visited us and expressed their astonishment that we should not declare it a <sup>94</sup>and have it removed The city council finally took the matter into consideration and find [sic] that the Law would allow them to do so declared the press a nuisance and had it ~~destroyed~~ destroyed—<sup>95</sup>

This was before the spring circuit court was held in the spring of 1847 [1844]—

belched forth the most intolerable, and the blackest lies that were ever palmed upon a community.

Being advised, by men of influence and standing, to have this scandalous press removed, the city council took the matter into consideration, and, finding that the law would allow them to do so, they declared it a nuisance, and had it treated accordingly.<sup>96</sup>

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94. New page: "8" is written at the top center of the page.

95. Lucy seems to be mistaken about both the opinions of "gentlemen from the East" and about the city council taking action "finally." Joseph's history reports no consultations or efforts to seek counsel outside the city council, and they took action over a weekend. The first issue of the *Expositor* was published on Friday, 5 June. The city council, of which Joseph was the mayor, met for six and a half hours Saturday and for eight on Monday. Joseph does not mention speaking to any non-Mormons except passengers from St. Louis and Quincy who arrived Saturday afternoon by boat and took lodgings at the Mansion House. The council passed an ordinance against libel and another declaring the *Expositor* a nuisance on Monday afternoon. Marshal John P. Greene reported by 8:00 P.M. that he had destroyed the press (HC 6:430-49).

96. RLDS (1912, 1969) note: "This publication was the famous *Nauvoo Expositor*." According to William Law, who with Wilson Law had underwritten most of the cost of the *Expositor* (about \$2,000), a thousand copies were printed and 500 were immediately mailed out. On 10 June, William and Wilson Law went to Carthage with Robert Foster and Charles Ivins to deliver a lecture "on the subject of Nauvoo legislation usurpation &c. &c." William describes his remarks as "strongly urg[ing] the policy and necessity of being patient, and allowing the law to have its course in all cases . . . I was told that our press would be destroyed, but I did not believe it. I could not even suspect men of being such fools, but to my utter astonishment tonight upon returning from Carthage to Nauvoo I found our press had actually been demolished." In a later reminiscence, he graphically recalled driving into the city over the scattered type and the fragments of his broken furniture. When he learned on 11 June that the city had passed a libel ordinance that would allow fining and imprisoning "any person who speaks disrespectfully of the City Charter, or any ordinance of said City, or any citizen of said city," the brothers spent the night packing and moved their families within twenty-four hours. Two days later, Jane Law gave birth to her fourth child. William learned of the assassinations two days later. He told an interviewer in tears many years later that he would have tried to stop the vigilante action if he had been there so that the law could take its course, but he still strongly felt that "the judgment of an offended God had fallen upon them. During the latter part of their lives they knew no mercy, and in their last moments they found none" (Cook, *Law*, 55-57, 60, 126, 130).

The Apostates left the city in a great rage swearing vengeance upon Joseph the council and the city. They <went before Esqu Smith at Carthage and> swore out writs for Joseph the council and the police and sent here after them but ~~out~~ they took advantage of the privileged of Habeous corpus which was granted them in the charter and were tried before Esq Wells of Nauvoo.

At this the apostates left the city, in a great rage, swearing vengeance against Joseph and the city council, and, in fact, the whole city. They went forthwith to Carthage, and got out<sup>97</sup> writs for Joseph, and all those who were in any wise concerned in the destruction of the press. But, having no hopes of justice in that place, the brethren took out a writ of Habeas Corpus, and were tried before Esquire Wells, at Nauvoo.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

With this the apostates were not satisfied. They then called upon one Levi Williams, who was a bitter enemy to us, whenever he was sufficiently sober to know his own sentiments, for he is<sup>98</sup> a drunken, ignorant, illiterate brute, that never had a particle of character or influence, until he began to call mob meetings, and placed himself at the head of a rabble like unto himself, to drive the "Mormons," at which time he was joined by certain unmentionable ones in Warsaw and Carthage; and for his zeal in promoting mobocracy, he became the intimate acquaintance and confidential friend of some certain preachers, lawyers, and representatives, and, finally, of Joseph Jackson and the apostates. He, as Colonel Levi Williams, commands the militia (alias mob) of Hancock county. On this man, I say, they called for assistance to drag Joseph and Hyrum, with the rest of the council, to Carthage. Williams swore it should be done, and gathered his band together. Joseph, not choosing<sup>99</sup> to fall into the hands of wolves or tigers, called upon the Legion to be in readiness to defend the city and its chartered rights.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

They then complained to the Gover-

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

Just at this crisis, Governor Ford

97. Coray: "swore out"

98. IE and Nibley: "was"

99. IE and Nibley: "wishing"

nor who ~~came to~~ <being in>  
Quincy on buisness att the time  
came immediately to Carthage  
where he found a mob collected of  
several hundred men he took a vote  
from them to see if they would stand  
by him in such measures as he saw  
fit to adopt and they agreed to abide  
the Law he then sent to Nauvoo for  
~~those men whom the mob~~ Hyrum  
and Joseph and several others by vir-  
tue of the smith writ as he did not  
choose to recognize the Habeous  
corpiss priveledge contained in our  
charter

my sons knowing that the men by  
whom the Gov was surounded were  
sworn to take their lives at first fled to  
Iawah but as the pledged the faith of  
the state for their protection and  
Hyrum was inclined to come back for  
as he heard the Gov had threatened to  
burn the city if the prisoners were not  
given up many of the brethren  
thought they ought to give themselves  
up for trial. But Joseph if he went he  
should die however he was willing to  
die for the [page ends here]

arrived in Quincy.<sup>100</sup> The apostates  
then appealed from the mob o the  
Governor. At this he came into the  
midst of the mob, and asked them if  
they would stand by him in execut-  
ing and defending the law. They said  
they would; and so he organized<sup>101</sup>  
them into militia, and then de-  
manded the brethren for trial upon  
the warrant issued by Smith; (as he  
did not choose to recognize the right  
of Habeas Corpus granted us in the  
city charter.)<sup>102</sup> At the same time he  
pledged the faith of the state, that  
the brethren should be protected  
from mob violence.

Those called for in the warrant,  
made their appearance at Carthage,  
June 24, 1844. On the morning of  
the twenty-fifth, Joseph and Hyrum  
were arrested for treason, by a war-  
rant founded upon the oaths of  
A. O. Norton and Augustine  
Spencer.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

<sup>103</sup>I have now given a history of My life as far as I intend carrying it at this  
time<sup>104</sup> and I leave the world to at liberty to pass judgment upon what I have

100. Nibley: "Carthage"

101. Nibley: "and so organized"

102. Coray: "... in our city charter.)"

103. New page: "13" is written at the top center margin.

104. Lucy's narrative from this point differs drastically from Pratt's (although compare the common phrases in the Coray/Pratt concluding paragraphs below) suggesting strong revisions in

written as seemeth them good ~~but~~ but this much I will say that all that have written is true and will stand forever yes ~~H~~ it will stand before ~~before~~ God at that hour when I shall end and great I [s]hall ~~appear to~~ appear to answer at his bar for the deeds done in the body whether they be good or evil—<sup>105</sup><... and> there will I ~~testify~~ meet the persecutors of the ~~church~~ my family who are the enemies of the church and declare with a voice that shall penetrate the ears of ~~all~~ every intelligence which shall be present on that momentuous occasion when <the spirits of the just and the unjust> Beggars and Lords Princes & Potentates Kings and Emperors Angels and Seraphs cherubims and gods be called before him who is the God of Gods and Lord of Lords ~~yes~~ yes in the presence<sup>106</sup> of all these will I declare concerning our persecutors that for eighteen years they hunted us like wild beast who were thirsting for the blood of their prey that without any just cause they drove me and my family from our home in New York ~~and~~ <that they> Maliciously cast my husband into prison and despitefully used him that they while ~~my hus~~ he was there they plundered my house and saught my son Hyrum that they might slay him That in consequence of their abuse we fled again before them and went to the state of Ohio here ~~they~~ they they dragged my son Joseph out of his bed at midnight and beat him untill life for a season departed from his body ~~him~~ and ~~when~~ after he recovered they still continued to pursue persecute him and the rest of my family so sorely that we <compelled to> ~~flede~~ fled to Missouri there they again renewed their hostilities against ~~se~~ my household and tore my son from their wives and from their little ones and from me and thrown them into prison ~~and~~ bound in chains and sentenced to be shot and all this when ~~they~~ my sons were<sup>107</sup> were guilty of no sin and had committed no crime or offence against the Law that after being in the hands of their adversaries for 6 months ~~th~~ My sons were compelled to fly from the state of misouri <into the state of Illinois> in order to save their lives for Governor Boggs ~~and the~~ passed a decree that all Saints found within his jurisdiction after a certain time should be slain by the sword. That in Illinois we were promised protection from Murderers and from mobs ~~but he~~ and we bought us homes and lived with them for a short like brothers of one family they were kind to us and we loved them but ~~to~~ the spoiler came ~~again again~~ the ~~Misourians~~ and certain of who were not of our faith joined themselves with

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the lost intermediate manuscript. Pratt follows Coray in organization and content, the relatively few exceptions appearing in the notes.

105. Compare Moro. 10:27 ("ye shall see me at the bar of God"), 3 Ne. 26:4 ("shall stand before God, to be judged of their works, whether they be good or whether they be evil"), and JST 2 Cor. 5:10 ("deeds done in the body . . . whether good or bad").

106. Here appears a drawing of a hand with a finger pointing to the next word.

107. New page: "14" is written at the top center.



the rabble of Warsaw Carthage and green plains and they lied about us and scandalized us unto our friends which caused our friends to become luke warm and our enemies to increase untill at last ~~they swore that my~~ they again siezed my sons and cast them into prison and ~~Murdered~~ <slew> them Furthermore I will testify before him who slain in Kike [sic] manner that in consequence of all these wrongs ~~that~~ the gray hairs of my aged companion were brought in sorrow to the grave and caused him to weep over his children when he was even dying because of the wickedness of their enemies—that the cries of Widows and opphans have gone up to the councils of the great men of the land and the rulers of the Nation but they laugh at our calamities and still the hands of Murderers <were> ~~are~~ upon us and were threatened, oppressed and despoiled by our enemies that still we appealed to lawyers judges governors and President but they heeded not our cry their pledges were broken the Laws were trampled upon and the of states were tarnished and despite was done to the statutes <and ordinances> of the land in order to gratify Murders thieves and robbers ~~who wished~~ [page 14 ends] <sup>108</sup>

This shall <will> be my testimony in the day of God Almighty and if it be true what will Gov Lilbourn W. Boggs, Thomas Carlin Martin Van Buren and Gov. Ford answer me in day when I shall appear where the prayers of the saints and the complaints of the widow and orphan come up before a just and righteous judge who will ~~be~~ is not only our judge but the judge of the whole Earth. [A lined-through passage begins here] will not the Lord then say unto those who have ~~thus~~ suffered us to be thus abused that have not bound up that which was broken neither brought again that which was driven away neither have ye saught that which was lost but with force and cruelty have ye ruled my people <sup>109</sup> ~~Therefore they~~ Them have ye ruled in unrighteousness because you have thot best to devour my people and murderers to put for the ~~the~~ faithless steel to <and> pierce the hearts blood <and .i . . . .> of the defenceless in secret <prison> chambers and shall suffer fierce deamons to rush upon them with fire and with sword ~~and~~ to demolish their dwellings & destroy their substance because ye had power to preserve the innocent and did not ~~do~~ [end of lined-through passage] but you cannot answer because that you ~~take~~ do not take <care> your future destiny to heart. You suffered my husband & children to robbed imprisoned and murdered untill ~~f~~ the cries of 5

108. On the microfilm, the next page is hand-numbered "16" at the top center margin, suggesting that sheet 15 is missing; and indeed, there is obviously text missing between the bottom of 14 and the beginning of this page. It was evidently not found by the microfilming arranger.

109. See Ezek. 34:4: "The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them."



widows and 24 orphan children were lifted to <you> in vain and we are still chased before ~~our~~ a law less banditti ~~of~~ from one kingdom to another people although I am now 70 years of and a Native of the united states and although My Father and my brothers Fought hard and struggled manfully ~~for~~ to establish a government of liberty and eequal rights upon this ~~the~~ home of my birth and notwithstanding I have violated no law yet I in common with many thousand ~~quality~~<sup>110</sup> equally innocent with me am commanded <by a mob> to leave the country at or stop here at the peril of our lives and last of all and most to be deplored ~~the rulers~~ ~~of~~ those who are chosen to enforce and execute the Law declare that the proceedings are outrageous but that we must of necessity submit to them for our countryman [sic] have all become so corrupt that there are none to defend and maintain the sacredness of the Law if this be so then ~~let a well~~ may I say with the poet.

Oh, for a lodge in some vast Wilderness some boundless contiguity of shade where rumor of oppression and deceit might never reach me more<sup>111</sup> let me leave the tombs of bones of my fathers and brothers ~~who~~ and the bones of my Martyrd children and go to a land where never man dwelt fare well my country. Thou that killest the prophets and hath exiled them that were sent unto thee once thou wert fair<sup>112</sup> once thou werste lovely <fair ye pure> wert pure and lovely. When thy legislators were Just men and law-givers saught ~~to~~ ~~make~~ <the good> the people <like unto themselves> was ~~righteous and good men~~ but now thou art fallen the life to which wisdom and justice ~~and~~ guilt debachery and [.....] reigns thy tables are filled with smut and filthiness and the hearts of people with rottenness and deceit but oh! if there is <yet> one in the midst of this sink of polution <corruption> in whose breast flows one feeling that warmed the heart of Washington come forth I pray you ~~from~~ <flee> Turn yourselves men did spurn or spot which so polution that nothing can cleanse it but judgements of ~~H~~ <him> who is a consuming fire [end of page]

The history of <Don Carlos Smith's mission to the east and south>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

I will not dwell upon the awful scene which succeeded. My heart is thrilled<sup>113</sup> with grief and indignation, and my blood curdles in my veins whenever I speak of it.

110. New page: "16" [sic; should be "17"] is handwritten at the top center margin.

111. These lines are quoted exactly from the popular English poet William Cowper (1731-1800), *The Task*, Bk. 2, lines 1-5. My thanks to Brent Corcoran for finding this source.

112. Compare Matt. 23:37 ("thou that killest the prophets") and Morm. 6:17 ("O ye fair ones").

113. Nibley: "filled"

My sons were thrown into jail, where they remained three days, in company with brothers Richards, Taylor, and Markham. At the end of this time, the Governor disbanded most of the men, but left a guard of eight of our bitterest enemies over the jail, and sixty more of the same character about a hundred yards distant. He then came into Nauvoo, with a guard of fifty or sixty men, made a short speech, and returned immediately. During his absence from Carthage, the guard rushed brother Markham out of the place at the point of the bayonet. Soon after this, two hundred of those discharged in the morning rushed into Carthage, armed and painted black, red, and yellow, and in ten minutes fled again, leaving my sons murdered and mangled corpses!!

In leaving the place, a few of them found Samuel coming into Carthage, alone, on horseback, and, finding that he was one of our family, they attempted to shoot him, but he escaped<sup>114</sup> out of their hands, although they pursued him at the top of their speed for more than two hours. He succeeded the next day in getting to Nauvoo in season to go out and meet the procession with the bodies of Hyrum and Joseph,<sup>115</sup> as the mob had the *kindness* to allow us the privilege of bringing them home, and burying them in Nauvoo, notwithstanding the immense reward which was offered by the Missourians for Joseph's head.<sup>116</sup>

Their bodies were attended home by only two persons, save those that went from this place. These were brother Willard Richards, and a Mr. Hamilton;<sup>117</sup> brother John Taylor having been shot in prison, and nearly killed, he could not be moved until some time afterwards.

After the corpses were washed, and dressed in their burial clothes, we were allowed to see them. I had for a long time braced every nerve, roused every energy of my soul,<sup>118</sup> and called upon God to strengthen me; but when I

114. Coray: "he succeeded in escaping . . ."

115. Coray: "Joseph and Hyrum . . ."

116. Samuel's daughter, Mary Bailey Smith Norman, who was seven that summer of 1844, has left a memoir, much of which must have come to her second-hand, that differs from Lucy's version primarily in timing. Lucy says that Samuel did not reach Carthage until the day after the murders; Mary says he arrived immediately after the killers had dispersed. According to her story, Samuel left Nauvoo to join his brothers at Carthage, taking a fourteen-year-old boy with him, by team and wagon. When a mob barred the road, Samuel sent the boy and wagon on to Hamilton House at Carthage, returned home, got a fast horse, and set out again unarmed. On the road, he met a man and woman in a buggy "who told him that Joseph and Hyrum had been killed. The terrible shock was too much for him, and for an instant he reeled in his saddle and they expected him to fall." Then as the necessity of "immediate action flashed across his mind, he steadied himself, saying, 'God help me! I must go to them,' and he again pressed forward." Two riflemen pursued him firing, one bullet passing "thru the top of his hat" (Norman, 1).

117. Samuel, Willard Richards, Artois Hamilton, and two of Hamilton's sons also accompanied the bodies.

118. Coray: "every ~~faculty~~ energy"

entered the room, and saw my murdered sons extended both at once before my eyes, and heard the sobs and groans of my family, and the cries of "Father! Husband! Brothers!" from the lips of their wives, children, brother, and sisters,<sup>119</sup> it was too much, I sank back, crying to the Lord, in the agony of my soul, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken this family!" A voice replied, "I have taken them to myself, that they might have rest."<sup>120</sup> Emma was carried back to her room almost in a state of insensibility. Her oldest son approached the corpse, and dropped upon his knees, and laying his cheek against his father's, and kissing him, exclaimed, "Oh, my father, my father!" As for myself, I was swallowed up in the depth<sup>121</sup> of my afflictions; and though my soul was filled with horror past imagination, yet I was dumb, until I arose again to contemplate the spectacle before me. Oh! at that moment how my mind flew through every scene of sorrow and distress which we had passed together, in which they had shown the innocence and sympathy which filled their guileless hearts. As I looked upon their peaceful, smiling countenances, I seemed almost to hear them say,— "Mother, weep not for us, we have overcome the world by love; we carried to them the Gospel, that their souls might be saved; they slew us for our testimony, and thus placed us beyond their power; their ascendancy is for a moment, ours is an eternal triumph."

I then thought upon the promise which I had received in Missouri, that in five years Joseph should have power over all his enemies. The time had elapsed, and the promise was fulfilled.

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*Contextual note:* Sarah M. Kimball, writing a chatty and undated letter to her friend Serepta Heywood while Serepta's husband Joseph was in Nauvoo, gave a rare and poignant glimpse of Lucy's reaction immediately after the martyrdom. In the Mansion House, she went directly to the room of "the afflicted Mother Smith":

She was seated in her armed chair near the far corner of the room she beconed me to come to her as I approached her she extended her trembling hand towards me which I clasped in silence she biteing her lips motioned me to be seated by her

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119. RLDS: "wives, children, brothers, and sisters"; IE: "wives, children, brothers, and sisters"; Nibley: "wives, children, brother, and sisters"

120. Eunice Billings, a young woman who was present and who wrote her recollections sixty-six years later in the *Woman's Exponent*, reported: "I shall never forget the impression made upon me when the Prophet's mother saw the bodies of her dead sons. Falling on her knees and clasping her hands she cried out, 'O God, why were my noble sons permitted to be martyred?' Then controlling herself with a mighty effort, she said, 'Thy will, not mine, O Lord, be done'" (Richard Anderson, "Emotional," 135).

121. RLDS: "in the depths . . ."

side I think for three minuts the silence was only broken by smothed sobs from various parts of the room during which time the presure of her trabling hand [—spoke] & the heaving of her swollen bosom spoke as it were volun to my heart it was then that I vainly wished for powers of speach to console thafflicted. at last I ventured to say mother Smith how are you to day s[he] replil "O I can't tell for my poor heart does ache so how could they kill my poor boys) how could they kill them when they were so precious! I am sure they would it harm any boddy in the world but they would have done every boddy good ttre was poor Hyrum what could they kill him for he was always mild, then turning to Lucy (her youngest daughter) she said don't you know Lucy how mild Hyrum ways was &c &c. Br Heywood is now waiting for the his letter & I am obliged tclose in the middle of my subject. (Kimball)

Almira Mack Scobey Covey, Lucy's niece, wrote to her sister, 'hose little son had recently died, on 18 July 1844:

Your trouble, you think, is as much as you can bear; but it is not lik Aunt Lucy's What must have been her feelings at seeing two of her sons brought ito the house dead? Murdered by wicked men. When your little boy was sick, you coul be with him and administer to his wants, and when he was gone, you could bury him ith decency. But this privilege she could not have. . . . These two of the noblest men n earth were slain, and for what? Was it for crimes they had committed? I answer NO, ut it was because they professed the religion of Jesus Christ. (Bitton, 7-8)

I left the scene and returned to my room, to ponder upon the alaminities of my family. Soon after this, Samuel said, "Mother, I have had a deadful distress in my side ever since I was chased by the mob, and I think I have received some injury which is going to make me sick." And indeed he was then not able to sit up, as he had been broken of his rest, besides being deadfully fatigued in the chase, which, joined to the shock occasioned by the death of his brothers, brought on a disease that never was removed.

On the following day the funeral rites of the murdered ones were attended to, in the midst of terror and alarm, for the mob had made their arrangements to burn the city that night, but by the diligence of the brethren, they were kept at bay until they became discouraged, and returned to their homes.

In a short time Samuel, who continued unwell, was confined to his bed, and, lingering till the thirtieth of July,<sup>122</sup> his spirit forsook its earthly tabernacle, and

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122. Nibley: "July 1844". Rumors later circulated that Hosea Stout poisoned Samuel on orders from Willard Richards. Frank Cooper and Edward Chidester, editors of a Strangite paper, listed Samuel among "inhumanly murdered" martyrs, claiming that he "died from the effect of poison administered to him within one month after the martyrdom of his brothers" ("Martyrs of the Latter Day Saints," *Gospel Herald* 4, no. 33 [1 Nov. 1849]: 168). My thanks to William Shepard for providing this reference. Michael Quinn documents that Samuel, in a meeting or 10 July 1844

went to join his brothers, and the ancient martyrs, in the Paradise of God.

At this time, William was absent on a mission to the Eastern States. And he had taken his family with him, in consequence of his wife being afflicted with the dropsy, hoping that the journey might be a benefit to her. Thus was I left desolate in my distress. I had reared six sons to manhood, and of them all, one only remained, and he was too far distant to speak one consoling word to me in this trying hour. It would have been some satisfaction to me, if I had expected his immediate return, but his wife was lying at the point of death, which compelled him to remain where he was. His case was, if it were possible, worse than mine, for he had to bear all his grief alone in a land of strangers, confined to the side of his dying wife, and absent from those who felt the deepest interest in his welfare; whilst I was surrounded with friends, being in the midst of the Church; my daughters, too, were with me, and from their society I derived great comfort.

The Church at this time was in a state of gloomy suspense. Not knowing who was to take the place of Joseph, the people were greatly wrought upon with anxiety, lest an impostor should arise and deceive many. Suddenly, Sidney Rigdon made his appearance from Pittsburgh, and rather insinuated that the Church ought to make choice of him, not as President, but as guardian; for "Joseph," said he, "is still President, and the Church must be built up unto him." But before he could carry his measures into effect, the Twelve, who had also been absent, arrived, and assuming their proper places, all was set to rights.<sup>123</sup>

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with Willard Richards, W. W. Phelps, and John Smith, reminded the brethren that he was Joseph's designee as president if Joseph and Hyrum both died. Richards argued successfully that a decision should be postponed until the full quorum returned. According to William Clayton, on 2 July 1844, only a week after the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum, Emma was troubled because "Mother Smith is making disturbance about the property in Joseph's hands. Mother Smith wants Samuel to move into Nauvoo and take the Patriarchs office and says the church ought to support him" (G. Smith, *Intimate*, 136). When Samuel died on 30 July, John M. Bernhisel told William Smith that he had been poisoned; Samuel's widow told William that Hosea Stout, who was attending Samuel, administered a "white powder" to him daily. According to Samuel's daughter, Arthur Millikin was receiving the same treatment, although she attributes it to "the same doctors," rather than to Stout; but he recovered after Lucy Millikin threw the medicine into the fire (Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 152-53, 383). William did not make this claim of poisoning until 1892 although, as the 1849 publication of the rumor shows, he did not originate it. Since he seemed to have willingly believed the worst of the Twelve and to have seized uncritically on anything to their discredit, his fifty years of reticence is unusual. I found no documentation that Lucy ever considered Samuel's death to be murder, except in a general sense as a result of persecution.

123. Coray: "... assuming their proper place . . ." RLDS (1912, 1969) note: "At the time this was written Brigham Young and the members of his quorum who sustained him had not assumed the position of presidency in the sense that they subsequently did. The resolution passed on August 8, 1844, as published in *Times and Seasons* volume 5, page 638, read as follows: 'All in favor of supporting the Twelve in their calling (every quorum, man and woman,) signify it by the uplifted hand.' Of course Mother Smith would not object to this and might be expected to say it was right; but it is well known that she refused to follow them afterwards. —H.C.S."

William, however, did not return till the spring of 1845, when, with great difficulty, he got his wife to Nauvoo. She survived but a short time<sup>124</sup> after her arrival, for in about two weeks, to complete the sum of William's afflictions, he followed her to the grave. Her disease was brought on by her exposures in Missouri, so that she was what might be termed an indirect martyr to the cause of Christ, which makes the sum of martyrs in our family no less than six in number.<sup>125</sup>

Shortly after William's return from the east, he was ordained Patriarch of the Church, in the place of Hyrum, who held the keys of that Priesthood previous to his death.<sup>126</sup>

Here ends the history of my life, as well as that of my family, as far as I intend carrying it for the present. And I shall leave the world to judge, as seemeth them good, concerning what I have written.<sup>127</sup> But this much I will say, that the testimony which I have given is true, and will stand for ever; and the same will be my testimony in the day of God Almighty, when I shall meet them, concerning whom I have testified, before angels, and the spirits of the just made perfect, before Archangels and Seraphims, Cherubims and Gods;<sup>128</sup> where the brief authority of the unjust man will shrink to nothingness before Him who is the Lord of lords and God of gods; and where the righteousness of the just shall exalt them in the scale, wherein God weigheth the hearts of men. And now having, in common with the Saints, appealed in vain for justice, to Lilburn W. Boggs, Thomas Carlin, Martin Van Buren, and Thomas Ford, I bid them a last farewell, until I shall appear with them before Him who is the judge of both the quick and dead; to whom I solemnly appeal<sup>129</sup> in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

## APPENDIX

### Don Carlos Smith and Eliza R. Snow Additions

*Note:* Don Carlos's reminiscence and letters to his wife were written in the fall and winter of 1838 during a desperate effort to obtain funds from eastern

124. Coray: "he arrived with his wife in Nauvoo; but she lived only a short time . . ."

125. The six are probably Joseph Sr., Joseph Jr., Hyrum, Samuel, Caroline Grant Smith, and Mary Bailey Smith.

126. Coray: "previous to his death; after which, by right it belonged to Samuel; but in consequence of his sudden death, this office was conferred upon William; which fact will conclude my history." A horizontal line is here drawn the width of the page.

127. Coray: "Having carried the history of my life, as well as that of my family, as far as I intend to do for the present, I shall leave the world to judge concerning what I have written as seemeth them good."

128. RLDS: "seraphim, cherubim and God . . ."

129. Coray: "I now bid them a last farewell . . . and to whom I now do solemnly appeal"

Saints, just before the exile from Missouri in the winter of 1838-39. This material and three poems by Eliza R. Snow have, for the most part, no counterpart in Lucy's manuscript although they are neatly written out in the Coray manuscript; substantive changes among versions appear in the notes. The original of this missionary account, a reminiscence rather than a journal, though possibly based on a journal, is not listed among the holdings of the LDS Historical Department Archives. Part of this account, considerably edited, was later published in *History of the Church* 4:394-98. Some portions of the early reminiscence appear in rough note form in Martha Jane Coray's notebook. I have paired them where applicable. Nibley includes no portion of the appendix material. The *Improvement Era* includes Don Carlos Smith's letters and Eliza R. Snow's poems but not Don Carlos's mission account.

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

*Martha Jane Coray Notebook*  
("Copy of an Old Notebook," 47-52)

This version is apparently taken from George A. Smith's journal.

the following journey was commenced September 25 1838 re-returned Dec 24 1838 ~~from the Relation of George Smith Carlos was appointed with my self Lorenzo Barnes Harrison Sagers to endeavor to raise means to purchase Davies county from the mde (?)~~

*Pratt, 1853*  
(closely follows Coray, 1845)

A JOURNAL KEPT BY DON C. SMITH  
WHILE ON A MISSION WITH  
GEORGE A. SMITH, HIS COUSIN

At a meeting of the High Council held in Adam-ondi-Ahman, I was appointed, in company with my cousin, George A. Smith, Lorenzo D. Barnes, and Harrison Sagers, to take a mission to the east and south, for the purpose of raising means to buy out the mobbers in Davies County, Missouri; also to effect an exchange of farms between the brethren in the east, and the mobbers in our immediate neighbourhood.<sup>130</sup>

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130. In Lucy's rough draft, a sheet is headed: "The History of [blank] <Don Carlos's mission to the east and south>" followed by these paragraphs:

"In the year 1838 about the time that the mob commenced operations in Misouri I <was sent> was sent in company with George smith Lorenzo D. Barnes and Harrison Sagers some was

"In the month of September 1838 The High Council of Adam Ondiahmon appointed a number on or about the 20 of September 1838

"Att a Meeting of the High council held on f or about the 20th september 1838

"I was appointed in company with My cousin George Smith and several other Elders to take a Mission to the East and South for the purpose of raising means to buy out the Mobbers of Davis County."



brother Earl from Canada to his in his wagon to Richmond landing. Carlos left his family 3 miles from Diahman in a grove of timber on a place purchased of one of the old settlers our we road to Richmond led through Far West— where we stopped and Joseph and Hyreum [sic] sanctioned our Mission

left stiad [sic] at Far west over night next day went to Alpheus Culters staid over night

next morning called on John Goodson treated us very coldly did not ask us to eat although he had staid with us several days and I laid on the floor for his accommodation and he had his horse and self kept God gratis

we waited at the landing 9 (?) days for steamer Kansas the river being very low while there we had an interview with David Whitmer— helped him load a load of goods then helped him out of a sand mire although he could not look us in the face when we parted he said success to you boys—

On the twenty-sixth of September, 1838, we took leave of our friends, and started on our mission, in company with brother Earl, who proposed taking us in his wagon as far as Richmond, a distance of seventy miles. We stopped at Far West to see brother Joseph. He sanctioned our mission, and bid us God speed.<sup>131</sup>

On our way to Richmond we stayed over night with Captain Alpheus Cutler, formerly of the United States' army. He and his family treated us with much kindness. We also called on John Goodson, who a few days previous had shared freely in the hospitality of my uncle's house, yet he had not the politeness to ask either cousin George or myself to take breakfast with him.

When we got to the landing, we found the river very low, and but one boat up, which was the *Kansas*. Whilst waiting for this boat, we had an interview with David Whitmer. He had not confidence to look us in the face, for he had become our enemy; yet, when we parted, he shook hands with us quite cordially, and wished us success.<sup>132</sup>

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George A. Smith's memoirs (not available to researchers), as extracted and edited in the account of Zora Smith Jarvis, give the purpose of this mission as: "to raise men and means to complete the arrangement with the mob" (60).

131. George A. Smith/Zora Jarvis renders this passage: "Joseph sanctioned our mission and helped us. I suffered much in riding, as I had a large blood boil on my seat" (60).

132. George A. Smith/Zora Jarvis adds more details: "We encountered David Whitmer, who had lately apostatized and had come to Pomeroy's warehouse for a load of goods, which were heavy. We helped him load. When he started, his wheels stuck fast in the sand and we helped him out. He thanked us and said: 'Success to you boys'" (60).



we boarded with a family of brethren while there I went to a watermleon [sic] patch feasted on melons that weighed from 40 to 50 lbs. from there we took passage on board the Kansas one wheel was broken to pieces and She was otherwise in a a terribly shattered condition met Maj Gen Samul [sic] Lucas and Brigadier gen Moses Wilson of jackson Co principle actors in the mob of 1833 Maj Gen Atchison [sic] of Clay Co and several other Militia officers—who were on their way to Boonville to attend a court Martial—

on the next day we arrived at De Witt—where we found Elder J. E. Page Gorge M. Hinkle with a few Saints surrounded by a mob of 200 who threatened them with extermination Gen Atchison at told them to make a vigorous defence if they were attacked by the mob give them a decent fight said he— he <we> held a consultation on the propriety of stopping with the brethren—but as our Mission was urgeant and we destitute of arms we concluded to go ahead and when the boat had taken in her necessary suplies of fuel we did so

On the thirtieth of September, we went on board the *Kansas*;<sup>133</sup> this was a very slow conveyance, for one of the wheels was broken; besides the river being very low, and full of snags and sand bars, we got along but slowly on our journey. Here we travelled in company with General Wilson, and Samuel Lucas, besides many others who had taken an active part in the expulsion of the Saints from Jackson County, in 1833. General Atchison was also on board.<sup>134</sup>

On arriving at De Witt, we found about seventy of the brethren with their families, surrounded by a mob of two hundred men.<sup>135</sup> When the boat landed, the women and children were much frightened, supposing that we also were mob.<sup>136</sup> We would have stopped, and assisted them what we could, but we were unarmed, and, upon consulting together, it was thought advisable for us to fulfil our mission; so we returned to the boat, and proceeded on our journey.

133. See HC 4:394: "On the 30th of September, 1838, in company with George A. Smith, Lorenzo D. Barnes, and Harrison Sagers, I went on board the *Kansas* (which had one wheel broken); the Missouri river was very low."

134. George A. Smith/Zora Jarvis: ". . . taking a deck passage at four dollars and helped to 'wood.'" HC 4:394: "On the 30th of September, 1838, in company with George A. Smith, Lorenzo D. Barnes, and Harrison Sagers, I went on board the *Kansas* (which had one wheel broken); the Missouri River was very low."

135. HC 4:394: "On touching at De Witt, on 1st October, we found about seventy of the brethren, with their families, surrounded by an armed mob of upwards two hundred."

136. RLDS: "we also were a mob." George A. Smith/Zora Smith Jarvis: "Colonel George H.

~~the con~~ the conversation immediately turned upon the Mormons. Gen. Wilson proceeded to relate an account of his heroic deeds ~~during~~ in driving the saints reference Page 6 of Gorge [sic] Smiths journal ~~fell~~ — — — See george Smiths Record fell in with Carlos at my father in Laws about the 21 of March 1838 were together about 3 weeks [The next three pages, 53-55, are blank.]

From this onward, the "Mcmons" were the only subject of conversation, and nothing was heard but the most bitter imprecations against them. Gen. Wilson related many of his deeds of noble daring in the Jackson mob, one of which was the following:<sup>137</sup>

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

[Wilson:] "I went, in company with forty others, to the house of one Hiram Page, who was a Mormon, in Jackson county. We got logs and broke in every door and window at the same instant; and, pointing our rifles at the family, we told them, we would be God d—d if we did'nt shoot every one of them, if Page did not come out. At that, a tall woman made her appearance, with a child in her arms. I told the boys, she was too d—d tall. In a moment the boys stripped her, and found it was Page. I told them to give him a d—d good one. We gave him sixty or seventy lashes with hickory withes which we had prepared. Then, after pulling the roof off this house, we went to the next d—d Mormon's house, and whipped him in like manner. We continued until we whipped ten or fifteen of the God d—d Mormons, and demolished their houses that night. If the Carroll boys would do that way, they might conquer; but it is no use to think of driving them without about four to one.<sup>138</sup> I wish I could stay, I would help drive the d—d Mormons to hell, old Joe, and all the rest."

At this I looked the General sternly in the face, and told him, that he was neither a republican nor a gentleman, but a savage, without a single principle of honour.<sup>139</sup> "If," said I, "the 'Mormons' have broken the law, let it be strictly

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Hinkle was evidently very much alarmed at our arrival, supposed we were a detachment of the mob, but he bristled up courage to make a speech to the military officers, in which he declared his intention, in a trembling tone, to defend De Witt to the last."

137. George A. Smith/Zora Smith Jarvis: "General Moses Wilson entertained them by a narration of the cruelties he had inflicted upon the Mormons in Jackson County. He swore the d— Mormon would [not] fight, except when out-numbered five to one. He was in favor of killing the men, seizing the property, and sporting with the women." George A. does not include the beating of Hiram Page, told below, although it appears in the HC account.

138. HC 4:395: "driving them without four or five to one."

139. HC 4:395: "of honor, or humanity."

executed against them; but such anti-republican, and unconstitutional acts as these related by you, are below the brutes."<sup>140</sup> We were upon the hurricane deck, and a large company present were listening to the conversation. When I ceased speaking, the General placed his hand upon his pistol, but I felt safe, for cousin George stood by his side, watching every move the General made, and would have knocked him into the river instantly, had he attempted to draw a deadly weapon.<sup>141</sup> But General Atchison saved him the trouble, by saying, "I'll be God d—d,<sup>142</sup> if Smith aint right." At this, Wilson left the company, rather crest-fallen. In the course of the conversation Wilson said, that the best plan was, to rush into the "Mormon" Settlement,<sup>143</sup> murder the men, make slaves of the children, take possession of the property, and use the women as they pleased.

There was a gentleman present from Baltimore, Maryland; he said, he never was among such a pack of d—d savages before; that he had passed through Far West, and saw nothing among the "Mormons" but good order. Then, drawing his pistols, he discharged them; and re-loading, he said, "If God spares my life till I get out of Upper Missouri, I will never be found associating with such devils again."

Shortly after this we were invited to preach on board. Elder Barnes gave them a good lecture, and I bore testimony.<sup>144</sup> The rest of the way we were

140. George A. Smith/Zora Smith Jarvis: "Don Carlos told him no gentleman would talk so, and exposed to the crowd the General's meanness. . . . [Zora's ellipses]" (60); HC 4:395: "beneath the brutes."

141. HC 4:395: "While I was speaking, Wilson placed his hand upon his pistol, which was belted under the skirt of his coat; but Cousin George stood by his side, watching every move of his hand, and would have knocked him into the river instantly, had he attempted to draw a deadly weapon."

142. HC 4:395: "I'll be d—d to hell . . ."

143. HC 4:395: "settlements"

144. HC 4:395: "Elder Barnes and I preached." From Tennessee on 23 October 1838, Don Carlos wrote his wife Agnes ("Respected companion") an abbreviated account of this encounter aboard the *Kansas* with Atchison and a half dozen or so of the "Jackson Co mob (leaders)." Don Carlos says he tolerated, to the limit of his endurance, a conversation consisting of "Mormons and God Dam Jo Smith and the Mormons &c&c." Then he announced his identity and declared that "I was a republican & held my rights as sacred as any man that ever trod the soil and all mobs were unconstitutional." His skill in the debate was so impressive that "they gave us an invitation to preach" and Lorenzo D. Barnes "gave them a lecture that none could gain say." Tenderly he urges Agnes: "Be careful of your health & be sure and make known your wants to the Bishop see that the Cow has a sufficient to eat &c to charge you to be careful of the children is useless knowing you never neglected them." He concludes his letter with an eight-stanza semi-romantic, semi-religious poem. The fifth and sixth stanzas read:

I turn I gaze beyond the stream  
From whence I came propelled by steam  
There I behold by my fireside

treated more civilly, but, being deck passengers, and having very little money, we suffered much for food. On one occasion we paid twelve and a half cents for one dozen ears of [Indian] corn; and after grating it, we paid a woman twelve and a half cents more for baking it into bread, although it was badly done, being neither sifted, nor the whole kernels taken out; but we were so hungry that we were glad to get it.<sup>145</sup>

We continued our journey together through every species of hardship and fatigue, until the eleventh of October, when Elder Barnes and H. Sagers left us,<sup>146</sup> after our giving them all the money we had; they starting for Cincinnati, and we, to visit the Churches in West Tennessee.<sup>147</sup> Soon after this, Julian Moses, who had fallen<sup>148</sup> in company with us on the way, gave us a five franc piece, and bade us farewell.<sup>149</sup> This left cousin George and myself alone, and in a strange land; and we soon found that the mob spirit was here, as well as in Missouri, for it was not long before we were mobbed by near twenty men, who surrounded the house in the night, and terrified the family very much; however, we succeeded in driving them away.<sup>150</sup>

After which we continued our journey until we arrived at brother Utley's, in Benton county, a neighbourhood<sup>151</sup> where brothers Patten and Woodruff were mobbed some years ago. We soon made our business known to all the Saints, who said they would use every effort to be on hand with their money and means—some in the fall, others in the spring. We received from brother

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The choice of youth Agnes my bride  
Her soft and tender voice I hear  
Which sounds delightful to my ear  
With her I find the pearl of prize price  
By some abused by some despised . . .”

Don Carlos Smith (1816-41), Letter to Agnes Smith, 23 October 1838, from Benton County, Tennessee, ms/d 1024, fd. 1, LDS Church Archives.

145. HC 4:395 omits this sentence about the corn. “[Indian]” in Coray/Pratt.

146. HC 4:395: “left us at Paducah . . .”

147. HC 4:395: “in west Tennessee and Kentucky . . .”

148. Coray: “who fell in company . . .”

149. In a letter to Don Carlos dated 11 December 1839 and published in the *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 4 (February 1840), 60, Moses reports that he continued travelling eastward through Tennessee where he and various companions baptized forty, a number he apologizes for, attributing its smallness to “fabulous stories concerning our difficulties in Missouri.”

150. HC 4:395-96: “We soon found that the mob spirit was in Kentucky, as well as in Missouri; we preached in a small branch of the Church in Calloway county, and stayed at the house of Sister Selah Parker, which was surrounded in the night by about twenty armed men, led by John McCartney, a Campbellite priest, who had sworn to kill the first ‘Mormon’ Elder who should dare to preach in that place. The family were very much terrified. After trying the doors, the mobbers finally went away.”

151. Coray: “County—which was in the same neighborhood . . .”

West twenty-eight dollars to bear our expenses; and also from others, acts of kindness which will never be forgotten.<sup>152</sup>

About this time our minds were seized with an awful foreboding—horror seemed to have laid his grasp upon us—we lay awake night after night, for we could not sleep. Our forebodings increased, and we felt sure that all was not right; yet we continued preaching, until the Lord showed us that the Saints would be driven from Missouri. We then started home, and, on arriving at Wyatt's Mills, which was on our return, we were told that, if we preached there it should cost us our lives. We gave out an appointment at the house of sister Foster, a wealthy widow. She advised us to give it up; but, as she had no fears for herself, her property, or family, we concluded to fulfil our appointment. The hour of meeting came, and many attended. Cousin George preached about an hour; during which time, a man named Fitch, came in at the head of twelve other mobbers, who had large hickory clubs, and they sat down with their hats on. When cousin George took his seat, I arose and addressed them for an hour and a half, during which time, I told them that I was a patriot—that I was free—that I loved my country—that I loved liberty<sup>153</sup>—that I despised both mobs and mobbers—that no gentleman, or Christian at heart, would ever be guilty of such things, or countenance them. At last the mob pulled off their hats, laid down their clubs, and listened with almost breathless attention.

After meeting, Mr. Fitch came to us and said that he was ashamed of his conduct, and would never do the like again, that he had been misinformed about us by some religious bigots.<sup>154</sup>

We continued our journey until we reached the town of Columbus, Hickman county, Kentucky. Here we put up with Captain Robinson, formerly an officer in the army, who treated us very kindly, assuring us that we were welcome to stay at his house until a boat should come, if it were three months. While here, a company of thirteen hundred Cherokee Indians encamped on the bank of the river to wait for ferry privileges. They felt deeply wounded at leaving their native country for the west. They said they were leaving a fine country, rich in minerals, but the whites knew very little of its value. This excited our sympathies very much; little did I think that my own wife and help-

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152. HC 4:396: "We visited a number of small branches in Tennessee; the brethren generally arranged to be on hand with their money, or lands for exchange in the spring. Brother Samuel West gave us twenty-eight dollars to help defray our traveling expenses. We also received acts of kindness from others, which will never be forgotten."

153. Coray: "that I was free—that I loved liberty . . ."

154. HC 4:396: "by some religious bigots, and begged of us to forgive him, which we did."

less babes were objects of greater sympathy than these.<sup>155</sup>

At length a boat came along, and we went on board. We had to pay all our money (five dollars) for fare, and eat and lie among negroes, as we took a deck passage.<sup>156</sup> About ninety miles from St. Louis our boat got aground, where it lay for three days. During this time we had nothing to eat but a little parched corn. They finally gave up the boat and left her. We went to the clerk and got two dollars of our money back, after which we went on board of a little boat<sup>157</sup> that landed us in St. Louis the next morning. Here we found Elder Orson Pratt; he told us that Joseph was a prisoner with many others, and that David Patten was killed, giving us a long and sorrowful account of the sufferings of the Saints, which filled our hearts with sorrow.

The next morning, we started again on our journey. When we arrived at Huntsville, we stopped<sup>158</sup> at the house of George Lyman to rest, he being uncle to cousin George, whose feet had now become very sore with travelling.<sup>159</sup> Here we heard dreadful tales concerning our friends in Davies county, that they were all murdered, and that my brothers, Joseph and Hyrum, were shot with a hundred balls.<sup>160</sup>

We had not been long in Huntsville till the mob made a rally to use us up with the rest of the Smiths, and, at the earnest request of our friends, we thought best to push on.<sup>161</sup> The wind was in our faces, the ground was slippery, it was night, and very dark, nevertheless we proceeded on our journey. Travelling twenty-two miles, we came to the Chariton river, which we found frozen over, but the ice too weak to bear us, and the boat on the west side of the river. We went to the next ferry. Finding that there was no boat there, and that in the next neighbourhood a man's brains were beat out for being a "Mormon," we returned to the first ferry, and tried by hallooming to raise the ferryman on the opposite side of the river, but were not able to awake him.

155. HC 4:396: "We stayed nine days, during which a company of thirteen hundred Cherokee Indians were ferried over the river."

156. HC 4:396: "We went on board the steamer *Louisville*, and had to pay all our money for a deck passage."

157. HC 4:396: "a little boat, *The Return* . . ."

158. HC 4:397: "The next morning we started on foot for home; at Huntsville, about 200 miles, we stopped . . ."

159. George A. Smith/Zora Smith Jarvis: "My feet were very much blistered with walking" (61).

160. HC 4:397 omits this sentence.

161. George A. Smith/Zora Smith Jarvis: "We had only remained there one day when a mob was raised for the purpose of using up Don Carlos, brother of the Prophet, and myself. Our friends, being alarmed for our safety, urged us to leave immediately. We took some beef and biscuits, and started for Far West about ten o'clock at night" (61).

We were almost benumbed with the cold, and to warm ourselves we commenced scuffling and jumping; we then beat our feet upon the logs and stumps, in order to start a circulation of blood; but at last cousin George became so cold and sleepy that he said he could not stand it any longer, and lay down. I told him he was freezing to death; I rolled him on the ground, pounded and thumped him; I then cut a stick and said I would thrash him. At this he got up and undertook to thrash me, this stirred his blood a little, but he soon lay down again; however, the ferryman in a short time came over, and set us on our own side of the river.<sup>162</sup> We then travelled on until about breakfast time, when we stopped at the house of a man, who, we afterwards learned, was Senator Ashby, that commanded the mob at Haun's Mill. That night we stayed at one of the bitterest of mobocrats, by the name of Fox, and started the next morning without breakfast.<sup>163</sup> Our route lay through a wild prairie, where there was but very little track, and only one house in forty miles. The north-west wind blew fiercely in our faces, and the ground was so slippery that we could scarcely keep our feet, and when the night came on, to add to our perplexity, we lost our way. Soon after which, I became so cold that it was with great difficulty I could keep from freezing. We also became extremely thirsty; however, we found a remedy for this by cutting through ice three inches thick.<sup>164</sup> While we were drinking we heard a cow bell, this caused our hearts to leap for joy, and we arose and steered our course towards the sound. We soon entered a grove, which sheltered us from the wind, and we felt more comfortable. In a short time we came to a house, where George was well acquainted, here we were made welcome<sup>165</sup> and kindly entertained.

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162. George A. Smith/Zora Smith Jarvis: "I was sleepy and lay down. He told me I was freezing, and by his efforts kept me awake until about daylight, when the ferryman came and took us over . . . I have no doubt that the energy and the prudence of Don Carlos saved me from freezing to death" (61); HC 4:397: "lay down again. By this time the ferryman came over, and set us across the river, where we warmed ourselves a little . . ."

163. George A. Smith/Zora Smith Jarvis: "That night we stopped with a man named Fox, who lived near De Witt. He was very bloodthirsty toward the Mormons. . . . [ellipses Zora's] We didn't make our identity known to him. We started out at daylight without breakfast, and traveled ten miles and got some refreshments" (61); HC 4:397: "until about breakfast time, when we stopped at the house of a man, who we afterwards learned was a leader of the mob at Haun's Mill massacre. The next morning we started without breakfast."

164. HC 4:397: "thick with a penknife."

165. RLDS: "where we were made welcome"; George A. Smith/Zora Smith Jarvis: "We continued traveling until two o'clock next morning, when we arrived at Whitford G. Wilson's, in Tunney's [sic] Grove. It being 25 of December, Christmas night, (1838). We had traveled one hundred ten miles since ten o'clock p.m. on the night of December 22nd. Don Carlos came near perishing of cold during the last night" (61); HC 4:397: "We soon entered Tenny's Grove, which sheltered us from the wind, and we felt more comfortable. In a short time we came to the house of Whitford G. Wilson, where we were made welcome and kindly entertained."



We laid down to rest about two o'clock in the morning, after having travelled one hundred and ten miles in two days and two nights. After breakfast I set out for Far West, leaving George sick with our hospitable friend. When I arrived<sup>166</sup> I was fortunate enough to find my family alive, and in tolerable health, which was more than I could have expected, considering the scenes of persecution through which they had passed.<sup>167</sup>

LETTERS OF DON C. SMITH TO HIS WIFE, AGNES.

COHOCTON, YATES CO.,<sup>168</sup> JUNE 25, 1836 .

DEAR COMPANION: I received your letter bearing date June 15, which I perused with eagerness, being the first I had received from you during my absence. I was rejoiced to hear that you were as well as you expressed, but grieved that your rest should be disturbed by the nervous affection of which you speak. You say that you are willing to submit to the will of the Lord in all things; this also is a source of great consolation to me; for, if these be your feelings, even when deprived of my society, in order to [word omitted?] the prosperity of the kingdom of God (as nothing else would tear me from you), I feel that the Lord will bless, keep, preserve, and uphold you; so let your faith fail not, and your prayers cease not, and you shall be healed of your nervous complaint, and all other afflictions. For God is willing, and abundantly able, to raise you up and give you all the righteous desires of your heart, for he has said, "Ask and ye shall receive," and he has never lied, and I can truly say that he has been my help in every time of need.

When I left home I set my face, like a flint, towards Boston, until I found that it was my duty to return home. On arriving at Seneca Falls, I laid the matter before Samuel and Wilbur,<sup>169</sup> and we united our hearts in prayer before the Lord, who signified, by the voice of his Spirit, to Samuel, that he should continue his journey, but that we should return, af-

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166. HC 4:398: "When I arrived on the evening of December 25th . . ."

167. George A. Smith/Zora Smith Jarvis: "When Don Carlos reached there, he found his house, a few miles from Adam-ondi-Ahman, had been burned by the mob, and that his wife, Agnes, and two children had to flee for safety. She traveled nearly three miles over the roughest of ground, carrying her two helpless babes. The older baby clinging to her with legs around her neck, and with hugging the smaller one to her breast, she waded the waist deep water of the Grand River" (61).

168. GAS on Pratt and Coray: "COHOCTON, Yates <Steuben> Co." RLDS: "COSHOCTON, New York."

169. RLDS: "Samuel and Wilbur"; Samuel H. Smith and Solomon Wilbur Denton. See "Biographical Summaries."



ter a short time, to our families; so tell Mary<sup>170</sup> that we have not forsaken him; no, nor ever will, for he is as faithful as the sun—the Lord will not forsake him, and angels will bear him up, and bring him off triumphant and victorious. I heard of the death of grandmother, while at Aven, I could not help weeping, for her, although she has gone to rest. When I left Kirtland,<sup>171</sup> I called at uncle John's—grandmother was asleep—I laid my hand on her head, and asked the Lord to spare her, that I might see her again in the flesh. But when I left, I felt as though she would be taken before I returned, which caused me to feel sorrowful; but I do not desire to call her back to this world of trouble. I must close by saying, that I expect to labour in the vineyard until I start for home. And, if the Lord will, I shall see you as soon as the last of July, then<sup>172</sup> I shall finish this letter.

Yours, till death,  
DON. C. SMITH.<sup>173</sup>

AGNES M. SMITH.

*Lucy: 1844-45*

<sup>174</sup>~~off~~ Previous to this during the summer ~~and while who~~ in the commencement of the sickness Don Carlos came from leaving <Mc Donough county> to make preparations to establish a printing press on the the Press and type had been buried during the Missouri troubles to keep them out of the hands of our enemies and they had gathered so much dampness that the type were considerably injured and it was necessary to ~~set~~ get them into use as soon as possible

*Coray/Pratt: 1853*

In the month of June, 1839, Don Carlos came from Mc Donough county to Commerce, for the purpose of making preparations to establish a printing press. As the press and type had been buried during the Missouri troubles, and were considerably injured by the dampness which they had gathered, it was necessary to get them into use as soon as possible;

170. Mary Bailey Smith, Samuel's wife.

171. IE omits "When I left Kirtland"

172. IE: "July, and then . . ."

173. IE correctly omits the period after "Don."

174. Lucy's rough draft contains this account written on the bottom of a sheet that starts to tell of Joseph Jr.'s visit to Washington, D.C., but which breaks off in mid-sentence.

he found but <one> room at liberty but and that was th an underground room through which a spring was constantly flowing and it needed a great deal of cleaning out before it could be made to answer his purpose atall he worked alone in this cellar sometime and the dampness of the place and his labor together caused him to take a severe cold with which he was sick some time when he had

but he continued his work until he had got his press into started and a few numbers of the paper printed when he went to Mc Donough to see his family after this he returned to commerce but found the distress so great that no buisness could be done—

after his arrival in commerce he wrote the following letter to his wife which shows pretty clearly the situation of the church at that time as well as his affectionate disposition which was always breathed in every word he spoke to his family and stamped on every line he wrote to them when absent from them which has also been manifested in other letters which I have before transcribed

July 25

and in order to this,<sup>175</sup> Carlos was under the necessity of cleaning out a cellar, through which a spring was constantly flowing, for there was no other place at liberty where he could put up the press. The dampness of the place, together with his labour, caused him to take a severe cold, with which he was sick some time;

nevertheless, he continued his labour, until he got the press into operation, and issued one number of the paper. He then went to Mc Donough, and visited his family; after which, he returned to Commerce, but found the distress so great that no business could be done.

Upon his arrival in Commerce, he wrote to his wife the following letter, which shows the situation of the Church at that time, as well as his affectionate disposition, which was breathed in every word he spoke to his family, and stamped upon every line he wrote to them when absent.

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175. IE: "in order to do this . . ."

Commerce July 25, 1839

Beloved companion

I am in tolerable health and have just risen from ~~my knees~~ imploring the throne of Grace in your behalf and that of our family— That God would preserve your health and give you every blessing and protect you by day and by night.

When I arrived here there had been nothing done in the office as Brother Robinson has been sick every day since I left and is sick yet I have done but little labor since I returned for I have been striving against the destroyer and attending upon the sick continually There is not well ones enough to take care of the sick. There has been but one death however since I returned and that was of a child but one week old McLery and Sophronia are both sick— ~~Clarinn~~ Brother Robinson's wife has been nigh unto death father is better.

Last tuesday I administered to 16 souls and have since administered to a great many in company with George A. Smith and some notable miracles were wrought under our hands I never had so great power over disease as I have had this week ~~and~~ For this let God be Glorified. The devil is determined to destroy

Commerce, July 25, 1839.

BELOVED:

I am in tolerable health, and have just risen from imploring the Throne of Grace, in behalf of you and our children, that God would preserve you all in health, and give you every needed blessing, and protect you by day and by night.

When I arrived here, nothing had been done in the office, as brother Robinson had been sick every day, since I left. And I have done but little labour since I returned, except struggling against the destroyer, and attending upon the sick—there are not well ones enough to take care of the sick—there has been but one death, however, since my return. McLerry,<sup>176</sup> Sophronia, and Clarinda, are very sick. Sister E. Robinson has been nigh unto death.

Last Tuesday, I, in company with George A. Smith, administered to sixteen souls; some notable miracles were wrought under our hands. I never had so great power over disease, as I have had<sup>177</sup> this week; for this let God be glorified. There is now<sup>178</sup> between fifty and one hundred sick, but they are gener-

176. RLDS: "McCleary." The context in which Don Carlos mentions "Clarinda" sounds as if she is McLeary's and Sophronia's daughter, but they are not known to have had any children, nor were either of Sophronia's two daughters by her first husband, Calvin Stoddard, only one of whom was alive at this point, named anything similar. Ebenezer Robinson's wife was Angeline Eliza.

[Notes 177 and 178 appear on page 766.]

the saints here ~~th~~ there is now between 90 men and a hundred that are sick but they are generally on the gain and I do not know of more than 12 or 13 what are dangerously sick—

I send you \$5 so that you may not be ~~out of money~~ <destitute> in case you should be sick or in need of money My Dear you shall be made ~~comfortable~~ happy by me the Lord being my helper hereafter you shall not want Elijah's God ~~you~~ will bless you and I will bless you

are entwined around my heart with ties that are stronger than death and time cannot sever them yes deprived of your society and that of my prattling babes life would be irksome to me Oh that you might live till the coming of the son of man, and I also for ~~the~~ your sakes that I might comfort you and you ~~me and we~~ Together might instill ~~into the minds of our dear children~~ principles of might comfort me and we might comfort our babes and instill into their tender and noble minds principles of virtue that God may bless us all that we may be happy.

I shall come home as soon as we can get through with our present hurry—I am as ever your most <true and> faithful earthly friend <both> in time and in Eternity.

Don C Smith

Agnes M Smith

ally on the gain; I do not know of more than two or three who are considered dangerous.

I send you some money that you may not be destitute, in case you should be sick, and need anything which you have not in the house. Agnes, the Lord being my helper,<sup>179</sup> you shall not want. Elijah's God will bless you, and I will bless you,

for you are entwined around my heart, with ties that are stronger than death, and time can not sever them. Deprived of your society, and that of my prattling babes, life would be irksome. Oh! that we may all live, and enjoy health and prosperity, until the coming of the Son of Man, that we may be a comfort to each other, and instil into the tender and noble minds of our children, principles of truth and virtue, which shall abide with them for ever, is my constant prayer.

From your husband, who will ever remain, devoted and affectionate, both in time and in eternity,

DON C. SMITH.

177. IE: "over disease, as I had . . ."

178. RLDS: "There are now . . ."

179. Coray: "my helper, hereafter . . ."

here Mulhollands death R. B. T.  
 <succeeds him in office> In  
 [blank] Don C moved his family  
 into commerce which had then  
 changed its name for Nauvoo here  
 he with Printer Ebenezer Robinson  
 engaged in the publication of the  
 Times and seasons and to facilitate  
 the same they erected small frame  
 house for the <a> printing office<sup>180</sup>

While Don Carlos was at work  
 in the before mentioned cellar, he  
 took a severe pain in his side, which  
 was never altogether removed.  
 About a fortnight prior to his death,  
 his family were very sick; and in tak-  
 ing care of them, he caught a violent  
 cold—a fever set in, and the pain in  
 his side increased, and with all our  
 exertions, we were unable to arrest  
 the disease, which I have no doubt  
 was consumption, brought on by  
 working<sup>181</sup> in a damp room, in which  
 he printed his paper.

Coray/Pratt: 1853

### ELEGY

ON THE DEATH OF THE DEARLY BELOVED AND MUCH LAMENTED FATHER IN  
 ISRAEL, JOSEPH SMITH, SENIOR, A PATRIARCH IN THE CHURCH OF JESUS  
 CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS, WHO DIED AT NAUVOO, SEPTEMBER 4 [SIC],  
 1840.<sup>182</sup>

BY MISS E. R. SNOW.

Zion's noblest sons are weeping;  
 See her daughters bathed in tears,

180. The next paragraph in Lucy's rough draft reverts to Joseph Jr.'s trip to Washington, D.C., but stops after three lines, leaving the rest of the page (about 2 inches) blank.

181. IE: "brought on by his working . . ."

182. This date is apparently a typographical error in Pratt or (less probably) a scribal error in the manuscript from which the type was set. Joseph Sr. died on 14 September. Coray gives the date correctly as: "Joseph Smith Sen. a Patriarch in the Church of Latter Day Saints, who died at Nauvoo September 14, 1840." So does GAS on Pratt. The *Times and Seasons*, which first printed the poem (1, no. 2 [October 1840]: 190), seems to be the source of the error, since it gives the death date as 4 September. Snow corrected the date to 14 September when the poem was republished in her *Poems, Religious, Historical, and Political* (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1856). IE gives the date correctly as 14 September.

There are considerable differences in punctuation between the *Times and Seasons*, Coray, and Snow 1856 versions of these poems (dashes rather than Coray's commas, more frequent use of exclamation points) and elisions for scansion ("ev'ry," "lov'd," etc.), while the Pratt version, in addition to adding further punctuation changes, also uses British spelling, in keeping with the rest of the volume. The lack of repetition in the changes among the four versions, however, does not suggest simple chronological copying.

Where the Patriarch is sleeping,  
 Nature's sleep—the sleep of years.  
 Hushed is every note of gladness—  
 Every minstrel bows full low—  
 Every heart is tuned to sadness—  
 Every bosom feels the blow.

Zion's children loved him dearly;  
 Zion was his daily care:  
 That his loss is felt sincerely,  
 Thousand weeping Saints declare;  
 Thousands, who have shared his blessing,  
 Thousands whom his service blessed,  
 By his faith and prayers suppressing  
 Evils which their lives opprest.

Faith and works, most sweetly blended,<sup>183</sup>  
 Proved his steadfast heart sincere;  
 And the power of God attended  
 His official labours here;  
 Long he stemmed the powers of darkness,  
 Like an anchor in the flood:  
 Like an oak amid the tempest,  
 Bold and fearlessly he stood.

Years have witnessed his devotions,  
 By the love of God inspired,  
 When his spirit's pure emotions,  
 Were with holy ardour fired.  
 Oft he wept for suffering Zion—  
 All her sorrows were his own:  
 When she passed through grievous trials,  
 Her oppressions weighed him down.

Now he's gone, we'd not recall him  
 From a paradise of bliss,  
 Where no evil can befall<sup>184</sup> him,

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183. *Times and Seasons*: "most sweetly blessed . . ."; Coray: "most sweetly bless', . . ."; Snow 1856: "divinely blended . . ."

[Note 184 appears on page 769.]

PART 6. THE NAUVOO YEARS

To a changing world like this.  
His loved name will never perish,  
Nor his mem'ry crown the dust;  
For the Saints of God will cherish  
The remembrance of the JUST.

Faith's sweet voice of consolation,  
Soothes our grief: His spirit's flown,  
Upward to a holier station,  
Nearer the celestial throne;  
There to plead the cause of Zion,  
In the council<sup>185</sup> of the JUST—  
In the court, the Saints rely on,  
Pending causes to ADJUST.

Though his earthly part is sleeping,  
Lowly 'neath the prairie sod;  
Soon the grave will yield its keeping—  
Yield to life<sup>186</sup> the man of God.  
When the heav'ns and earth are shaken,  
When all things shall be restored—  
When the trump of God shall waken  
Those that sleep in Christ the Lord.

LINES WRITTEN ON THE DEATH OF GEN. DON CARLOS SMITH.

BY MISS E. R. SNOW.<sup>187</sup>

"Thy shaft flew thrice, and thrice my peace was slain."

The insatiate archer death, once more<sup>188</sup>  
Has bathed his shaft in human gore;  
The pale-faced monarch's crimsoned bow,

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184. *Times and Seasons* and Snow 1856: "befall"

185. Snow 1856: "Councils"

186. *Times and Seasons*: "Yield to life . . ."; Coray: "Yield to live . . ."; Snow 1856: "Yield to life . . ."

187. This poem first appeared under the same title and by-lined in the *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 20 (16 August 1841): 504.

188. The *Times and Seasons* and the Snow 1856 version render this line, more conventionally correctly, as "Th'insatiate archer, Death, once more . . ."

Once more has laid a good man low.  
 If tears of love could ever save  
 A noble victim from the grave;  
 If strong affection e'er had power  
 To rescue in the dying hour;  
 If kindred sympathy could hold  
 A jewel in its sacred fold;  
 If friendship could produce a charm,  
 The heartless tyrant to disarm;  
 If wide acknowledged worth could be  
 A screen from mortal destiny;  
 If pure integrity of heart  
 Could baffle death's malignant dart;  
 If usefulness and noble zeal,  
 Devotedness to Zion's weal,  
 A conduct graced with purposed aim,  
 A reputation free from blame,  
 Could save a mortal from the tomb,  
 And stamp with an eternal bloom;  
 He never would<sup>189</sup> have bowed to death,  
 Or yielded up his mortal breath.

Ours is the sorrow, ours the loss,  
 For, through the triumphs of the Cross,  
 His noble part, by death set free,  
 On wings of immortality,  
 Tracing the steps the Saviour trod,  
 Has reached the paradise of God.<sup>190</sup>  
 There he rejoins the ransomed choir,  
 There, there he hails his noble sire,  
 A Patriarch of these latter-days,  
 Whose goodness memory loves to trace  
 With reverence, gratitude, and love;  
 He left us for the courts above.  
 There with the spirits of the just,<sup>191</sup>

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189. *Times and Seasons* and Snow 1856 both italicize "he"; IE makes a slight alteration: "He never could . . ."

190. *Times and Seasons* and Snow 1856: stanza break

191. Snow 1856 puts quotation marks around "spirits of the just."



PART 6. THE NAUVOO YEARS

Where Zion's welfare is discussed,  
Once more their efforts to combine  
In Zion's cause.—And shall we mourn  
For those who have been upwards<sup>192</sup> borne?  
And shall the Legion's sorrow flow,  
As if <sup>193</sup> a Chieftain were laid low,  
Who threw his frail escutcheon by,  
To join the Legion formed on high?  
Yes, mourn.—The loss is great to earth,  
A loss of high exalted worth.

THE ASSASSINATION OF JOSEPH AND HYRUM SMITH, FIRST PRESIDENTS  
OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS, WHO WERE  
MASSACRED BY A MOB IN CARTHAGE, HANCOCK COUNTY, ILL., ON  
JUNE 27, 1844.<sup>194</sup>

BY MISS E. R. SNOW

Ye heavens attend! Let all the earth give ear!  
Let Gods and Seraphs, men and Angels hear—  
The worlds on high—the universe shall know  
What awful scenes are acted here below!  
Had Nature's self a heart, her heart would bleed,<sup>195</sup>  
For never, since the Son of God was slain,  
Has blood so noble flowed from human vein,  
As that which now, on God, for vengeance calls  
From "Freedom's ground"—from Carthage prison walls!

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192. *Times and Seasons*: "upward" ("upwards" is British usage) but "upward" in the British-printed Snow 1856 edition.

193. Snow 1856: "as though"

194. This poem was first published in the *Times and Seasons* 5, no. 12 (1 July 1844): 575, the issue reporting the assassinations at Carthage. It differs very slightly in punctuation and capitalization from either the Coray 1845 or Pratt 1853 versions (e.g., "hart" for "heart" and "mourn'd" for "mourned"). The title has two minor variations: "THE ASSASSINATION OF GEN'LS JOSEPH . . . ON THE 27TH JUNE . . ." The 1856 edition of Snow's poems includes Revelation 6:9-11 as an epigraph: "And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held: And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellowservants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled."

195. From the rhyme scheme, it is obvious that a line was dropped here in the *Times and Seasons* version, but it was not restored in either the Coray or the 1853 Pratt version. The 1856 edition of *Poems* adds it: "At the recital of so foul a deed;"

Oh! Illinois! thy soil has drank<sup>196</sup> the blood  
Of Prophets, martyred for the truth of God.  
Once loved America! What can atone  
For the pure blood of innocence thou'st sown?  
Were all thy streams in teary torrents shed  
To mourn the fate of those illustrious dead,  
How vain the tribute, for the noblest worth  
That graced thy surface, O degraded earth!

Oh! wretched murd'ers! fierce for human blood!  
You've slain the Prophets of the living God,  
Who've borne oppression from their early youth,  
To plant on earth the principles of truth.

Shades of our patriotic<sup>197</sup> fathers! Can it be?  
Beneath your blood-stained flag of liberty!  
The firm supporters of our country's cause,  
Are butchered, while submissive to her laws!  
Yes, blameless men, defamed by hellish lies,  
Have thus been offer'd as a sacrifice  
T'appease the ragings of a brutish clan,  
That has defied the laws of God and man!  
'Twas not for crime or guilt of theirs they fell;  
Against the laws they never did rebel.  
True to their country, yet her plighted faith<sup>198</sup>  
Has proved an instrument of cruel death!<sup>199</sup>  
Where are thy far-famed laws, Columbia, where  
Thy boasted freedom—thy protecting care?  
Is this a land of rights? Stern FACTS shall say,  
If legal justice here maintains its sway,  
The official powers of state are sheer pretence,  
When they're exerted in the Saints' defence.

Great men have fallen, and mighty<sup>200</sup> men have died;

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196. IE: "drunk"

197. IE: "patriot"

198. IE: "fate"

199. *Times and Seasons* and Snow 1856: stanza break. The Snow 1856 edition eliminates the next six lines, to the 1853 stanza break.

[Note 200 appears on page 773.]

Nations have mourned their fav'rites and their pride;  
 But Two, so wise, so virtuous, great, and good,<sup>201</sup>  
 Before on earth, at once, have never stood  
 Since the creation. Men whom God ordained  
 To publish truth where error long had reigned,  
 Of whom the world, itself unworthy proved.  
 It knew them not, but men with hatred moved,  
 And with infernal spirits have combined  
 Against the best, the noblest, of mankind.

Oh! persecution! shall thy purple hand  
 Spread utter destruction through the land?  
 Shall freedom's banner be no more unfurled?  
 Has peace, indeed, been taken from the world?

Thou God of Jacob, in this trying hour  
 Help us to trust in thy Almighty power;  
 Support thy Saints beneath this awful stroke,  
 Make bare thine arm to break oppression's yoke.  
 We mourn thy Prophet, from whose lips have flowed  
 The words of life thy Spirit has bestowed;  
 A depth of thought no human art could reach,  
 From time to time rolled in sublimest speech,  
 From the celestial fountain, through his mind,  
 To purify and elevate mankind.  
 The rich intelligence by him brought forth,  
 Is like the sun-beam spreading o'er the earth.

Now Zion mourns, she mourns an earthly head;  
 The Prophet and the Patriarch<sup>202</sup> are dead!  
 The blackest deed that men or devils<sup>203</sup> know  
 Since Calvary's scene, has laid the brothers low.  
 One in their life, and one in death—they proved  
 How strong their friendship—how they truly loved;  
 True to their mission, until death they stood,

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200. Snow 1856: "fallen, mighty men"

201. Snow 1856: "so wise, so virtuous, and so good"

202. Snow 1856: "Her Prophet and Her Patriarch . . ."

203. Snow 1856: "that men and devils . . ."

Then sealed their testimony with their blood.<sup>204</sup>  
 All hearts with sorrow bleed, and every eye  
 Is bathed in tears—each bosom heaves a sigh—  
 Heart-broken widows' agonising groans  
 Are mingled with the helpless orphans' moans!

Ye Saints! be still, and know that God is just,  
 With steadfast purpose in his promise trust.  
 Girded with sackcloth, own his mighty hand,  
 And wait his judgments on this guilty land!  
 The noble martyrs' now have gone to move  
 The cause of Zion in the courts above.<sup>205</sup>

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### Miscellaneous Papers

Included with the microfilm of Lucy's rough draft are a number of non-biographical items. The first three items are holographs of revelations in the current Doctrine and Covenants. All three contain some differences in wording from the current authorized text; while doubtless interesting and possibly significant in showing doctrinal development, they lie outside the scope of this study. They are:

1. A holograph copy of what is now Doctrine and Covenants 105:12-41 (LDS 1981 edition), beginning on p. 7 in the middle of v. 12: "faithful and continue in humility before me . . ." The next six pages are written in an apparently different hand and contain no corrections, suggesting that they are a printer's copy. The six pages are double-numbered, with "7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12" at top center, and "32, 33, 30 [sic], 31 [sic], 34, 35" at the margins, left margin for versos, right margins for rectos.

2. A holograph copy of what is now Doctrine and Covenants 87:1-8 ("... concerning the wars that will shortly come to pass beginning at the rebellion of South Carolina . . ."), paginated "10" centered at top margin and "31" at the left top margin. This item ends with a verse that does not appear in the current edition: "The keys of the priesthood have to be brought from Heaven whenever the Gospel is preached or Sent. When they are revealed from Heaven its is by Adams Authority Amen."

3. A holograph copy of a revelation now corresponding to Doctrine and

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204. IE erroneously drops this line.

205. The Snow 1856 version adds the date of composition: "Nauvoo, July 1, 1844."

Covenants 77:2-12 ("A Key to the revelations of John"), paginated with "11, 12" centered at the top margin and "34, 35" at the top right margin.

4. A fragment of paper, apparently the side leaf and part of the main panel of a sheet used as an envelope, with a few lines of writing, largely illegible. One side has a record of the births of Joseph's and Emma's children: "[and ..... ] [.....] so [four numerals, not legible] Ju.... Smith was born april 31 [sic] 1830 We [..ouch to Re..... Joseph ..... Smith No.... 1823? assat and returned to Kirtland Frederick G. .. was born June 20 1836 Sept. 12 1832 .... so Alexander ... June 2, 1834? Missouri in ..sh County Don Carlos .... June 13, 1840? ..... 18.. David H. ... Nov. 10, 1844."

5. The second side is the obverse. A few letters are visible on the main panel: "Joseph [damaged] F. G. [...]" Across the first fold, the main panel has been written on upside down if the paper is unfolded, but right side up if it is folded lengthwise. Here appear only the very ends of two visible lines. The first one has been marked out. The second line has two letters, "ey". The complete side panel has one partial line: "to [et] had two children a son and a daughter." Three words, written roughly one above the other, are on the left hand panel (the center one is "Boston," but the other two look like "Ghetton" and "TSelton") while perpendicular to the margin is written "Joseph's Children". An apparent division problem is worked on the left-hand panel.  $3/51 = 17$

Written on the topmost of three folds or panels: "A Memorandum what is necessary to finish the record of [...] Lucy Smith." The middle panel is blank. Written on the third panel is: "We the undersigned certify that the foregoing record which is given by Lucy Smith our Mother is correct according to the best of our knowledge in testimony whereof we Have hereunto ~~have set our hand and seal~~ subscribed our names". The second side contains a list headed "Dates" of events for which the dates are apparently missing: "Sophronia's Marriage, Hyrum's 2nd Marrige, Williams Marriage, Carrolines Death, Dates of the birth of Sophronia's children also, Kathrines also Willian's [sic] also Lucy's, The name of Jason Mack's daughter, The signature of the living children, Lucy and Arthur's [...g], Preface, concluding remarks".

6. The next fragment bears notes on what seems to be a rough draft of a blessing on each side. The first could apply to William, but only after the deaths of his father and four brothers. The second is less specific: (Side 1) "... sick and afflicted but [damaged] life long He has [~~tosted?~~ and] [at....] much for the gospel sake and may god reward him but [...] for [...] has been his days of greatest sorrow for he has followed his father ~~and all his brothers~~ to the grave and his brothers ~~too have died and~~ been murd [end of fragment]". (Side 2:) "[damaged] s over his [c..sn..es] and [...] the children <sons> of his brethren slain for the truth sake rise up and stand by [...] His side and fill the places of

their fathers and may his last days be his best days and may God be merciful unto him from hence forth and forever”.

7. This item consists of the recto and verso of a sheet from a pocket notebook with stitch marks visible on the left margin of the recto sheet and with the upper right corner broken smoothly off. The hand looks different from either Coray's or the scribe of the revelations. (Side 1:) “the Seed of 12 [...] [damaged] are scattered it [damaged] wake up the [...] [damaged] ns— The nations will [damaged] r with each other [damaged] while the Saints are building the 12 I had [damaged] vision on the other side of the river that armies were about [...am] I am from brethern .. who were shooting at me swam the river and found safety on this side Go tell all my servants who are the Strength of my house (This June this nation will be humbling [blank] then shall foreign Saints come and all the Saints shall come.” (Side 2:) “where the Saints [damaged] of Zion which en [damaged] [.teores] will build with [damaged] a place of safety for ther [damaged] hildren and those who [damaged] not come in one season [damaged] shall scarce escape [damaged] with those <their lives> that [ecase?] [damaged] to <be> saviours of men They shall be troden under the feet of their enemies for there transgression instance [Seek?] the redemption of Zion is the salvation [...] this country which is north and south America come [asunder? under?] olive trees to be jackson Co but one is not [... ...] some have a temple begun 12 olive trees [damaged] re 12 stakes”.

8. This final sheet has been written from both the top and the bottom. In an obvious experiment with different styles of lettering, in block printing, centered on the page appear these words:

CHAAP. XI VX CHAP C CH  
CHAP XXX  
CHAP. X

Approximately sixteen lines of text, reversed as in a mirror, follow. This sheet was perhaps used as a blotter. Then the page has been turned upside down and the following seven lines were written in a curlicue circle, followed by the last four lines in a second curlicue circle:

My feet were on the threshold of Eternity  
But lingering there I begged that I might be  
My soul just trembling betwixt life and death  
Was almost yielding up its latest breath  
Though lothe to leave this transitory scene  
Just then the boon of life was handed back  
I stood aghast before the vale of dark and dreadful night  
That lay between myself and christ (where all was boundless .....)

PART 6. THE NAUVOO YEARS

I dared not enter with out power to ~~threat to~~ <to cross this  
[clo...ing ...ase]  
And asked of God another hour that I might learn his way.

This line follows below the poem: "He was the son of [E..? Cass?] H. Mack his  
Father was a man".





## EPILOGUE: LUCY'S LAST YEARS

In October 1845, Lucy Mack Smith declared publicly that she wished to go West with the Saints; Brigham Young responded that the church would take her. Certainly her presence would have been a validation of the Twelve's authoritative claims second only to the presence of Emma Smith and her sons; yet when the Mormon wagons rolled out of Nauvoo, Lucy stayed behind. As late as 30 May 1847, W. W. Phelps wrote to Reuben Miller in Wisconsin: "Brother McCleary came with me to take his wife, and Mother Smith if she wishes, on to the camp" (Phelps). And no doubt Young would have arranged for Lucy to be transported on her very deathbed, if she had so chosen. But she did not.

We may never know what slippage occurred; probably Emma Smith's growing distance from Brigham Young and William's excommunication meant that the chasm between Joseph's church and Joseph's family was too great for the septagenarian Lucy to bridge alone. The unquestionable rigors of the journey, especially without her own children around her, must have also given her pause.

Lucy was living with Emma Smith at the time of the assassinations. In September 1844 she moved with her daughter Lucy and Arthur Millikin to the Jonathan Browning house provided by the church. On Christmas day, W. W. Phelps wrote to William Smith that Lucy had "cried for joy" and "blessed you in the name of the Lord" when she read his letter (Phelps to W. Smith). In January 1845, she wrote William, "I live with Arthur and Lucy who are very kind and send their love" (L. Smith to William). She was still there when William returned to Nauvoo in May 1845. The next month, on the anniversary of Joseph's and Hyrum's deaths, she had her three-part vision that showed William as both head of the church and in mortal danger.

Up to this point, Lucy's relationships with the Twelve seemed to be frequent and warm; but as William's ambitions and suspicions—not all of them groundless—soured his standing in the quorum, Lucy also distanced herself. This trajectory, though not commented on directly, can be glimpsed in diaries and official documents.

When Wilford Woodruff visited the grief-stricken Lucy on 23 August 1844, two months after the assassinations, he found "the Old Mother and Prophetess . . . most heart broken at the loss of her Children and the wicked and Cruel treatment she had recieved from the hands of the gentile world. She begged a blessing at my hands" (Woodruff 2:451). Speaking by "the Spirit of God," Woodruff pronounced a blessing that affirmed her achievement as the wife of the patriarch and the mother of the prophet:

## EPILOGUE

Beloved Mother in Israel according to your request I lay my hands upon your head, in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth and by virtue of the Holy Priesthood and the [symbol] of the kingdom of God to bestow a blessing upon you for thou art worthy of all blessings.

As I lade my hands upon thy husband Joseph Smith sen. the Patriarch of the Church by his request to bless him as he lay upon his bed like Jacob of old ready to gather up his feet and sleep with his fathers, and I about to take my departure over the sea to visit foreign nations, which was the last time we ever met on earth in like manner do I esteem it a blessing and a privilege to lay my hands upon your head, in your decline of life to leave with you my parting blessing as I am again Called to bid farewell to my native Country and visit foreign Climes to bear record of the word of God.

We may never meet again on earth. But I thank my God that I have this privilege of blessing thee, for my heart is full of blessings for thee for thou art the greatest Mother in Israel. The sons thou hast bourn and Cherished are the most noble spirits that ever graced humanity or tabernacled in flesh. Their work shall be had in honorable remembrance through all generations of men. Though counted among transgressors, they like the Messiah have shed their blood for the sins of the people, and freely offered their lives and sealed their testimony.

Thou hast lived and stood to see the fall of thy sons by the rage of gentile hands. And like an impenatible rock in the midst of the mighty deep thou hast remained unmoved untill God has given thee [the] desires of thy heart in seeing the keys of the Kingdom of God held in the hands of thy Posterity so planted in the earth that they shall never be taken from it untill he reigns whose right it is to reign.

Let thy heart be Comforted in the midst of thy sorrow, for thou shalt be had in honorable remembrance forever in the Congregations of the righteous. Thou shalt be remembered in thy wants during the remainder of thy day. And when thou art called to depart thou canst lie down in peace having seen the salvation of God, in laying an everlasting foundation for the deliverance <of Israel> through the instrumentality of thy sons.

I seal upon your head all the blessings of the fulness of the gospel and of the Church of the first born, and all those blessings that have been sealed upon you heretofore. If we meet no more on earth we will meet in the morn of the first resurrection where you shall recieve thrones, powers, a dominion and kingdom, in Connexion with thy husband in his high exaltation in the linage of his fathers. . . . (2:451-42)

Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball together “visited Mother Smith” on 30 September 1844 (HC 7:279). Heber C. Kimball made separate visits on 4 October 1844, 4 February, and 9 February 1845 but does not say what they talked about (HC 7:371; Kimball, *Potter’s*, 95, 96). According to Hosea Stout, on 23 February 1845, Lucy spoke to the congregation gathered at Bishop Jonathan Hale’s:

Told her feelings and the trials and troubles she had passed through in establishing the Church of Christ and the persecutions and afflictions which her sons and husband had passed through, and the cruel and unheard of martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum which had took place so lately. And exhorted the brethren and sisters to be faithful and bring up their children in the way they should go and not have them running about in the streets as was too much allowed now. All were deeply affected with the remarks of this "Mother," of the "Mothers in Israel" for she spoke with the most feeling and heart-broken manner of the troubles she had passed through.<sup>1</sup>

At some point during 1845, Mother Lucy, Arthur, and Lucy moved into a house owned by William Marks. With William Smith's return in May came the rift in the lute. On 30 May 1845, Heber C. Kimball learned at a meeting of the Twelve that "Wm. Smith not sattisfid other wise the Twelve are one. . . . Mother Smith com in to our council at two Oclock, to Express hur feelins, before the Twelve. Cold [called] us hur children. The feelins of the Twelve were expressed by our president to[w]ards the familes of the Smiths that we would do all we could for them" (S. Kimball, 96).

She asked John Taylor to read and evaluate her manuscript (or part of it) two weeks later on 17 June (Jessee, *John Taylor*, 60). A week later came her vision of William as president of the church but endangered by murderous men. She defused this tense situation by steadfastly making her revelation a matter of domestic spirituality, not church governance.

Published just weeks after this crisis was a poetic tribute to Lucy by Eliza R. Snow.<sup>2</sup> Quite peculiarly, considering the formal subject and Lucy's probable acquaintance with traditional forms, Eliza selected blank verse for her tribute—not unheard of for her but certainly rare and certainly a departure from the forms in which she memorialized the other Smiths. (See Appendix.)

#### THE VENERABLE LUCY SMITH:

by Miss Eliza R. Snow

The aged, venerated, much belov'd  
Mother in Zion, and the mother of  
The greatest men this generation had

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1. Stout, 26. The *History of the Church* (7:375) summarizes: "Meeting at Bishop Hale's. Elder Dunham preached, followed by Mother Smith, who gave a recital of the persecutions endured by her family, in establishing the church, and exhorted the brethren and sisters to bring up their children in the way they should go."

2. Although the poem appeared in the issue of the *Times and Seasons* dated 15 May 1845 and is datelined as written in "May, 1845," this issue did not appear until after June 23 (Quinn, *Origins*, 217). By coincidence, William's announcement that he was taking up his patriarchal office and John Taylor's editorial note on that article appeared in the same issue.

## EPILOGUE

To boast. One, only one, of all her sons  
Survives—the others sleep the sleep of death!

The great anointed seer and prophet, she  
Has nurs'd upon her bosom and has watch'd  
In helpless, cradled infancy: her heart  
With deep solicitude had often yearn'd  
Over his tender childhood, ere the God  
Of heav'n reveal'd the glorious purpose which  
Was pre-determined in the courts above,  
Should be accompli[s]h'd in the present age:  
But when she realiz'd the Lord had call'd  
Him in his youth and inexperience to  
Re-introduce the "ancient order" and  
Confront the prejudices of the world;  
The throbbings of her breast, none can describe;  
And she can tell a tale that none besides  
Can tell.

She's suffer'd much and much she has  
Enjoy'd. I oft have sat beside her and  
Have listen'd with sweet admiration to  
Her strains of heav'nly eloquence while she  
Describ'd the glories that are soon to be  
Reveal'd.

She's witness'd change succeeding change  
Roll up the tide of revolution till  
Its heaving waves accumulating seem  
About to burst and overwhelm the world!  
The standard of our country, she has seen  
Rising in glorious majesty, and wave  
Its fam'd, unrival'd banner gracefully,  
Till other hands than those that rear'd it, sapp'd  
Its broad foundation, and its ensign marr'd—  
Tott'ring and tremulous it now appears  
Ready to fall and in its fall to make  
The most tremendous crash the civil world  
Has ever known!

She's seen the church of God  
Start into being and extend itself  
From shore to shore and plant its footsteps on  
The islands of the sea.

LUCY'S LAST YEARS

She once beheld  
Her lord, her consort dragg'd to prison while  
With tears and supplicating words, she plead  
His innocence, and begg'd for his release.  
"Commit the Book of Mormon to the flames"  
Replied the "officer of justice" "and  
Your husband shall be liberated:" But  
Her noble spirit scorn'd to purchase his  
Release, on terms so base! at such a price!  
She lov'd the truth and fear'd the God of heav'n.

She's seen her children driv'n from place to place  
And hunted like the mountain deer. She's stood  
Beside the death bed of her noble lord  
Who, ere the lamp of life became extinct,  
Like ancient Jacob, call'd his children round  
And bless'd them one by one.

I knew him well,  
For he was Zion's first great Patriarch;  
And from his lips I've felt the sacred pow'r  
Of blessing on my head. But he has gone,  
And she in lonely widowhood remains!

She's follow'd to the grave, five noble sons!  
She stood beside the bleeding forms of those  
Great brother-martyrs of the latter-day.  
Ah! think of her, ye tender mothers, when  
Her feeble, tott'ring frame that bow'd beneath  
The weight of years and life's infirmities,  
Accumulated by the toils and cares,  
Anxieties and oft heart-rending griefs;  
Stood o'er her murder'd sons! She laid her hand  
Upon their marble foreheads, while the blood  
Was freely gushing from their purple wounds!  
And yet she lives, and yet bears witness to  
The truth for which they fell a sacrifice.

Yes, venerable Lady, thou shalt live  
While life to thee shall be a blessing. Thou  
Art dear to ev'ry faithful saint. Thousands  
Already bless thee—millions yet to come  
Will venerate thy name and speak thy praise.

William fled from Nauvoo during the summer of 1845 and was not present in October when Lucy addressed the conference and made a spirited but futile effort to defend him against Brigham Young. On 29 October 1845, less than two weeks after his excommunication, William published a "Proclamation" nine and a half columns long in the *Warsaw Signal* accusing Brigham Young by name and in detail of "usurpation, anarchy and spiritual wickedness," including implied death threats against William himself (W. Smith, "Proclamation," 1). Thomas Sharp had opened his paper to William, but openly said that William was "doubtlessly actuated . . . by selfish and interested motives."

Perhaps some of those motives involved Lucy. Although it is true that William was in a sorry financial plight himself, it is also true that there is no record of his contributing in any way to Lucy's support. Rather, his public expressions of pity and concern for his "poor old mother" can be read, without any great stretch of the imagination, as designed to raise funds and to bolster his own claims to authority in the church. He painted a pitiable picture of "the care worn visage of my poor old mother, broken down, as she is and almost worn out with the accumulated troubles of years" and of his "three sisters, with their husbands, struggling hard in the midst of poverty." While any son might justly express indignation when a mother is "ridiculed on the public stand, and by the very men over whom she has acted as a mother in the church," he seemed to take the greatest umbrage at the fact that his family, of which he was undeniably the head, "should be deprived of all honor and station in the church, have no word of controlment in the affairs of the church, and that those who did seem to have a voice, should be now shut out" (W. Smith, "Proclamation," 1, 4). William's future public statements also tended to be along these same lines: making use of Lucy's age and poverty to rouse pity and open pocketbooks.

About five months later on 15 November 1845, at a prayer circle meeting attended by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, George A. Smith, and Parley P. Pratt of the Twelve, along with George Miller, William W. Phelps, Orson Spencer, Lucien Woodworth, and Newel K. Whitney, "it was decided that Mother Lucy Smith should be furnished with food, clothing, and wood for the winter" (Quinn, *Origins*, 512).

The next month, on 10 December 1845, Lucy arrived at the temple, the first time she had been in the upper story where the endowments were performed.<sup>3</sup> She had already received some temple ordinances from her son. On 8

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3. William Clayton, describing the celestial room of the Nauvoo Temple, identified Lucy's portrait as among the decorations. The only other woman thus featured was Bathsheba B. Smith. The rest were of church leaders: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Willard Richards, John Taylor, George A. Smith (Bathsheba's husband and an apostle), John Smith, and Lucius N. Scovil (G. Smith, *Intimate*, 206).

October 1843, she had participated in an anointing and sealing ceremony, probably with Emma officiating. Sister-in-law Clarissa Lyman Smith, Elizabeth Ann Smith Whitney, and Harriet Denton Adams received the same ceremony at this time while the second anointing was performed for Hyrum and Mary Smith. Then, a month later on 12 November, she and Joseph Sr. (by proxy) received the second anointing (Quinn, *Origins*, 496, 497; Faulring, 418, 426).

At the December 1845 ceremony, Lucy was accompanied by Elizabeth Ann Whitney, Agnes Coolbrith Smith, Mary Fielding Smith, and Mercy Fielding Thompson. Lucy probably did not know or want to know that Agnes had become Joseph's plural wife after Don Carlos's death and that Mercy had become Hyrum's after Robert Thompson's fatal illness. Heber and Vilate Kimball hosted them at lunch. Lucy, apparently seeing Heber make notes in his diary, teased, "Write that I ate hearty." Then Mary Ann Angell Young, Vilate, and Elizabeth Ann began the washings and anointings part of the ceremony, followed, when they joined the men, by the endowment.<sup>4</sup> "Mother Smith went through the holy ordinances that evening with those who have been previously mentioned as receiving them in the lifetime of the Prophet," Heber's diary noted (Hozapfel and Holzapfel, 293). According to D. Michael Quinn, Lucy

avoided further association with the Twelve thereafter, and even declined to receive from Brigham Young's hands the proxy sealing to her husband in the temple. In the Nauvoo temple in December 1845 Mother Smith received the endowment ceremony from the hands of women who (like herself) originally received the sacred ordinances during Joseph Smith's life. She did not re-enter the Nauvoo temple in January 1846 to receive the re-performance of her marriage sealing and second anointing which she had received directly from her son in November 1843. In 1846 Brigham Young personally re-administered those ordinances to the couples (or the surviving spouse and a proxy) who had received them from Smith, and Lucy declined to accept that option.<sup>5</sup>

Probably in December, perhaps after the favor of receiving the confirmation of her endowments in the temple, Lucy contributed to a memorial gift that Wilford Woodruff sent to Elder Samuel Downs as a New Year's Day present on 1 January 1846: "Hair from the Heads of Joseph Smith the Prophet And all the Smith family of Male members also Mother Smith And from most all the quorum of the Twelve Also A peace of Joseph Smith Handkerchief " (3:3).

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4. For officiators in these ordinances, see William Clayton's diary (G. Smith, *Intimate*, 207). According to *History of the Church* (7:544), she was accompanied by Mercy Rachel Fielding Thompson.

5. Quinn, *Origins*, 222. According to the *History of the Church*, on 10 December, she received the endowment in a company that included Mercy (HC 7:544). R. L. Anderson, "Lucy," 1357, dates the washings and anointings to the 11th and the endowment to the 12th.



In April 1846, the church deeded Lucy the Joseph Noble home where Lucy lived with the companionship and assistance of Mary Bailey Smith, the eight-year-old daughter of her son Samuel and her dead daughter-in-law Mary Bailey (*ibid.*, 202);<sup>6</sup> but this act of generosity was accompanied by bitterness. On 10 March 1846, Almon Babbitt and Joseph Heywood, acting, according to William, on “the counsel of the Church”—whether on Brigham Young’s orders or behind his back is not known—told Lucy that they would not give her the deed unless William supported the Twelve or unless she forbade him the house (Shepard and Hajicek, 6; W. Smith to Strang, 11 March 1846). Isaac Paden, who would be Strangite president of the Nauvoo district a year later, wrote a gossip letter to James Adams, describing how someone had “anointed” with excrement “William Smiths stand & seats which he had fixed in his Mothers door yard. I spoke my mind in full to those who approbated the act in this wise they that did the act . . . should be looked upon as below the Brute Creation and those who approbated such acts were as bruit beasts and no better than them that did the act.” He was also in Nauvoo when Babbitt’s and Haywood’s letter was delivered to Lucy. As he described it, this letter communicated that “she need not look for any support from the Church while she sufered William to stay about her house.” Paden, rose to her defense:

I wrote to Bro Babbit that my astonishment have [*sic*] been aroused to a greater highth than it ever had before that such an unreasonable hardhearted [*response?*] Could be asked at the hands of Mother Smith a woman of her age an old lady placed under Such Circumstances connected with the Church as she and how be drove to the necesity (after wading through seas of trouble) to drive from her embrace and shut her door against her only live son on earth it was asking too much. I then plead in behalf of the Church in behalf of Mother Smith in behalf of humanity and for Gods sake to withdraw the inhuman Request and pay her yearly a Reasonable sum together with a Comfortable house and let the old lady’s children eat drink and sleep under her roof if She wished on this Subject I closed many mouths shewing that Such acts was positive credance that they have lost natural affection . . . (Paden)

Lucy, possibly with the assistance of a scribe, counterattacked indignantly. She accused Babbitt and Heywood (and, by extension, the Twelve) of forcing her to “put limits to my affections, threaten me with poverty, if I do not drive

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6. The Joseph B. Noble house was a tidy, two-story brick structure with stepped chimneys at either end. According to David and Della Miller, Noble, not the church, deeded the house to Lucy, which seems to be a mistake in light of Babbitt’s statement to her. They further state that Lucy lived here “only a few months and eventually deeded it to Archer [*sic*] Millikin, who had married her youngest daughter, Lucy” (215). See “The Domestic Spirituality of Lucy Mack Smith” for a discussion of the context over the deed to this house.



my children from my door," and demanded the deed and the quarterly allowance that Young had promised her (Shepard and Hajicek, 8-9; L. Smith to Babbitt). William, who was in Nauvoo at the time, had been "summoned" in January by J. J. Strang, along with the rest of the Twelve, to answer charges of "usurpation." Strang had, apparently simultaneously, offered William an apostleship and the patriarch's position in his new church if he would bring Lucy, the Egyptian mummies,<sup>7</sup> and the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum. William balked at the last item but wrote a letter to Strang on 1 March 1846 reporting Emma's recollections that Joseph had received a letter from Strang and that a strange woman had passed through the room in which eight-year-old Joseph III was resting, saying "this church would go to Voree." William continued with a reported vision by Joseph Smith and statements announcing his imminent death and that Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, if they became church leaders, would "lead it to hell." He summarized: "The whole Smith family of the Joseph stock join in sustaining J. J. Strang." A postscript certified "that the Smith family do believe in the appointment of J. J. Strang." William had signed first as "Patriach," followed by Lucy as "Mother in Israel," "Arthur and Nancy [sic] Milliken, W. J. and Catherine Salsbury, and Sophronia McLerie."<sup>8</sup> Katharine later denied signing the letter (W. Smith to Strang; Newell and Avery, 232). He followed this letter almost immediately with another on 11 March 1846, describing the family's plight—suffering from "falsehoods, . . . the confiscation of their goods; their rights of church property taken from them, until the bleeding heart of an aged mother wrung with anxiety & disgust sinks with anguish. . . . Hear it, O ye Latter Day Saints: your Mother in Israel, who ofttimes has nursed you at her side, and with her motherly care and teaching comforted

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7. According to Stanley B. Kimball ("New," 84-89), Lucy continued to exhibit the mummies and scrolls until September 1846 when she took them with her to Knox County to live with Lucy and Arthur Millikin. "There is no evidence that she possessed or exhibited the mummies after she left Knox County during the spring of 1847." He found no evidence that these "antiquities returned to Nauvoo prior to their sale in 1856"; however, William apparently thought they "would strengthen his claim to leadership among the Mormons who did not follow Brigham Young west" and acquired them from Lucy. On 2 December 1846, William assured James J. Strang that "the mummies and records [papyri] are safe" and, in a follow-up letter on 19 December, told Strang he was planning to bring them to Strang's headquarters at Voree, Wisconsin. According to Almon W. Babbitt, writing to Brigham Young from Nauvoo on 31 January 1848, "William has got the mummies from Mother Smith and refuses to give them up." Kimball's exhaustive search of Illinois newspapers failed to turn up any evidence that William exhibited them. He hypothesizes that, because of William's acute poverty, he may have leased them to another traveling exhibitor of curiosities or sold them to "A. Combs" with the understanding that William would repurchase them later, possibly as a condition imposed by Lucy. With her death, A. Combs arrived at Nauvoo within ten days, finalized the transaction, and took possession of the mummies.

8. William's report of Joseph Jr.'s comments and visions bears a striking resemblance to the language in which J. J. Strang reported his own prophetic call. See *Chronicles*, 1-4.

your hearts, must now be *driven* from your midst, penniless—robbed of her inheritance in the city of Joseph by the cruelty of your rulers.” He hinted: “I . . . would be glad to attend your conference had I the means of doing so” (W. Smith to Strang).

In April, as Lucy confronted Babbitt and Heywood with her most potent weapon—as “mother in Israel”—William was one of two apostles (John E. Page was the other) to acknowledge Strang’s presidency. He “made a satisfactory excuse for not appearing according to [Strang’s] summons” and was “cordially and affectionately invite[d]” to become an apostle in Strang’s church (*Chronicles*, 63–64). This same conference at Voree also authorized William Marks, newly appointed “Bishop of the Church,” to “take such measures as he shall deem fit at the expense of the Church for the removal and support of Mother Lucy Smith” (*ibid.*, 69).

William responded promptly and at length to Strang’s invitation from Nauvoo on 12 April, recapitulating the furor over the house deed but this time describing a public meeting held on 8 April: “They [the apostles] discoursed most of the forenoon in a slanderous, as well as ridiculous manner, concerning Wm. Smith, and the mother of the Prophet, whether it was right to fulfil their promises in deeding to mother Smith a house & lot.” According to him, their chief concern was that “William, or the Smith family would be benefitted after her death.” He also averred that the Twelve, “by hints, and winks,” implied that “Emma Smith and her son Joseph, William and mother Smith with all the family were going with them to deceive wavering saints. . . . At the close of the meeting a blank letter with a bullet in it, was handed to [Orson] Hyde, then a hurrah was raised against Wm. Smith and the Strangites.” Hyde blamed William for the frontier joke and attempted to “excite a persecution.” While shrugging it off, William’s uneasiness showed through: “Several brethern have just called into Mother’s to see us, Mother is in tears, I am cautioned, my life is threatened, and some have said that I will be a murdered man in one week’s time.” He returned again to his grievance: “Eve[r] since Joseph & Hyrum’s death the Twelve . . . have done every thing they could possibly do, against me, and the whole Smith family, my mother and Mrs. Emma not excepted” (W. Smith to Strang, 12 Apr. 1846).

The next month, William wrote to Reuben Hedlock in England on 11 May 1846, announcing that “the whole Smith family . . . excepting Hyrum’s widow uphold Strang, and say this wilderness move is not of God.” This letter was accompanied by one of Lucy’s to Hedlock on the same day, complaining: “The Twelve (Brighamites) have abused my son William, and trampled upon my children; they have also treated me with contempt. . . . I am satisfied that Joseph appointed J. J. Strang. It is verily so.” A postscript certifying “that We

the undesigned [sic] members of the Smith family fully accord with the sentiments expressed above" was signed by Arthur and Lucy Milliken, and W. J. Jenkins and Catharine Salisbury (W. and L. Smith to Hedlock).

On 19 May 1846 Wilford Woodruff reports visiting a gathering in Nauvoo attended by "Mother Smith & others together. They were some of them Advocating the cause of Strang. Some unplesant feelings were manifest upon the subject" (3:49).<sup>9</sup>

By 11 June 1846, William had made his way to Voree where Strang and a counselor ordained him "to the office of Patriarch and f[a]ther unto the whole Church according to his right by revalation and blessing. Also to be an Apostle and Special witness of the name of Christ in all the world so long as his strength shall be sufficient. . . ." The minutes show that William promptly joined with Strang and others in ordaining elders and other officers (ibid., 82-85). William began making arrangements to build a house for Lucy on a contributed lot in Voree. Also in June, a notice in the *Voree Herald* begged "the brethern scatered abroad" to "send in a mere trifle to pay the travelling expenses" of Mother Smith and to ease "her sufferings in her declining years."<sup>10</sup> In July, William, writing as "your spiritual father," penned another ringing affirmation of Strang's prophetic calling: "I entertain no doubt whatever, as his appointment by my brother Joseph, and his confirmation by angelic administration, is in strict accordance with the law of God by revelation, for so Jehovah hath revealed it unto me" (W. Smith to "Beloved Brethren").

More tellingly, Lucy's indignant letter to Babbitt and Heywood with its implied criticism of Brigham Young's government also appeared in the August 1846 issue of the *Herald*. Conference minutes show that William Smith was still in Voree at least as late as September. On 19 October 1846, a committee of three was appointed "to provide ways and means for the removal of Mother Smith to Voree" (*Chronicles*, 113). William was not among them. The December 1846 issue of *Zion's Revelle* (formerly the *Voree Herald*) reported that William was in Knoxville, Illinois, with Lucy and that "he and all the Smith family will remove to Voree early in the spring" (W. Smith to "Beloved Brethren").

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9. Although Wilford Woodruff could not have approved of Lucy's separation from the Twelve, they apparently healed the rift later. Reminiscing in October 1881, he recalled: "The last time that I saw President Joseph Smith the Patriarch I was on my way to England. Bro George A. Smith was with me. Father Smith was sick and he asked us to lay hands on him. We did so and I Blessed him. The last time I saw Mother Smith she asked to have a Blessing at my hands. I felt to Bless her" (8:73). He does not give the date of this final blessing, but his only recorded blessing of Lucy occurred on 22 August 1844, immediately after the murders of Joseph and Hyrum; and this final blessing must have been months later.

10. See holograph of notice dated 22 March 1846, Strang Manuscript, p. 167, Document 28; photocopy of holograph courtesy of William Shepard.

Still in expectation, on 6 April 1847, the general conference in Voree, with William in attendance, voted to “raise, by donation, the means necessary to remove John E. Page and Mother Smith to Voree, in pursuance of their expressed desires.”<sup>11</sup> The realities of poverty overcame good intentions. The bishop’s financial report on 4 October 1847 showed that \$19.25 had been subscribed to move Page but that “a small amount”—presumably less—had been “donated” to move Lucy. Tellingly, he adds that “at any time persons interested” may call “and receive back their donations,” suggesting that these plans had come to a definite end.<sup>12</sup> They had. Three days later on 7 October, William was excommunicated in absentia “for adultery and apostasy” and “delevered over to the bufftings of Satan untill he repent and make satisfaction.”<sup>13</sup>

During this brief (and for Lucy, long-distance) encounter with Strangism, Brigham Young reported a curious dream to the apostles and other brethren:

I dreamed of seeing Joseph the prophet last night and conversing with him, that Mother Smith was present and very deeply engaged reading a pamphlet, when Joseph with a great deal of dignity turned his head towards his mother partly looking over his shoulder, said, “Have you got the word of God there?” Mother Smith replied, “There is truth here.” Joseph replied, “That may be, but I think you will be sick of that pretty soon.” (*Manuscript*, 11)

Sixteen days later on 27 January 1847, in the middle of a lengthy epistle signed by Brigham “for the Twelve” to the Saints, he jeered at Strang (“If a man is known by the company he keeps, we think it will be a long time before Strang will perfect the kingdom of God on the earth or in any other world”), reported rumors that Lucy and William were at Knoxville, Illinois, and that “she was a Strangite . . . but we think she will not be long” and added with genuine warmth: “It would rejoice our hearts if Mother Smith was with us so that we could minister to her necessities” (*Manuscript*, 25).

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11. *Chronicles*, 143. For William’s participation in this conference, see also “Annual Conference of the Church . . . at Voree,” *Zion’s Revueille* 2 (Apr. 1847): 50-51.

12. John W. Crane, Bishop, to President James J. Strang, 4 Oct. 1847, Strang Manuscript, Document #183, photocopy of holograph courtesy of William Shepard. Crane notes that \$3.90 had been borrowed from this fund to “purchase paper to keep up the press” but had never been repaid, another indication of how straitened were the financial resources of the Voree members.

13. Van Noord, 65; *Chronicles*, 152. An affidavit by Sarah Ellsworth dated 23 April 1847 documented that William, boarding at her two-room house in July 1846, had intercourse with the maid, Abinadi [sic] Archer, whose pallet was on the floor in the same room as William’s bed. The two rooms were separated by “a loose partition . . . and a door way but no door,” so that Mrs. Ellsworth could distinctly hear their activities. She sent Archer away; but when the woman returned a week later late at night, she let her stay “to avoid a publick fuss.” An hour after Sarah and her husband went to bed, she “both heard and saw” that William “had carnal knowledge of her” (“Complaint for Adultery,” Strang Manuscripts, Document 181; photocopy of holograph courtesy of William Shepard).

Lucy's real opinion of Strang and his claims is not known; most likely she was involved only through the fickle and inconsistent William. And probably she had only limited energy to engage in the constant turmoil. At this point, Lucy had again moved twice. In the fall of 1846, she prudently moved with Arthur and Lucy to Knoxville, Illinois, to avoid the battle of Nauvoo, which involved considerable violence and destruction. According to Heman C. Smith, the Millikins, Lucy, and granddaughter Mary Bailey Smith, moved back to Nauvoo in the spring of 1847. Lucy was still in Nauvoo in late 1847 when William McLellin visited her. He reported in an article published in December 1847 that "her faith and confidence in her religion, seemed only to have gathered strength by the varying vicissitudes through which she had passed during a long life" (Porter, "Odyssey," 343-44). Mother Lucy, daughter Lucy, and family then moved to Webster in Hancock County in the fall of 1849. Two years later, they moved to Fountain Green. Granddaughter Mary Bailey Smith was with Lucy all of this time.

Dates vary on Lucy's next and final move—to become part of Emma's household, which now included her sons, her new husband, Major Lewis C. Bidamon, whom Emma had married on what would have been Joseph's forty-second birthday (23 December 1847), and the residents or guests at the Mansion House, which Emma was running as a boarding house. Mary continued her care of Lucy until she married Edward Kelteau in late 1854 or early 1855, but much of the burden inevitably fell upon Emma. Heman Smith says the move occurred in the spring of 1852. It may, however, have been as early as January 1849—a year after Emma's marriage—for Lucy sent William a letter datelined "Nauvoo, the 4th of January, 1849" in which she complains, "I am sick and feeble" (L. Smith to William, 1849). And Lucy was certainly living with Emma on 10 September 1849 when John Bernhisel wrote to Brigham Young from New York, giving a report of St. Louis and Nauvoo, which had been points on his itinerary. "Mother Smith's health is very feeble," he reported, "and in all human probability she will not survive another winter."<sup>14</sup> In contrast to Emma, who had received Bernhisel with every kind and hospitable attentiveness but who had conspicuously not asked once about "the valley, the church, or any of

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14. William Smith and Isaac Sheen, in August 1849, described Lucy's health as precarious: She "has been sick, nigh unto death, and although she has recovered, it is not expected that she will live long"—this according to a letter Jenkins Salisbury wrote to William. Using both her ill health and the apparent intention of the "Brighamite leaders" to "impoverish the Smith family, and to chastise them, as they say, until they will consent to unite with them," William and Sheen appealed for "pecuniary aid" and promised that "the blessing of the God of Joseph, Hiram [sic] and William will rest upon you for so doing" (W. Smith and Sheen).

its members," Lucy "inquired after you and others" (Young, *Manuscript*, 245-46).

Either this illness, Lucy's passivity, William's instability, or a combination of all three may have headed off William's attempt to enlist Lucy in her "martyr mother" role as he struck up associations with the temporarily willing Isaac Sheen in Kentucky and Lyman Wight in Texas. As with Strang, nothing came of these brief alliances, but William's *modus operandi* is familiar. He again used the dramatic account of a mother, forced to choose between shelter and her son, to win sympathy and financial support. In August 1848 Lyman Wight, then loyally carrying out Joseph's instructions to establish a colony in Texas, received an account of the fracas over the deed in a letter from William Smith. Indignantly Wight wrote to Lucy on 21 August 1848 from Zodiac, vowing, "I shall never forget the day nor the hour that we crossed the lake together," expressing the highest allegiance to Emma and young Joseph, denouncing the church leaders, singling out Orson Hyde for special abuse ("begging the coppers from dead negroes eyes to support his claim of infamous rascality, while he pretends to be a saint of the Most High God, and reproaching the Smith family who have most gloriously and triumphantly brought forth the seventh and last dispensation of God"), and promising Lucy "a liberal support, either in Nauvoo or in Texas as shall seem you good," in which William "shall share abundantly." In telling imagery, he exalted Lucy: "We took a joint resolution today of the whole body that you should stand as John said Mary stood when he was on the isle of Patmos. She had a crown of gold upon her head and twelve stars in that crown. And that you are the mother of the Angel of the seventh and last dispensation of God on earth." He signed himself: "I remain . . . a child to Mother Smith, a brother to Joseph and Emma . . ." (Wight to Lucy Smith).

In an equally indignant letter to William, written the next day, Wight continued the same theme, identifying the disputed allowance as \$200 a year and heaping scorn on the attempt to make Lucy turn William away "after she had been a mother in Israel for the last 18 years, and being the mother of the seventh Angel of the seventh and last dispensation of God on earth, she will eventually be the mother of all those in the last dispensation or thousand years." He assured William that his church of 240 souls at Zodiac pledged themselves that, if Lucy "sees fit to come to Texas, she can have all she wishes for her support on earth, and a home for her children, and if she wishes her bones to be carried to Nauvoo, I pledge myself it shall be done. If she wishes to remain there, our support will not be withheld from her as oft as we can make remittances, and if she should come here, she can have the privilege of going to and from as oft as she shall think it necessary" (Wight to William Smith).

Isaac Sheen, who briefly espoused William's claims to the presidency, pub-



lished Wight's and William's letters in his short-lived *Melchisedic and Aaronic Herald* in Covington, Kentucky, during the spring and summer of 1849, generating a blistering response from Orson Hyde, who was then editing the *Frontier Guardian* in Kanesville, Iowa. On 14 November 1849, he reported that William had accused church leaders of "oppress[ing] and wrong[ing]" Lucy "out of a living." Hyde first denounced William as lazy, violent, and so immoral that his good opinion of another "may be regarded as a strong presumptive evidence of like depravity"; pointedly asserted that it was William's job, not Brigham Young's, to support Lucy; and finally laid out "the facts," namely:

we proposed to furnish Mother Smith a comfortable house, free of rent, and to settle upon her one hundred and fifty dollars yearly for life; and to pay her quarterly in advance: Mr. Babbitt is a witness to this transaction or proposal, for it was made through him. William, at this time, was his mother's adviser. He was opposed to her accepting it, and concluded that the Church would go so far away that they would never pay the installments; and William thought it best to make as large a grab, at once, as he could, and let the rest go. It was, therefore, Williams [sic] advice, and the old lady's conclusion to ask the Church to purchase for her a house and lot, that she might have a home that she could call her own. She selected her house and lot and it was agreed by her and William that if the church would buy that house and lot and give her a deed of it, they would release the Church from any farther obligation for Mother Smiths' support. We told them that they were unwise, and would probably rue their course: But they insisted, and nothing else would satisfy.

We went and borrowed the gold and paid it over to Mr. Joseph R. [sic] Noble, four hundred dollars, for his house and lot, and he, Noble, executed a deed of the premises to Mother Smith where she has resided from that time till the present; and by diligence and close financiering, we have succeeded in repaying all.

These are the facts of the case, and if William does not remember the whole circumstances, we will refresh his memory. It was just about the time that he made application to us through Mr. Babbitt to come back into the Church; but the conditions of his coming back among the apostate Brighamites as he calls us, were too severe upon him. They were, that he go to work like an honest man and support himself by his own industry. That he cease to be idle and learn to tell the truth and to be a virtuous upright man. These were burthens too grievous for him to bear, and the prospect being so gloomy, that he concluded to say that he never made any such application. . . .

Shame on a man, in the prime of life, that will whine because somebody else will not support his mother! ("Mother," 1)

Mormon visitors to Nauvoo during the early 1850s frequently called on "Mother Smith," and she always greeted them with pleasure and affection. Perigrine Sessions, son of David and Patty Sessions, visited Nauvoo on 29-30 No-

vember 1852. He kept a contemporary diary (bold), which he later recopied with expansions (type changes here limited here to references to Lucy):

crost the Mississippi river to Nauvoo put up/staid to [t]he Mansion house [30 Nov.] saw the Mother of the Prophet Joseph **she was quite feble but recollected me and apered quite glad to see me** saw Emma/**Emmy** the Prophets Wife and his mother she was glad to hear my voice but could not see me Emma seemed verry cool and indifferent and though so well aquainted in days gone by seemed to bee a stranger to me and to that spirit [that] caraturized her and the Prophet when he lived and she has four children but looked as though of atruth they were without a Father they once had evry thing looked gloomy about the mansion the Spirit of God has departed Nauvoo and the home of the Prophet. (Smart, 166-67)

Smart wonders if Sessions's comment that Lucy "was glad to hear my voice but could not see me" meant that her sight was failing. However, Lucy seemed to recognize other visitors without difficulty (none of whom mentioned blindness among her health problems), her mind remained keen, and she greatly enjoyed conversing with visitors, especially those with whom she shared memories of the great days of the early church. Perhaps Lucy was suffering from a temporary ailment.

Horace S. Eldredge, who presided over the LDS branch in St. Louis and managed emigration preparations for several years, visited Nauvoo on 28 July 1853, staying at the Mansion House. His afternoon stroll about the city gave him "the most peculiar feelings that ever I had while walking those streets." He contrasted what he saw with the former days of "gayety and pleasure and the Marks of industry and perseverance" by "a once happy people" who heard "principals of eternal truth" from a prophet whose place had been taken by "a rough uncooth profane aspirant." He found Emma chilly. In fact, the only truly pleasant moments of his visit seem to have been spent with Lucy:

The old lady seemed to know me and was verry much pleased to See me, and made many enquiries about Hyrum & Samuel Smiths families who are in the Valey. . . . Mother Smith seemed to retain her recollection verry well of things that had transpired several years since. She wished me to remember her to many or all of her friends in the Valey. I handed her \$5.00 and took my leave of her for that time. (Eldredge, Journal)

On 12 May 1853, British convert and poet Hannah Tapfield King called on Lucy. She was "pillowed up in bed" but alert and articulate. Hannah recorded her impressions in a literary reminiscence: "She is a splendid old lady, and my heart filled up at sight of her—she blessed us all, 'With a Mother's blessing' and bore her testimony to the work of the last days, and to Joseph Smith as a prophet of the Lord." She continued, Lucy "made a great impression



on me. . . . She is a character that Walter Scott would have loved to portray and he would have done justice to her." At the blessing, delivered in Lucy's "own words, . . . my heart melted for I remembered my own dear mother left in England for the gospel's sake, and the deep fountains of my heart were broken up." As a present, she had her daughter give Lucy a ring that was a gift from Hannah. "I would not have let [my daughter] give it to anyone else," she remarked (King, typescript, 136, 178). When Lucy died three years later, Hannah recaptured her feelings in a lengthy (four holograph pages) poem for the *Deseret News*. Although too mannered and elaborate for most modern tastes, it still captures her sensitivity to the place Lucy occupied in history:

Mother of Joseph! . . . I've seen thy face  
 And felt thy kiss imprinted on my cheek. . . .  
 Lady! Mother! Priestess! I rejoice  
 That thou hast blest the pilgrim on her way. . . .  
 Among the Women of this age thou art  
 Most blest, most favor'd in thy humble home. . . .  
 No Queen, no royalty that E'er I've seen  
 Impress'd my soul as did that aged Saint! ("Thoughts").

In 1853, probably in the spring fairly close to Hannah King's visit, Frederick H. Piercy, author of the famed trail guide, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, also stayed at the Mansion House in Nauvoo. Of Lucy he wrote: "I could not fail to regard the old lady with great interest. Considering her age and afflictions, she, at that time, retained her faculties to a remarkable degree. She spoke very freely of her sons, and, with tears in her eyes, and every other symptom of earnestness, vindicated their reputations for virtue and truth" (qtd. in Newell and Avery, 265).

On 22 November 1855, Enoch Tripp visited. Lucy was within six months of her death, bedfast, "living in a lonely room in the eastern part of the house; she was . . . very feeble. . . . She arose in bed and placing her hands around my neck, kissed me exclaiming, 'I can now die in peace since I have beheld your face from the valleys of the mountains'" (qtd. in Newell and Avery, 265). Tripp later reported this experience in a sermon. According to Wilford Woodruff, "She clasped him in her arms (they were formerly acquainted) & she said My son Enoch I am glad to again see you. I am glad to see a man again from Salt Lake. She cried for Joy, and said she had desired for two years to be with the Saints in the vallies of the Mountains but others had hindered her. She alluded to Emma. She says give my love to Brigham & Heber & all the Faithful Saints for my heart is with them" (Woodruff 4:445).

Lewis Bidamon, Emma's second husband, was very kind to Lucy. When she could no longer walk, he made her a wheeled chair in which the children took her for strolls in the garden and around the house. Eventually the arthritis grew so severe that they also had to feed her. She remained mentally acute and active to the end.

Cared for by Joseph III and his wife, Emmeline, and by the young daughter of a neighboring farmer, Elizabeth Pilkington, Lucy died on 14 May 1856 on the Smith farm about two miles from town and was buried the next day near her husband behind the Smith family homestead at Nauvoo (Van Wagoner and Walker, 312). She was two months short of her eighty-first birthday.

A series of letters from twenty-three-year-old Joseph Smith III to John M. Bernhisel, who had periodically sent him experimental seeds, newspapers, books, and Congressional speeches, gave a running account of Lucy's final illness. In January 1856, he wrote, "Grandmother is with us but is helpless." On 7 May, a week before her death, he sounded as if the worst of the latest bad spells was behind her: "Grandmother has been quite unwell and is not yet quite recovered. We thought at one time she could not live." Of her death a week later, he wrote sorrowfully: "Grandmother died the morning of the 14th of May last easily and with her senses to the last moment and we trust she has no wish to return from the 'bourne.' She appeared somewhat fearful of death at a little while before he came yet appeared resigned afterwards. I sat by her and held her hand in mine till death relieved her—The first death scene I ever witnessed—Long may I be spared the death scene of my mother" (Smith to Bernhisel).

George A. Smith wrote a lengthy and eloquent obituary for *The Mormon*, reprinted in the *Millennial Star*. In it, he followed Lucy's own lead in hailing her as "mother of Joseph Smith, the Prophet; and . . . for the last twenty-six years familiarly known to all the Saints as 'Mother Smith.'" He retells church history from her own book in summarizing her life, praises the "motherly care, attention, and skill" with which she nursed the sick of Missouri, and acknowledges that "she enjoyed the gifts and influence of the Holy Spirit much." Still, he has only faint praise for her book:

The assassination of Joseph and Hyrum . . . so shocked and benumbed her sensibilities and her aged frame, that she never fully recovered. . . . Recovering somewhat from the effect of her afflictions, she composed a history of her life, which contains many thrilling incidents of herself as well as of her family, which are given in her own style, yet mingled somewhat with evidence of difficulty of her remembering dates. ("Obituary," 557, 559)

## LUCY'S LAST YEARS

The reactions of Brigham Young and Martha Jane Coray did not, as far as I have been able to discover, become public.

Although Orson Pratt was severely chastised for publishing Lucy's history, readers ever since have owed him a debt of gratitude for giving us a document that comes so close to Lucy's final draft. He has thus helped to fulfill the prophetic statement in his own preface about the hunger to understand Joseph Smith: "Every incident relating to his life, or the lives of his progenitors, will be eagerly sought after by all future generations."

## BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARIES OF NAMED INDIVIDUALS

*Although the amount of information available on individuals whom Lucy names varies greatly, I have attempted to identify each from existing secondary sources. In some frustrating instances, I was unable to find more information than that given in the text; in other cases, rather full data are available. Numerous sources provide contradictory information. I include all variants and list all sources consulted at the end of the biographical summary. Names Lucy lists appear in bold.*

**Allen.** The witness intimidated in Austin King's Missouri court. Likely candidates are: (1) Charles Allen, born 1806 in Pennsylvania. He was tarred and feathered with Edward Partridge in Independence on 20 July 1833. (2) Elihu M. Allen. George A. Smith wrote "Elihu Allen" on top of the Coray page recounting the intimidation incident, but whether it was in confirmation or in query is not possible to determine. Elihu M. [Jr.] was born 5 October 1835, Dryden, New York, to Elihu M. Allen [Sr.] and Lola Ann Clauson, and reached Utah 8 August 1847. (3) William Allen was taken prisoner at Far West. Cannon and Cook, 245; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 15, 416; Esshom, 714.

**Allen, Pelatiah** provided a barrel of whiskey to incite the attackers of Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon at Hiram, Ohio, 24 March 1832. D. Hill, 146, gives his name as Feletiah Allen.

**Ashby/Ashley**, Colonel. Don Carlos identifies him as Ashby, Hyrum as Ashley, and both link him with the Haun's Mill massacre. According to LeSueur, *Ashby* is correct and there were two: one named Charles and the other Daniel, both involved in the massacre. Charles was a state senator from Livingston County, Missouri, living near the Chariton River, who gave breakfast to Don Carlos Smith and George A. Smith returning from a mission in late fall 1838. Charles Ashby also voted in January 1839 for a legislative investigating committee, believing that it would clear the Missourians of culpability; the proposal stalled in the house. LeSueur, 163-64, 227-29.

**Atchison, David Rice**, was born in Kentucky in 1807 and moved to Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, in August 1830. He was closely associated with Alexander William Doniphan as both colleague and friend, sharing law offices with him after Doniphan moved to Liberty in 1833, referring legal work to him, and collaborating on cases. During the early 1830s, he formed and captained a militia unit, the Liberty Blues; he was also a major general of the state militia's third division. Atchison and Doniphan were two of the four attorneys retained by the Mormons in 1833 when they were driven from Jackson County. When legal efforts at redress failed, Atchison, the legislative representative from Clay County, presented Mormon petitions to the legislature. In 1836 he

served on a committee of Clay County citizens that asked the Mormons to leave the state. In September 1838, he pledged "my life for yours" to assure Joseph Smith's safety during a hearing about the Adam Black incident and dispelled an unfriendly crowd before the hearing began by fingering his gun and warning, "Hold on, boys." Governor Lilburn Boggs relieved him of his command in October 1838 before the siege of Far West, possibly for personal reasons; another version is that Atchison resigned when he heard about the extermination order. Atchison "vehemently condemned" Boggs's extermination order in the next legislative session. Atchison, circuit judge in Platte City, 1841-57, was also a U.S. Senator, 1843-54, wanted to repeal the Missouri Compromise, secretly encouraged proslavery settlements in Kansas, led vigilante raids into Kansas during the 1850s, and was pro-secessionist during the Civil War. See an unexpectedly sympathetic vignette of him in Don Carlos's account, Appendix. Launius, *Alexander*, 3, 11-13, 51, 221, 232; LeSueur, 78, 80-81, 157-58, 257-58.

**Austin, Seth**, was a justice of the peace at Tunbridge, Vermont. He performed the wedding of Lucy Mack and Joseph Smith Sr. on 24 January 1796. Lucy refers to him by his courtesy title of "Colonel." Bushman, *Joseph*, 19.

**Babbitt, Almon W.**, was born 1 October 1812 at Cheshire, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, to Ira Babbitt and Nancy Crosier/Crasier. He joined the Mormon church in 1833, served in Zion's Camp, was ordained a seventy on 28 February 1835, but was charged by the high council in December with breaking the Word of Wisdom and claiming that the Book of Mormon was not essential for salvation. He was rebuked in 1838 for leading a company of Canadian Saints to Missouri against counsel and was disfellowshipped in 1840 for encouraging settlement in Kirtland instead of Nauvoo and for slandering the brethren. After confession, he was called on 19 October 1840 as president of Kirtland Stake, then disfellowshipped for lack of harmony in October 1841, was appointed presiding elder of the Ramus (Illinois) Branch in March 1843, restored to full fellowship in April 1843, called on a mission to France in May 1844 (did not go because of the martyrdom), ran for elective office in Nauvoo, presided as president of the briefly revitalized Kirtland Stake, acted as Brigham Young's agent in selling Nauvoo property in 1846-48, came to Utah (1848), was elected a delegate to Congress (1848), as territorial secretary (1852), and was killed on 7 September 1856 by Indians in Nebraska. His sister, Julia, was married to Isaac Sheen. Cannon and Cook, 246; Black, *Who's Who*, 3-5.

**Baldwin, Caleb**, was born 2 September 1791, at Nobletown, Orange County, New York. He served as an ensign under Captain Charles Parker in the War of 1812, was baptized on 14 November 1830 by Parley P. Pratt, and moved to Jackson County, Missouri, where he took part in the battle on the Big Blue. In 1833 he was driven out of Jackson County, settled in Caldwell County, and was jailed with Joseph Smith and others at Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, during the winter of 1838-39. Baldwin immigrated to the Salt Lake Valley in 1848 and died in Salt Lake City, 11 June 1849. Jenson 2:589-90.

**Barden, Jerusha.** See Hyrum Smith.

**Barnes, Lorenzo Dow,** was born 22 March 1812 at Tolland, Hampton County, Massachusetts, the son of Phineas Barnes. He married Isabella Pratt. Thomas Gordon baptized him in Norton, Medina County, Ohio, on 16 June 1833. Sidney Rigdon ordained him an elder on 18 July 1833. He went on Zion's Camp and served on the Adam-ondi-Ahman Stake High Council. He was ordained a seventy in 1835 and a high priest in June 1838. He overcame a speech impediment through "faith and perseverance" and served missions in western Ohio (1 August 1833 to winter 1833-34), to the southern and eastern states (September 1838-1841—he left with Don Carlos Smith, George A. Smith, and Harrison Sagers); and England from the fall of 1841 to 20 December 1842, when he became the first LDS missionary to die in a foreign land. His body was brought to Salt Lake City for interment in 1852. Cannon and Cook, 247; Black, *Membership*.

**Barr.** See Bear.

**Beaman/Beman, Alva/Alvah,** was born 22 May 1775 at Marlboro, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, to Rufus and Mariam Beaman. He was associated with both Joseph Smith Sr. and Oliver Cowdery's father in money-digging activities in Vermont, and Joseph Knight called him "a grate Rodsman." He moved to Livonia, Livingston County, New York, where he farmed, in 1799. Although he was apparently first interested in the Book of Mormon because it represented buried treasure, he quickly became a supporter and helped Joseph Jr. hide the plates under the hearth.

He married Sarah ("Sally") Burts, and they had eight children in Livonia. The first five, born between 1797 and 1808, were Isaac, Betsey, Alvah, Sarah, and Margaret. They did not join the church. Mary Adeline was born in 1810, became a Mormon, and married Joseph Bates Noble. Louisa was born 7 February 1815, became Joseph Smith's first officially recognized plural wife in Nauvoo on 5 April 1841, was married to Brigham Young 19 September 1846, bore five children who did not survive, and died of breast cancer in Salt Lake City in 1850. Artemisia was born in 1819 and married Erastus Snow, who helped found St. George.

Alvah and Sally moved their family to Kirtland in 1836 where Alvah died 15 November 1837 after serving as president of the elders quorum and as a temporary member of the high council in Independence. In July 1838, after Alvah's death in 1837, Sally and some of her children moved to Missouri. They were driven in the winter of 1838-39 to Illinois where Sally died in Nauvoo on 29 September 1840. Compton, 56-69; Quinn, *Early*, 39; Vogel 1:340; Black, *Membership*.

**Bear.** Lucy describes a Mr. Bear, a man of unusual size and strength, who originally planned to mob William Smith as he spoke in 1830 in New Portage, New York, but instead was converted by him. She also names a Mr. Bar as the glazier/carpenter in Kirtland in 1833 who finished her meeting house. She does not give the first name of either. George A. Smith attacks both stories as false, though not, apparently, challenging the individuals involved. (See chaps. 43, 47.) I have not been able to determine whether two men were involved or one, or whether he/they were named Bear or Barr. John Barr,

sheriff of Cuyahoga County, reports being near-mesmerized by Sidney Rigdon's powerful preaching at Mayfield, Ohio, in November 1830; he made a friend lead him away before he succumbed and went forward to be baptized (Van Wagoner, *Sidney*, 62-63). An Oliver Barr had a published correspondence with Rigdon in Kirtland in 1836 (*ibid.*, 165). On 10 February 1843, the Twelve agreed to send "Brother John Bear" about twenty miles upriver from Nauvoo to preach in Shokoquon, at the invitation of its inhabitants (HC 5:268). No Bear/Barr appears in *Profile*, Cook and Backman, indices to the *Nauvoo Journal*, William McLellin's journals, Black's *Membership*, or Joseph Smith's personal writings.

**Beckwith, George**, born in 1790 at East Haddam, Connecticut, came to Palmyra about 1811 and became partners with his older brother, Nathaniel H. Beckwith, in a mercantile business. He also owned a carpet store, held stock in the Palmyra Hotel (completed in 1837), and was president of the Wayne County Bank in Palmyra. He married Ruth Maston Clark in 1814. Lucy calls him a deacon in the Western Presbyterian Church, but its records list him as an elder. On 3 March 1830, a committee including Rev. A. E. Campbell and Henry Jessup was appointed to visit the three Smiths "and report at the next meeting." On 10 March, they reported that they had "received no satisfaction . . . and that they [the Smiths] did not wish to unite with us any more." George Beckwith is not mentioned as a member of the committee, although he was an elder like Jessup, and Lucy remembers him as taking the lead in the conversation. Richard Anderson, "Circumstantial," 391; Vogel 1:408, 2:54.

**Bennett, John Cook**, was born 3 August 1804 to John Bennett and Abigail Cook Bennett, in Fairhaven, Massachusetts, their first son and second child. His parents moved to Ohio in 1806-7 where Abigail's mother and sisters were living. At eighteen, Bennett apprenticed as a physician to his maternal uncle, Samuel P. Hildreth, and was licensed to practice in Ohio in 1825. In January 1826, he married Mary Barker and they had two children: Mary (born 1827-28, married a man surnamed Ortho) and Joseph (born and died December 1828). Bennett pursued various occupations: establishing colleges, selling medical diplomas, promoting tomatoes as a healthful food, and preaching. He met Joseph Smith in 1832 through William E. McLellin and moved to Nauvoo in September 1840 where he supervised the legislative passage of the Nauvoo City charter, became an intimate of Joseph Smith's, and served as mayor, as major-general of the Nauvoo Legion, and as secretary of the Masonic Nauvoo lodge. He withdrew from the church under threat of excommunication (published June 1842) for adultery and falsehood. (His version is that Joseph Smith wrote a note to clerk James Sloan on 17 May 1842 allowing him to "withdraw his name . . . if he desires to do so, and with the best of feelings.") He then wrote an exposé and lectured against Mormonism, affiliated for a time with J. J. Strang, and helped create Strang's Order of the Illuminati before being excommunicated. He divorced Mary in October 1842 and, in March 1843, married Sarah Rider of Plymouth, Massachusetts (no children). He practiced medicine and bred poultry, producing the Plymouth Rock and Brahma breeds. He moved to New



Hampshire in 1851 and to Iowa in 1852 where he died in August 1867 in Polk City. Sarah died in July 1868. Andrew F. Smith, *Saintly Scoundrel*, passim; *Chronicles*, 112.

**Bent, Samuel**, the son of Joel Bent and Mary/Marcy Mason Bent, was born 19 July 1778, at Barre, Worcester County, Massachusetts, joined the Congregationalist church at age twenty-eight, became a deacon, was a colonel in the Massachusetts militia, lived for a few years in St. Lawrence County, New York, and was a member of the Presbyterian church in Hopkinton. On 3 May/8 February 1805 he married Mary Hilbourne/Kilburn, daughter of the Rev. Joseph Hilbourne; their children were William C., Joseph K., Horatio G., and Mary. At some point, they moved to Pontiac, Oakland County, Michigan. Elmira Scoble, visiting her mother in Pontiac, brought with her a Book of Mormon, which Bent read. During an illness, he had a vision "that the fullness of the gospel would be revealed in connection with that book, and that he would be an instrument in proclaiming the same." Jared Carter baptized him in January 1833 and ordained him an elder the same day. Bent began his first mission the next day. He founded a branch at Huron, visited Kirtland in the fall of 1833, went to Missouri with Zion's Camp, moved his family to Kirtland in 1835 where he attended the School of the Prophets and the temple dedication, then moved his family in 1836 to Liberty, Missouri. On 5 July 1836, a mob tied him to a tree and whipped him. His wife died in Missouri. In Far West in September 1837, he married Lettuce/Lettice Palmer, widow of Ambrose Palmer, and was appointed to the high council on 6 October 1838. In 1838 General Samuel Lucas imprisoned him in Richmond jail for about three weeks. After his release, he was warned in a vision to leave two hours before the mob came seeking him. He went to Illinois where he served as a colonel in the Nauvoo Legion, on the high council, and on the Council of Fifty. In 1844 he served a mission in Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana. He was endowed 11/13 December 1845 in Nauvoo, and was "sealed to spouse" (name not given) on 28 January 1846, also in Nauvoo. Bent was a captain of 100 during the exodus from Nauvoo and was appointed presiding elder at Garden Grove, Iowa, with counselors Daniel Fullmer and Aaron Johnson. Black also lists without marriage dates wives Naomi Harris, Elizabeth Burgess, and Cynthia Noble, along with Phebe Palmer and Maria Thompson (both sealed on 14 January 1846) and Asenath Slafter (28 January 1846), all three married at Garden Grove. Asenath was the mother of three: twins Elijah and Elisha, and Henrietta. Bent died at Garden Grove on 16 August 1846. Jenson 1:367; Cannon and Cook, 249; *Profile*, 6; Black, *Membership*.

**Bigler, Jacob**, was born in 1793 near Shinnston, Harrison County, West Virginia, son of Mark Bigler and Susannah Ogden Bigler. He married Elizabeth (Betsy) Harvey, daughter of Basil Harvey, a Methodist. They had five children: Henry (28 August 1815), Polly (1818), Hannah (1820), Emeline (1824), and Bathsheba (1826, died 1827). He then married Sarah ("Sally") Cunningham, who bore five children: Adam (1828), Jacob G. (1830), Mark (1832), Andrew (1834), and Mariah (1843). After hearing the preaching of Mormon elders Lorenzo Dow Barnes and Samuel James, Jacob procured and read a Book of Mormon. The family was baptized in the summer of 1837,



moved to Far West, Missouri, in June 1838, and was forced out in the winter of 1838-39. In Illinois they settled first at Payson, about fifteen miles southwest of Nauvoo, but by 1845 were living at Bear Creek, sixteen miles south of the city. Jacob was a captain of ten in crossing the plains; they settled in Farmington, Utah; Jacob and Sally were sealed in May 1856. Jacob died 22 June 1859. Bishop, *Henry*, 2-3, 5, 8, 14, 28, 97-98, 117-18.

**Bill, Colonel**, of Gilsum, New Hampshire. Lucy mentions visiting this family at Gilsum, New Hampshire, as a young woman and names his daughters, Rachel, Mahettable, and Ann. His brother Samuel married Lucy's sister Lydia in 1786 at Gilsum. See Solomon Mack. Anderson, *New England*, 21.

**Birch, Thomas C.**, was district attorney in Missouri at the Richmond preliminary hearing of Joseph Smith and other prisoners taken at Far West. He was made judge of the circuit court in Daviess County, enabling Joseph Smith and the other prisoners to receive a change of venue after the grand jury in Gallatin again bound them over for trial in April 1839. LeSueur, 242.

**Black, Adam**, not a Mormon, was born in Henderson County, Kentucky. He moved to Missouri (1819), was elected sheriff of Ray County (1824), married Mary Morgan (1825), and was one of the earliest settlers in Daviess County on the site of Adamondi-Ahman. He sold a farm to Lyman Wight but reportedly later asked the Mormons to leave. He was justice of the peace and/or county judge in Daviess County, Gentry County (where he moved in 1844), and Livingston County (where he moved in 1861). LeSueur, 65; Jessee 2:527.

**Blake**, Captain, friend of Stephen Mack, who piloted the boat carrying the Waterloo Saints under Lucy Mack Smith's command to Fairport.

**Bogard/Bogart, Captain Samuel**, was one of three ministers who led militia companies against the Mormons during the Missouri War of 1838. (The other two were Cornelius Gillum/Gillium and Sashel Woods.) Bogard served as a militia captain under Lyman Wight in Daviess County. When Wight mobilized the militia in the fall of 1838, under General Hiram G. Parks's authority, Bogart "mutinied," refused to obey orders, and complained to Governor Boggs that Parks was pro-Mormon. He seems to have regularly exceeded his orders, from October (when instead of policing the Caldwell/Ray County line, he disarmed Mormon settlers and ordered them out of their homes) until late December (when, even though Joseph Smith and others had been taken into custody and bound over for trial, he continued to search for and threaten participants in the battle of Crooked River). In 1839 he moved to Caldwell County west of Kingston, possibly on property formerly belonging to Mormons, was elected as a county judge in November 1839, and, on the day of the election, killed his opponent's nephew. He escaped to Texas. A Caldwell County grand jury indicted him but he was never arrested. Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 658; LeSueur, 130, 133, 231; Baugh, 55.

**Boggs, Lilburn W.**, was born 14 December 1792 in Lexington, Kentucky, to John M. Boggs and Martha Oliver Boggs. He moved to Missouri shortly after the War of 1812,

married Julia Bent in 1816 in St. Louis, and Panthea Grant Boone (granddaughter of Daniel Boone) in 1823; and was a prominent merchant in Independence by 1831. He was elected state senator (1826-32), lieutenant-governor (1832), and governor (1836). He speculated in western Missouri real estate, which may have let him see the Mormons as economic rivals, and opposed Alexander Doniphan's legislation in 1836 to organize Caldwell County for the Mormons. He considered them "deluded" and their doctrines "obnoxious." He issued the extermination order on 27 October 1827 and repeated its terms almost a week later, even after he had clearer reports of the situation. He was criticized for his handling of the Mormon situation and also for his major state project in which the capitol, budgeted at \$75,000, was still unfinished in 1840 when \$200,000 had been spent. He survived an assassination attempt in May 1842 in which four balls of buckshot entered his neck and head. He signed a complaint against Orrin Porter Rockwell, who was assumed to be acting for Joseph Smith but who was acquitted. Boggs served in the state senate (1842-46) where he ended his career as a Democrat by voting against Thomas Hart Benton. In 1846 he moved to Napa Valley, California, where he was appointed "sole civil authority" north of the Sacramento River until state government was instituted. He grew wealthy as a "supplier of gold seekers," was appointed alcade of the northern California district, and died of natural causes near Napa Valley on 14 March 1860. Christopher S. Bond, governor of Missouri, rescinded the extermination order on 25 June 1876. Cannon and Cook, 249; Launius, *Alexander*, 80-81; LeSueur, 95, 230, 258-59, 262; *Dictionary*, 1:409-10.

**Booth, Ezra**, born 1792 in Connecticut, was a Methodist minister from Mantua, who accompanied John and Mary Elsa Johnson to meet Joseph Smith in 1831 at Kirtland. He accepted a mission call and spoke to the congregation of Symonds Ryder, a Campbellite minister in Hiram, was ordained a high priest 8 June 1831, and served a mission with Isaac Morley in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois en route to Missouri where he became greatly disillusioned. He immediately wrote a series of nine letters denouncing Mormonism that were published in the *Ohio Star* and reprinted in *Mormonism Unveiled* by E. D. Howe. On 6 September 1831, his preaching license was suspended. He participated in tarring Joseph Smith in 1832. He was living on a farm in Mantua, Ohio, in 1860. Black, "Hiram," 163-64; Black, *Who's Who*, 30-31.

**Bosley**, whose daughters subscribed to help build the meeting house in Kirtland in 1834, was probably Edmund Bosley, born 25 June 1776 at Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, to John P. Bosley and Hannah Bull Bosley. He married Ann Kelley, born 29 October 1779 at Northumberland County, Pennsylvania; they moved to Kirtland in 1833 where he worked on the Kirtland temple (1835), received his anointings (25 January 1837), and invested in the Kirtland Safety Society. In 1838 the parents and at least four children moved to Missouri. They next settled in Nauvoo, where Edmund Bosley was made a high priest and endowed in the Nauvoo temple in December 1845. He died 15 February 1846 at Winter Quarters, Douglas County, Nebraska. *Profile*, 7-8; Clark, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 144; Black, *Membership*.

**Bowley, Gersham**. See Gersham Rowley.

**Boynton, John Farnham**, was born 20 September 1811, at Bradford, Essex County, Massachusetts, was baptized in September 1832 by Joseph Smith at Kirtland, and was ordained an elder by Sidney Rigdon. He served a mission with Zebedee Coltrin to Pennsylvania (1832) and to Maine (1833-34). On 15 February 1835, he was ordained an apostle at Kirtland, then accompanied the Twelve on their mission to the eastern states and Canada. He married Susan Lowell, Joseph Smith officiating, on 20 January 1836, and became a merchant with partner Lyman E. Johnson. He was dropped from the Twelve on 3 September 1837, briefly reconciled, then excommunicated. He moved to Syracuse, New York, and visited Utah (1872) where he called on Brigham Young. For twenty years, he traveled and lectured on natural history, geology, and other sciences, was appointed to a government geological surveying expedition (1853 or 1854), was a weapons inventor during the Civil War, and had applied for thirty-six different patents by 1886. After Susan's death, he married a woman who left him; he then married a third time. He died at Syracuse on 20 October 1890. *Jenson* 1:91; *Launius, Zion's*, 163.

**Browning, Orville H.**, of Quincy, had successfully defended Joseph Smith when he was brought before Stephen A. Douglas on extradition charges to Missouri in 1841. In 1845 he defended those indicted for the Smiths' murders. He was born about 1806 in Kentucky where he had served a term in the legislature. He had served one term as a state representative and another as a state senator. He was considered "perhaps the ablest speaker in the state." Devoutly religious, he supported temperance movements and would not take passage on a steamer on a Sunday. He was a powerful spokesman for the Whig Party, helped found the Republican Party in 1856, helped secure the 1860 nomination for Abraham Lincoln, was appointed to fill Douglas's place in the U.S. Senate temporarily after Douglas's death, served as Andrew Johnson's Secretary of the Interior, and was a "leading member of the Illinois bar." *Oaks and Hill*, 81, 219.

**Bruce, Esther**. Lucy describes her as an outstanding young woman in New Hampshire, engaged to marry her brother Jason, but tricked by a rival into believing Jason dead and marrying the rival. She died, reportedly of heartbreak, about 1781.

**Brunson, Seymour**, was born 18 September 1799, in Virginia, the son of Reuben Brunson and Salley Clark Brunson. A veteran of the War of 1812, he was baptized Mormon in January 1831, by Solomon Hancock at Strongsville, Cayhoga County, Ohio, was ordained an elder by John Whitmer on 21 January 1831, and served missions in Ohio, Virginia, and other states (1832) with companions Daniel Stanton and Luke Johnson. He moved to Bloomfield, Ohio, in 1834, then to Tompkins, Illinois, then to Far West, Missouri, in the spring of 1837. There he was appointed temporarily to the high council and as captain of a company of Mormon militia. After the expulsion of 1838-39, he settled in Quincy, Illinois, then Nauvoo. He served on the Nauvoo High Council (October 1839) and died in Nauvoo on 10 August 1840. *Jenson* 3:331; *Canon and Cook*, 250; *Johnson, Mormon Redress Petitions*, 147.

**Butler, John Lowe**, was born 8 April 1808 in Simpson County, Kentucky, to James

Butler and Charity Lowe Butler, the fourth of their ten children: William, Elizabeth, Sarah, John Lowe, Thomas, Vincent, Lucy Ann, four stillbirths, Edmund, James Morgan, and Lorenzo Dow. On 3 February 1831, he married Caroline Farzine Skeen (born 1812), seventh of the ten children of Jesse Skeen and Kiziah Taylor Skeen. They had twelve children: Kenion Taylor (1831), William Alexander (1833), Charity Artemesia (1834), Kiziah Jane (1836), Phoebe Melinda (1837), Caroline Elizabeth (1839), Sarah Adeline (1841), John Lowe Jr. (1844), James (1847), Lucy Ann (1849), Thomas (1851), and Alvaretta Farozine (1854).

John successively joined the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Mormons (9 March 1835). Caroline, John's mother, three brothers, and sister Lucy and her husband Reuben Allred also joined the Mormon church. They moved to Ray County, Missouri, on 16 June 1836, to Clay County, Caldwell County, and then in 1838 to Daviess County. On 6 August 1838, John fought non-Mormons at Gallatin who tried to prevent the Mormons from voting. He was ordained a priest by Isaac Morley on 1 November 1838 and escaped on 2 November 1838 from Far West to Quincy, Illinois. He was ordained a seventy on 19 May 1839, became a Freemason in July 1842, an officer in the Nauvoo Legion, a bodyguard for Joseph Smith, and one of Hosea Stout's police officers. He served missions in Illinois (1839), to the Sioux with James Emmett in Michigan (1840, 1841), and in Iowa with the James Emmett expedition (1844-45).

He married seven wives, beginning in December 1844: Charity Skene, Sarah Lancaster and her elderly mother Sarah Briant Lancaster, Ann Hughes Harrow, Ester Ogden, Lovisa Hamilton, and Henrietta Seaton Blythe. John brought his family to Utah in 1851 and eventually settled in Spanish Fork where he was ordained a high priest on 27 May 1856 and served as bishop until his death 10 April 1860. Cannon and Cook, 251-52; Hartley, *My Best*, *passim*.

**Cahoon, Reynolds**, was born 30 April 1790/91, at Cambridge/Cumberland, Washington County, New York, to William Cahoon Jr. and Mehitabel Hodges/Hodge Cahoon. Cahoon was baptized 11 October 1830, ordained a high priest on 3 June 1831, appointed counselor to Bishop Newel K. Whitney 10 February 1832, was a missionary companion to both Samuel and Hyrum Smith, was a high councilor in the Adam-ondi Ahman Stake in 1838, was a member of the Council of Fifty on 11 March 1844, received his patriarchal blessing on 24 January 1845, and was endowed 11 December 1845 in Nauvoo.

Cahoon married Thirza/Theresa Stiles on 11 December 1810; they were sealed at the Nauvoo temple 16 January 1846. She was born 18 October 1789 at Lanesburg, New York/Newport, Herkimer County, New York, to Daniel Olds Stiles and Abigail Farrington Stiles. Reynolds and Thirza/Theresa were the parents of seven children, the first five born in Harpersfield, Ashtabula County, Ohio: William Farrington (7 November 1813), Leron Eliza (25 October 1817), Pulaski Stephen (20 September 1820), Daniel Stiles (7 April 1822), Andrew (4 August 1824), Julia Amina (24 September 1830 at Kirtland), and Mahonri Moriancumer (25 July 1834 at Kirtland). Thirza/Theresa died 20 November 1867 at South Cottonwood, Salt Lake, Utah. Reynolds married a second wife (name not given) 13 October 1845 at Nauvoo, and fathered three chil-

dren: Lucina Johnson Reynolds (1843), Rais Bell Casson Reynolds (13 October 1845), and Truman Carlos (18 January 1850 at Salt Lake City). Another marriage is recorded on 16 January 1846 (name not given; no children identified). Cahoon died 29 April 1861 at South Cottonwood, Salt Lake City. Cannon and Cook, 252, *Profile*, 13; Black, *Membership*.

**Cahoon, William Farrington**, a shoemaker, carpenter, and joiner, was born 7 November 1813 at Harpersfield, Ashtabula County, Ohio, the son of Reynolds Cahoon and Thirza/Theresa Stiles Cahoon. Reynolds's brother, he served missions in Ohio and Pennsylvania (1832-33) and in New York (March 1833) with Amasa M. Lyman, went on Zion's Camp (1834), and worked on the Kirtland temple. He was a member of the First Quorum of the Seventy (1835), was living in Daviess County in 1838, and was kept under house arrest in Far West during the winter of 1838-39.

He married Nancy Miranda Gibbs (born 27 July 1818) on 17 January 1835 at Kirtland in a ceremony performed by Joseph Smith; she died 5 April 1893 at Salt Lake City. They had ten children: Nancy Ermina (25 February 1837 at Kirtland); Lerona Eliza (17 September 1838 at Kirtland); John Farrington (19 October 1840 at Montrose, Lee County, Iowa); Prudence Sarah (11 April 1843 at Nauvoo); Thirza Vilate (29 September 1845 at Nauvoo); William Marion (8 April 1848 at Winter Quarters, Nebraska); Daniel Coylon (14 September 1850 at Salt Lake City where the last three children were also born); Joseph Mahonri (2 March 1853); Stephen Tiffany (19 May 1858); and Andrew Carlos (5 September 1861). He married a second wife (name not given) 23 September 1845 at Nauvoo; four children were born: James Cordon Casson (9 October 1847 at Winter Quarters); and Samuel Casson (6 April 1859, born at Salt Lake City as were the last two); Mary Ellen Casson (31 May 1853); and George Edward Casson (11 November 1857).

William Cahoon immigrated to Utah in 1849 and died 5 October 1867/4 April 1893/April 1897 at Salt Lake City. Cannon and Cook, 252; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 152-53; Black, *Membership*.

**Carey, William**, arrived at Far West, Missouri, in early October 1838. In late October 1838, John Smith and Carey were going to harvest corn near Far West when they were taken prisoner by three men, one of whom hit Carey with the breach of his gun, splitting open his skull. He died forty-four hours later. Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 540; LeSueur, 148-49.

**Carlin, Thomas**, governor of Illinois from 1838 to 1842, was born 18 July 1789 near Frankfort, Kentucky. He married Rebecca Hewitt in 1814, and they became the parents of thirteen children. He saw military service during the War of 1812 and the Black Hawk War. His political experience included two terms in the Illinois House of Representatives, two in the state senate, federal Receiver of Public Monies (1834-38), and Democratic governor of the state (elected 5 August 1838, inaugurated 7 December 1838). The state constitution prohibited a governor from succeeding himself; but Governor Thomas Ford immediately appointed him in 1842 to fill the legislative term of a

deceased member. He died 14 February 1852 at Carrollton, Illinois. *Biographical Dictionary*, 1:371-72.

**Carroll, James**, was born 14 June 1796 at Manchester, Lancashire, England. He was baptized 30 April 1836 and ordained a seventy in 1838. He worked for Oliver Cowdery as a scribe in a printing office at Kirtland, then moved successively in Missouri to Caldwell, Ray, Clay, and Caldwell counties. He helped move the Saints from Missouri (1838-39) and served at least one mission in Iowa. He and his wife Hannah (born October 1802) were members of Nauvoo Second Ward. Both were endowed 31 January 1846 and sealed to each other on 29 February 1848; James was excommunicated (date not given). Cannon and Cook, 252; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 155; Black, *Membership*.

**Carter, Gideon Haden/Hayden**, was born in 1798 at Benson, Rutland County, Vermont, to Gideon Carter and Johanna Simms Carter. He was baptized 25 October 1831 by Joseph Smith and confirmed by Sidney Rigdon; ordained a priest the same day by Oliver Cowdery; ordained an elder on 15 January 1832 at Amherst, Lorain County, Ohio. He served several short missions in Ohio (1831), served another mission (April-August 1832) in Pennsylvania with Sylvester Smith, worked on the temple, served on the high council, became a charter member of the Kirtland Safety Society, and moved to Far West, Missouri, in 1838. He was killed at the Battle of Crooked River in Ray County on 25 October 1838. He and his wife, Hilah/Hilda Burwell (married 1822), were the parents of seven children, the first six born in Rutland County, Vermont, and the seventh at Kirtland: Arvin Payette (9 January 1823), Irvin (1826), Matilda (1827), Rosilla (1828), Isaac Philo (11 March 1829), Gideon Hayden (9 August 1831), and Moses Darley (15 September 1832). Gideon and his second wife (name not given, married 31 December 1833), had three children: Hilah Roxanna (8 December 1834 at Florence, Huron County, Ohio), Levi Woods (30 June 1835, same place), and John Sims (16 September 1836 at Kirtland). Black, *Who's Who*, 49-50; Black, *Membership*.

**Carter, Jared**, was born 14 January 1801, at Benson, Rutland County, Vermont (or Middlesex, Connecticut), to Gideon Carter and Johanna Simms Carter. He and his wife, Lydia Ames, married on 20 September 1825, were the parents of nine: Evaline, Ellen, Orlando, Clark, Lydia, Jared, David, Rosabella, and Joseph. They were living in Chenango, New York, when, in January 1831, he stayed in Broome County, New York, with John Peck, a brother of Hezekiah Peck and Polly Peck Knight. John, though not accepting the Book of Mormon, let Jared read it; he was converted and was baptized by Hyrum Smith about 20 February 1831, ordained an elder that September, and received his patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith Sr. on 24 February 1835 at Kirtland. He served missions in Missouri, in Chenango and Warren counties, New York, in Vermont (he organized the first LDS branch in that state, baptizing seventy-nine), and in Michigan (at least January-April 1833). Missionary companions included his brother Simeon, Phineas Young, and Ebenezer Page. He moved with the Colesville Branch from New York to Kirtland with Lucy Mack Smith, baptized his brother William L. Carter in 1832 at Rutland County, Vermont, served on Kirtland's high council, worked



on the temple, then moved to Far West where he served on the high council in March 1838 and became a Danite. He was tried for teaching false doctrine on 16 September 1835, was restored, was accused of conspiring with John C. Bennett in 1843, was disfellowshipped in 1844, was restored, but left the Saints and moved to Chicago. He died in 1850 in DeKalb County, Illinois. Black, *Membership*; Cannon and Cook, 253; Black, *Who's Who*, 51-53.

**Carter, Simeon Doget/Dagget**, was born 7 June 1794 at Killingworth, Middlesex County, Connecticut, to Gideon Carter and Johanna Sims Carter. He was converted by Parley P. Pratt and the Book of Mormon; was baptized 22/14 February 1831, ordained an elder in June 1831 and a high priest on 3 June 1831 by Lyman Wight, received his patriarchal blessing in Kirtland in 1836 from Joseph Smith Sr., and was endowed and sealed to his wife on 15 December 1845 in the Nauvoo temple. He served missions in Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana (1831), in Vermont (1832), and in Great Britain (1846-49); missionary companions included Solomon Hancock, Emer Harris, and Jared Carter. In Jackson County, he presided over Branch No. 9 in September 1833. He participated in Zion's Camp and served on the Far West high council (1836). He married Lydia Kenyon on 2 December 1818 at Benson, Rutland, Vermont, and they had three children, the first two born at Benson, the third at Amherst, Lorain County, Ohio: Orlando Henry (27 January 1820), Eveline Lydia (24 September 1821), and Lorain (22 May 1823). Simeon next married (name not known) on 19 January 1846 at Nauvoo, and, third, Louise Gibbons on 14 November 1849. They were the parents of three: Simeon (1 December 1850), Louisa Jane (23 August 1852), and Samuel (1 April 1853). He moved to the Salt Lake Valley in 1850 and settled at Brigham City where he died 3 February 1869. Cannon and Cook, 253; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 157; Black, *Who's Who*, 57-59; Black, *Membership*.

**Chamberlain, Esq.** There are three possible candidates for this individual, who offered Lucy money as she led her group from New York to Ohio: (1) *Jacob*, born 26 December 1776/1779 at Dudley/Dredley, Massachusetts, to Jacob Chamberlain and Mary Vinton Chamberlain. He lived near "the Kingdom" (by Waterloo), received his patriarchal blessing on 20 June 1836 at Kirtland from Joseph Smith Sr., and was endowed 27 March 1857 in Utah. (2) *Orrin* lived in the vicinity of "the Kingdom" and was interested in Mormonism during the early 1830s. (3) *Solomon* was born 30 July 1788 at Old Canaan, Litchfield County, Connecticut, to Joel Chamberlain and Sarah Dean Chamberlain. A cooper from Lyons, New York, and a Methodist, in the fall of 1829, while traveling westward by the Erie Canal, he felt a spiritual urging to leave the boat in Palmyra where he learned about the Book of Mormon. Because an angelic visitation in 1816 had warned him that a book "like unto the Bible" would come forth, he went immediately to the Smith home where he met Joseph, Hyrum Smith, Christian Whitmer, and others. Hyrum gave him proof sheets of four sixteen-page signatures from which he launched a preaching mission in Upper Canada for 800 miles. He was baptized April 1830 at Seneca Lake by Joseph Smith Jr. He moved to Jackson County, then Clay County in 1833, losing two houses, cattle, and his crop, then to Far West as one of its

settlers. Here he lost three houses to mob action. In Nauvoo he was a member of Second Ward, was ordained a high priest on 8 October 1844, received his patriarchal blessing on 17 June 1845 from John Smith, was endowed 18 December 1845 at the Nauvoo temple, and was rebaptized 8 August 1847. He married Hope Haskin on 23 October 1809 at Pownal, Bennington County, Vermont, and married twice more (names not given) on 15 January 1846 at Nauvoo and in 1848. The third wife bore Sarah Louisa (8 October 1849 at Salt Lake City). He came to Utah in 1847 with Brigham Young. In Utah he lived in Salt Lake City, Parowan, Beaver, Cedar City, Santa Clara, and Washington, where he died 20/26 March 1863/1862. Porter, "The Field," 80-81, and "A Study," 315-16; Cannon and Cook, 253; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 160; *Profile*, 15; Black, *Membership*.

**Chase, Sarah ("Sally"),** was the younger sister of Willard Chase of Palmyra, the daughter of Clark (1770-1821) and Phebe Chase. She owned a greenish or bluish seer-stone in Palmyra, was well-known for her scrying, frequently directed the treasure-seeking efforts of her brother Willard, and joined with those attempting to find the gold plates. She was born 20 October 1800/1808 to Clark and Phebe Chase. The family also included at least three sons: Willard (*q.v.*), Mason, and Abel D. Her father died in 1821. Sally was a "Serving Mach[ine] Op[erator]" when the 1860 census was enumerated; she did not marry and died before 1881. Quinn, *Early*, 41; Vogel 1:342-43, 2:97; Marquardt and Walters, 79.

**Chase, Willard,** was born about 1 February 1798 to Clark (1770-1821) and Phebe Chase. The siblings also included Mason (19 November 1795) and Abel. Willard, a Methodist, met the Smiths in 1820. In 1822 Willard hired Alvin and Joseph Jr. to help him dig a well. Chase found "a singularly appearing stone" about twenty feet below the surface that he showed to Joseph Jr. who put it into his hat and then put "his face into the top of his hat." He wanted to keep the stone but Chase refused to part with it. However, he loaned it to Joseph for about two years. About June 1827, Joseph Sr. told Chase that Joseph Jr. had discovered gold plates containing a record. Willard married Melissa Saunders, was a Methodist class leader, and died at Palmyra on 10 March 1871. Marquardt and Walters, 65, 77, 140; Vogel 2:64; Quinn, *Early*, 44-45.

**Clark, John B.,** born 1802 in Kentucky, became a brigadier general in the militia in the Black Hawk War. A leading citizen of Howard County, he was elected major general in 1836. Governor Lilburn Boggs assigned him to enforce the extermination order so that, Clark felt, Boggs could blame a Whig if the campaign turned out badly. He was an unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1840 but successfully ran for Congress. He died in 1885. Cannon and Cook, 254; LeSueur, 188.

**Cleminson/Clemenson, John,** was born 28 December 1798, chosen Caldwell County clerk at Far West on 5 February 1838, was among those who testified, apparently under duress, in Austin King's preliminary hearing November 1838 at Richmond that the Danites had a quasi-official character, and also testified in Caldwell County that Joseph Smith had intimidated him into not issuing a certain writ. At the siege of Far West,



General John B. Clark offered him and his wife Lydia safe conduct out, which they refused. (Lydia was born 11 July 1800.) Although he was excommunicated, he moved with the Saints to Nauvoo where he was apparently reinstated and endowed 31 January 1846. Quinn, *Origins*, 487; HC 3:210; Van Wagoner, *Sidney*, 251; Cannon and Cook, 255; Black, *Membership*.

**Coles/Cole, Abner**, who pirated parts of the Book of Mormon during the printing in 1829, was born about 1782 and had been an attorney in Palmyra, a justice of the peace (1814-15), a constable (1818), and a road overseer in the same district as the Smith family (#26). He was practicing law in 1827. He owned about fifty acres in Palmyra and about 100 in Manchester. He used the pseudonym of Obediah Dogberry Jr., lived at Winter Green Hill, a mound north of Palmyra, and published a "humorous" paper, *The Reflector*. Its first number appeared on 2 September 1829 with a sarcastic announcement about the publication of the Book of Mormon; he published portions between 2 and 22 January 1830 (first thirteen paragraphs of 1 Nephi, another section from 1 Nephi, and another from Alma 20) until forced to desist. He used the same pen name to publish the *Liberal Advocate* in Rochester, New York, from 23 February 1832 through 22 November 1834. Cole died 13 July 1835. Porter, "The Field," 83-84; Richard Anderson, "Circumstantial," 390; Vogel 2:223; Marquardt and Walters, 147.

**Comstock, Nehemiah**, is mentioned as a mobber in Daviess County, Missouri. Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 386.

**Cook**. A man by this name was Bogart/Bogard's brother-in-law in Missouri, according to Hyrum's affidavit.

**Cooper, Lovisa Mack**. See Stephen Mack under Solomon Mack.

**Correll/Corrill, John**, was born 17 September 1794 at Bone, Worcester County, Massachusetts, and was baptized 10 January 1831 in Ashtabula County, Ohio. He was ordained a high priest and assistant to Bishop Edward Partridge (3 June 1831-37), and moved to Jackson County in the fall of 1831. He served missions in Ohio (1831 with Solomon Hancock), Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. He then moved to Clay County (1833) and to Caldwell County; oversaw the completion of the Kirtland temple and was present for its dedication (March 1836); was appointed a church historian in Far West 6 April 1836; and played a significant role in negotiations between the Mormons and Missourians. He disagreed with church leaders over Danite activities and was considered a traitor for negotiating the surrender of Joseph Smith and others. He signed affidavits and petitioned the legislature on behalf of the Mormons in 1839 but also introduced losing legislation prohibiting anyone from "speaking in the name of the Lord." He was excommunicated 17 March 1839 at a conference in Quincy, Illinois. He and his wife Margaret had five children: Betsy, Nancy, Whitney, Foster, and Mary. Cannon and Cook, 158, 256; LeSueur, 201, 222, 260; Black, *Membership*.

**Covey, Almira Mack**. See Solomon Mack.

**Covey, Mr.** Lucy has a note to herself at the end of Daniel Mack's biographical sketch

saying that she will get more details from a “Mr. Covey,” probably Benjamin Covey, Almira Mack’s second husband. (See Stephen Mack under Solomon Mack.)

**Cowdery, Lyman.** See William Cowdery.

**Cowdery, Oliver**, was born 3 October 1806 at Wells, Rutland County, Vermont, to William Cowdery Jr. and Rebecca Fuller Cowdery. In about 1825 he went to New York and clerked for his brother Warren (see William Cowdery) until 1828 when Lyman arranged for him to teach the district school at Manchester. There he boarded with the Smith family, learned about the Book of Mormon, and insisted on becoming Joseph’s scribe in Pennsylvania during the translation. He and Joseph baptized each other in May 1829, and Joseph received a revelation commending his “gift of working with the rod.” He was one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, was ordained an elder by Sidney Rigdon (August 1831), and served as Kirtland Stake high councilor, assistant president of the church (5 December 1834), and church recorder (1834). He edited the *Messenger and Advocate* in Kirtland (1834-37). He assisted in choosing the Twelve (1835) and served missions with Joseph Smith to Colesville, New York (1830), to Kirtland (1830), and to the eastern states.

On 18 December 1832, he married Elizabeth Ann Whitmer, daughter of Peter Whitmer Sr. and Mary Musselman Whitmer. She was born 22 January 1815 at Fayette, Seneca County, New York. She and Oliver had six children: Maria Louise (21 August 1835 at Kirtland; married a man surnamed Johnson; died 11/9 January 1892), Elizabeth Ann, Josephine Rebecca, Oliver Peter, Adeline Fuller, and Julia Olive. Elizabeth Ann was baptized on 18 April 1830 by Oliver.

The family moved to Missouri in October 1837 where he was excommunicated on 12 April 1838 at Far West for apostasy. Although Joseph Smith presided at the high council, he refused to meet with Cowdery before the court. Oliver returned to Kirtland in late 1838 where Warren and Lyman were beginning their legal practice, studied law for a year, moved to Tiffin, Ohio, where he was active in local Democratic politics (county delegate, temporary editor of a Democratic weekly, campaign speaker, and nominee for state senator), served on the Board of School Examiners of Seneca County, served on a committee testing candidates for admission to the bar, and was a charter member of the Methodist Protestant Church. In 1847, suffering from ill health, he moved to Elkhorn, Wisconsin, where his brother Lyman was practicing law; here he co-edited a Democratic newspaper and practiced law. During this time, Phineas Young had maintained “constant correspondence and regular visits” with him, hoping to effect a reconciliation. In 1848 Oliver went to Kanesville, Iowa, with Phineas, was rebaptized on 12 November 1848 by Orson Hyde, and bore his testimony in public meetings. He then moved south to Richmond, Missouri, with Elizabeth and their only surviving child, Maria, where they stayed with Elizabeth’s family. He was bedfast for much of 1849 and died 3 March 1850. Elizabeth died 7 January 1892 at Southwest City, McDonald County, Missouri. Richard Anderson, *Investigating*, 38-46, 57, 59, 61, 63; *Profile*, 19; Vogel 2:397, 399; Cannon and Cook, 256; Black, *Who’s Who*, 74-79; Black, *Membership*.

**Cowdery, William**, father of Oliver Cowdery, was born 5 September 1765 at East Haddam, Middlesex County, Connecticut. He married Rebecca Fuller (ca. 1787), moved to Poultney, and then to Wells, Rutland County, Vermont. After Rebecca's death in 1809, William married Keziah Austin and moved to Williamson, Ontario County, New York, where their daughter Rebecca was born. William, like Joseph Smith Sr. and Jr., was associated with treasure seeking in Vermont. He was baptized in New York and moved to Kirtland where he died 26 February 1847. Children:

1. Warren F. Cowdery was born 5/17 October 1788 at Poultney, Rutland County, Vermont, and married Patience Simonds (Simmons), born 6 April 1794, on 22 September 1814 at Pawlett, Rutland County. Patience died 14 May 1862. Warren was baptized in late 1831 and by 1834 was branch president in Freedom, Cattaraugus County, New York; that year Joseph Smith and Parley P. Pratt passed through in March recruiting for Zion's Camp. He moved to Kirtland about 1835 where he was rebuked for criticizing the Twelve. He was reconciled, acted as scribe and assistant recorder (1836-37), served on the high council, whose minutes he kept (1837), and edited the *Messenger and Advocate* (1837). He left the church in 1838 when Oliver was excommunicated in Missouri and died 23 February 1851 at Kirtland. His son Marcellus was born 31 August 1815, testified on Oliver Cowdery's behalf at Far West, was disfellowshipped on 10 April 1838, and died 26 September 1885.

2. **Lyman Cowdery**, a lawyer and a judge, was born 12 March 1802 at Wells, Rutland County, Vermont, married Eliza Alexander on 20 April 1825, became a probate judge in Ontario County, New York, and died 22 April 1881 at Elkhorn, Walworth County, Wisconsin.

4. **Oliver Cowdery**, (q.v.) was born 3 October 1806.

5. Rebecca, daughter of second wife Keziah, was born 18 October 1810.

6. Lucy Pearce Cowdery, a half-sister, married Phineas Howe Young, Brigham Young's brother, in 1836. Richard Anderson, *Investigating*, 38-46, 57, 59, 61, 63; *Profile*, 19; Cannon and Cook, 256; Vogel 1:374, 2:603; Black, *Who's Who*, 74-79; Black, *Membership*.

**Cutler, Alpheus**, was born 29 February 1784 at Plainfield, Sullivan County, New Hampshire, to Knight Cutler and Elizabeth Boyd Cutler. A veteran of the War of 1812, he was converted when his daughter, who was ill, accepted the testimony of David W. Patten and Reynolds Cahoon about the Book of Mormon and was miraculously healed. Alpheus was baptized on 20 January 1833, moved to Kirtland, worked on the temple, was ordained a high priest (1835), had a vision of Jesus Christ during its dedication, and served on the Kirtland high council. He next moved his family, including an "aged mother," to Caldwell County and, in September 1838, was living between Adam-ondi-Ahman and Richmond.

In Nauvoo, Cutler served on the high council, the Council of Fifty, and the temple committee. Joseph Smith selected him as the seventh member of his secret "Quorum of the Anointed." He and his wife were endowed on 12 October 1843 and received their second anointings on 14 November. Assigned by Joseph Smith to be a missionary to the Indians, he helped organize the exodus from Nauvoo, then set up

his mission at Manti, Iowa. Over the next several years, he refused to abandon this mission, developed distinctive teachings, opposed Brigham Young's authority and plural marriage, and reacted negatively to pressure from Orson Hyde, who was presiding in Iowa. Hyde's high council excommunicated Cutler on 20 April 1851; on 19 September 1853, Cutler founded the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite). He died 10 August 1864 at Manti, Mills County, Iowa.

He married Lois Lathrop. Among their children, all sealed to the parents on 31 January 1846, were Lois Huntington Cutler (endowed 17 December 1845 at the Nauvoo temple); Louisa Elizabeth (born 16 May/March 1816 at Lisle, Broome County, New York; married Tunis Rappleye on 17 January 1836; died 9 March 1854); Sally Maria (born 3 September 1818 at Ontario County, New York; married Buckley Burnham Anderson on 31 December 1837; endowed 3 January 1846); and Thaddeus (born 18 June 1809 at Lisle; married Lemira Scott on 16 August 1829; baptized on January 1833; endowed 15 December 1845). Cannon and Cook, 257; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 182, 437; Jorgensen, 25-64; Black, *Who's Who*, 79-82; Black, *Membership*.

**Davies/Davis.** The deacon at Randolph, Vermont, with whose worldliness Lucy was dissatisfied. The 1790 census identifies two: Nathan and Experience. The 1800 census lists three men surnamed "Device": Barzillai, Ephraim, and Experience. Which of them is the deacon is not clear. Vogel 1:241.

**Denton, Solomon Wilber.** Don Carlos Smith consults "Samuel [his brother] and Wilber" at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1838. HC 4:393 identifies this missionary companion as Wilber Denton, with whom Don Carlos served a mission in Pennsylvania and New York in the spring and summer of 1836. His full name was Solomon Wilber Denton; he married Fanny M. Stanley on 30 July 1835 at Kirtland. He moved to Missouri with the Saints and, with Don Carlos, worked at printing in Nauvoo where he belonged to the high priests' quorum over which Don Carlos presided. Black, *Members*; Ebenezer Robinson, *The Return* 1 (July 1889): 104 in *LDS Collectors Library*, CD-ROM (Orem, UT: Infobase, Inc., 1993).

**Dikes**, whom Lucy identifies as a suitor of Martin Harris's oldest daughter, named Lucy for her mother, is apparently Flanders Dyke. Lucy II married him, apparently in the late 1820s in Palmyra, had seven children, and died in 1841. Dyke reportedly died in the Civil War. Vogel 1:352.

**Doniphan, Alexander William**, was born 9 July 1808 in Mason County, Kentucky, the youngest son of Joseph Doniphan and Anne Smith Doniphan's ten children. He graduated from Augusta College in Kentucky, became an attorney in 1829 in Kentucky, moved to Lexington, Missouri, in March 1830, moved to Liberty in May 1833, represented the Saints as a lawyer, served three terms in the Missouri legislature (1836-38, 1840-44), successfully introduced the bill in the Missouri legislature creating Daviess County as a "reserve" for the Mormons, was a brigadier general in the state militia and a colonel in the U.S. Army, and earned undying Mormon gratitude when he refused to execute Joseph Smith at Far West in 1838. He and co-counsel Amos Rees re-

ceived 1,079 acres in Jackson County for their fees, worth nearly \$5,000. He led the First Missouri Mounted Volunteers during the Mexican War 1846-47 and became a national hero by capturing Chihuahua. Although positioned for a national political career, he refused to run for governor, and, after his candidacy as a Whig U.S. Senator in 1854 deadlocked the legislature for forty-one ballots, withdrew from public office. A pro-Union moderate, he refused a military commission during the Civil War and instead became a state claims agent for soldiers' widows and orphans. He married Elizabeth Jane Thorn 27 December 1837; they had two sons, both of whom died in separate accidents as teenagers. He visited Salt Lake City in 1874 where he was received as a hero. Jane died in 1873; Doniphan died in Richmond 8 August 1887. Cannon and Cook, 258; Launius, *Alexander*, *passim*.

**Dort, David D.**, was born 6 January 1793/1790 at Surrey/Gilsum, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, to John Dort/Dart and Elishaba Briggs Dart. He married Mary ("Polly") Mack on 2 June 1813 at Gilsum. Polly, born 4 September 1793, was the daughter of Stephen Mack and Temperance Bond Mack. After Mary's death, David married her sister Fanny. The family lived at Gilsum until 1820, then moved to Pontiac, Michigan (1822-35). When Lucy Mack Smith visited her nieces at Pontiac, in 1831, she predicted that the Mormons would take the parishioners of the hostile minister, including the deacon (Dort). Dort was converted by Jared Carter, baptized in 1831, participated in Zion's Camp (1834), and moved his family to Kirtland (1836), where he was a charter member of the Kirtland Safety Society and served on the high council. The family moved next to Far West (1838-39) where he was a member of the high council, then to Nauvoo (1839) where he was also a member of the high council until he died 10 March 1841. Cannon and Cook, 258; *Profile*, 21; Black, *Who's Who*, 86.

**Durfy/Durfee, Lemuel**, a Quaker, kept a store at Palmyra and was the father of several sons: Isaac, Pardon, Stephen, Lemuel Jr., and Bailey. His account books "show a consistent pattern of the Smiths laboring to pay off debts incurred by purchases." He bought the Smith farm at Palmyra for \$1,135 on Tuesday, 20 December 1825, when they were misrepresented to the land agent, and arranged for them to continue living there until the spring of 1829 in exchange for Samuel's labor. His will, written on 12 June 1826, "refers to 'the Everton lot . . . on which Joseph Smith now lives.'" Later, on 4 December 1833, Lemuel Durfee Jr. was one of fifty-one Palmyra residents who signed an affidavit attesting that Joseph Sr. and Jr., because of their "visionary projects" of money-digging, were "considered entirely destitute of moral character, and addicted to vicious habits." After Lemuel Sr.'s death on 8 August 1829, Lemuel Jr. sued Joseph Smith Sr. and Abraham Fish for \$39.92, to recover a note to his father that they had cosigned. Richard Anderson, "Reliability," 26; McConkie, 154; Rodger Anderson, 148; italics omitted.

**Earl**, a Mormon whom Don Carlos Smith describes as living at or near Adam-ondi-Ahman in 1838. There are two reasonable candidates, sons of Joseph I. Earl and Dorcus Tabitha Wixom Earl, although it is not known if they were also in Missouri: (1) *Asa C. Earl* was born in 1810 in New York, was baptized in 1833 in Illinois with neighbors

Charles C. Rich and Hosea Stout, and married Rich's sister Minerva (1835), who died in 1840 after giving birth to two daughters and a son. He next married Nancy Weeks Allred at Nauvoo (Charles C. Rich performed the ceremony) on 26 February 1843 and fathered seven children. According to Rich, he spoke in tongues in 1833. He died at Reno, Washoe County, Nevada, on 1 December 1891. (2) *Sylvester Henry Earl* was born 15/16 August 1815 at Derby/Scioto County, Ohio, was baptized in 1837, moved to Far West, served a mission in 1838, and guarded the temple in Nauvoo. He and his wife, Lois Caroline Owen, married 28 January 1839, and had ten children. He married twice more: Margaret Emily Jones on 11 November 1855 and Betsey Ann Owen and fathered thirteen children. Earl came to Utah as a member of the 1847 pioneer company. A chairmaker, wheelwright, and farmer, he died 23 July 1873 at St. George, Washington County, Utah. Cannon and Cook, 259; Arrington, *Charles*, 24; Black, *Membership*.

**Eaton.** Lucy says this individual disclosed Joseph H. Jackson's plot against Joseph Smith's life. The *History of the Church* identifies him as M. G. Eaton. He gave an affidavit to that effect before Daniel H. Wells's court. When Joseph was at Carthage jail, his attorney's plan to apply for a change of venue included Eaton among the witnesses he planned to call. HC 6:279, 576.

**Evertson, Nicholas.** Proprietor of the tract of land at Palmyra that included Joseph's and Lucy's hundred acres. A New York attorney, he died in 1807. Thirteen years later (June 1820), his executors transferred power of attorney to Dr. Casper W. Eddy, also of New York, to sell this property. Eddy transferred his power of attorney to Zachariah Seymour at Canandaigua, Ontario County, on 14 July 1820. Vogel 1:277n75.

**Fielding, Mary.** See Hyrum Smith.

**Fielding, Mercy.** See Robert B. Thompson.

**Fitch.** Don Carlos Smith mentions a man by this name, not a member of the church, at Wyatt's Mills in Tennessee during the fall of 1838. He headed a mob of about twelve who threatened missionaries Don Carlos Smith and George A. Smith but apologized after hearing Don Carlos's patriotic sermon.

**Flog/Flagg** of Hanover, New Hampshire. No Flog/Flagg appears in Hanover's census for 1800, 1810, or 1820. The closest match is Ebenezer and Phinehas Fogg in 1810. Vogel 1:272.

**Ford, Thomas,** governor of Illinois from 1842 to 1846, was born 5 December 1800 in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, to Robert Ford and Elizabeth Logue Ford. He married Frances Hambaught on 12 June 1828, and they had five children. He studied at Transylvania University in Illinois, then entered law practice with George Forquer, his mother's son by a first marriage, at Edwardsville (1825-29). He was state's attorney at Galena and Quincy (1829-35), then judge in a circuit court, a municipal court, and the state supreme court (1835-42), until he resigned to run successfully as Democratic candidate for governor. It had taken considerable persuasion for him to seek office: the



state debt was so large that taxes “could not even pay the interest” on it, and at least some state banks had failed. Rather than repudiating the debt, he arranged a schedule of loans and repayments that allowed the completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, thus “sav[ing] the state’s credit, and assur[ing] its integrity and future prosperity.” His wife died a few weeks before his own death from tuberculosis on 3 November 1850. *Dictionary*, 3:520-21.

**Foster, Captain.** Friend of Solomon Mack who launched a privateer venture during the Revolutionary War.

**Foster, Charles,** the brother of Robert D. Foster, who tried to shoot Joseph Smith and joined in the cabal to publish the *Nauvoo Expositor* and kill Joseph Smith. According to Benjamin F. Johnson, the Foster brothers were Joseph Smith’s “confidential attorneys.” Johnson, 89.

**Foster, Robert D.,** was born 14 March 1811 at Braunston, Northampton County, England, to John and Jane Foster. He was baptized in 1839 and received his patriarchal blessing on 20 July 1840 at Nauvoo from Joseph Smith Sr. He went with Joseph Smith and others to Washington, D.C., to seek redress for the wrongs suffered in Missouri. He served a mission in New York with Jonathan Allen, was a regent for the University of Nauvoo, belonged to the city’s Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, was a county magistrate, and served the Nauvoo Legion as a surgeon. A member of Nauvoo Third Ward and a land speculator, he was rebuked for financial dealings in January 1841, accused of slandering Joseph Smith in April 1844, fined for gambling that month, and excommunicated for immorality and apostasy on 18 April 1844 in addition to being court-martialed and tried civilly for refusing to aid Marshal John P. Greene. He joined with William and Wilson Law in organizing another church, helped publish the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and joined in the conspiracy to kill Joseph Smith. Mary Fielding Smith, Leonora Taylor, and seven other women ordered him out of Nauvoo after the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and he left that night. He was charged with but acquitted of conspiracy to murder. Black, *Who’s Who*, 89-92; Black, *Membership*.

**Foster, Sister.** Don Carlos Smith describes her as a wealthy widow at Wyatt’s Mills, Tennessee, who hosted Don Carlos and George A. Smith in the fall of 1838, despite threats from a mob headed by Fitch.

**Fox,** a non-Mormon who lived between Chariton and Far West, Missouri, was, according to Don Carlos Smith, “one of the bitterest of mobocrats.” He gave Don Carlos and George A. Smith shelter one night when they were returning from a mission in late fall or early winter of 1838.

**Fuller, Amos Botsford,** was born 26 March 1810 at Stockholm, St. Lawrence County, New York, to Luther Fuller and Lorena Mitchell Fuller. He wed Esther Smith on 8 March 1832. Esther, born 20 September 1810 at Stockholm, was the child of Joseph Smith Sr.’s brother Asael Smith Sr. and Betsy Schellinger Smith and thus Joseph Jr.’s

first cousin. Esther died 31 October 1856 at Salt Lake City; Amos died 29 March 1853 at Des Moines, Iowa. *Profile*, 26.

**Gates, Daniel**, was the father-in-law of Solomon Mack and grandfather of Lucy Mack Smith. Lucy quotes her father, who mistakenly gives his father-in-law's name as Nathan. (Nathan was Daniel's son.) A tanner, Daniel Gates was a deacon and a selectman in the First Congregational Church of East Haddam (now Millington), Connecticut. He was born 5 February 1706, married Lydia Fuller, and died 5 October 1775. Although citing a complete birth date for Daniel, Richard Anderson gives his birth year as 1707, not 1706, in a genealogical chart but does not explain the discrepancy. Their daughter, Lydia Gates (Mack), was born in 1732 in East Haddam. Richard Anderson, *New England*, 4, 177-78.

**Gates, Lydia**. See Solomon Mack.

**Gates, Nathan**. See Daniel Gates.

**Gause/Gauze, Jesse**, was born about 1784 in East Marlborough, Chester County, Pennsylvania, to William Goss (Gause) and Mary Beverly Gause. He married Martha Johnson in 1815, and they had four children; he next married a woman named Minerva (surname not known) in 1828. They had one child before ceasing cohabitation in 1829 when they became Shakers; they separated in 1832. Gause was a schoolteacher, had been a private in the Delaware militia (1814-15), was a Quaker (1806-29), then a Shaker at North Union, Ohio, was baptized Mormon on 22 October 1831, became Joseph Smith's first counselor on 8 March 1832, served a mission (1832), participated in the literary firm and the United Firm of Kirtland, was excommunicated on 3 December 1832, and died about 1836 in Montgomery or Chester County, Pennsylvania. Quinn, *Origins*, 546.

**Gilbert, Algernon Sidney**, was born 28 December 1789 at New Haven, New Haven County, Connecticut, to Eli Gilbert and Lydia Hemingway Gilbert, and was living at Painesville, Ohio, by 1817 where he owned a store. For the next decade, he developed entrepreneurial and commercial interests. By 1827 he was partners in a store at Kirtland with Newel K. Whitney. Sidney and his wife, Elizabeth Van Benthussen, were baptized in 1830. Gilbert was ordained an elder on 16 June 1831 and accompanied Joseph Smith to Jackson County, Missouri, that same month where he opened the church's store. He died of cholera in Clay County 29 June 1834, during the epidemic that attacked Zion's Camp. Cannon and Cook, 263, 293; Black, *Who's Who*, 102-3.

**Gilliam/Gillum/Gillium, Cornelius ("Neil")**, was one of three ministers who led militia companies against the Mormons during the Missouri War of 1838. (The others were Samuel Bogard/Bogart and Sashel/Sashiel Woods.) Gilliam was born in 1798 in Florida and settled in five different Missouri counties, each time moving closer to the frontier. A skilled hunter, he tracked runaway slaves as a teenager, was a part-time Baptist minister in Clinton County, served a term as sheriff of Clay County, then served three terms as a state senator (1838-44). He was a "savage" Indian fighter and was locally



known for chasing a bear that had raided his pigs for several miles, armed only with an axe and wearing only his underwear, until he caught and killed it. According to his daughter, he "believed the Bible, particularly where it said smite the Philistines, and he figured the Philistines was a misprint for the Mormons . . . He was a great hand to practice what he preached so he helped exterminate quite a considerable few of them." During October 1838, as senator-elect, he organized the Clinton County militia with 200 volunteers who painted themselves Indian style. His unit belonged to Doniphan's brigade, but Doniphan stayed home, leaving Gilliam to act without orders. In January 1839 as state senator representing Clay and Platte counties, Gilliam urged a legislative investigation, confident that it would condemn the Mormons. Daniel Ashby, who had participated in the attack at Haun's Mill and was also a state senator, voted in support. The House opposed it and no investigation occurred. Gilliam served three terms in the Missouri Senate, led a wagon train of 500 to Oregon, held a number of positions in local government there, led a successful campaign against the Cayuse Indians who attacked the Marcus Whitman mission, and died in a shooting accident in 1848. Gilliam County, Oregon, is named in his honor. Cannon and Cook, 263; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 669; LeSueur, 22-23, 129, 227-29, 247, 258.

**Goodson, John**, a non-Mormon who lived between Adam-ondi-Ahman and Richmond, Missouri, in the winter of 1838-39, was inhospitable to Don Carlos Smith and George A. Smith as they passed through on a mission.

**Graham**, General, a Missouri gentile.

**Grandin, Egbert Bratt**, was born 30 March 1806, the youngest of ten children, and became an apprentice printer at the office of Palmyra's *Wayne Sentinel*, which he bought on 13 April 1827, from John Henry Gilbert, who stayed on as his employee and set type for the Book of Mormon in 1829. Grandin, the brother-in-law of Pomeroy Tucker, married Harriet Rogers in 1828 and fathered six children. Their oldest son, Carlton, died at age five in 1829 of "typhus fever." Grandin had an interest in religion and attended Presbyterian, Baptist, Episcopal, Shaker, and Methodist meetings. He had left the publishing business by 1833 and died in April 1845 at Palmyra. Vogel 1:90; "Historic," 48-50.

**Grant**. Hyrum Smith's affidavit identifies an intimidated witness at the Richmond court in Clay County as a brother of Caroline Grant Smith, William Smith's wife. The *History of the Church* version identifies him as Jedediah Morgan Grant. He was the fifth of the eight sons of Joshua Grant (1778-1865) and Athalia Howard Grant, born 21 February 1816 at Windsor. He was baptized on 21 March 1833 by John F. Boynton and ordained an elder and a seventy by Joseph Smith at Kirtland on 28 February 1835. He served missions in New York, North Carolina, and Philadelphia. He was endowed at Nauvoo on 12 December 1845 and reached Utah in 1847. He married Caroline Van Dyke on 2/3 July 1844 at Nauvoo; Susan Fairchild Noble on 11 February 1849 at Salt Lake City; Rosetta Robinson; Sarah Ann Thurson on 15 December 1853; Louise Maria Golay on 17 February 1854; and Rachel Ridgeway Ivins. He fathered nine children,

including Heber J. Grant, who became seventh president of the LDS church, and adopted the son of one wife by her first marriage.

In Utah he was the first mayor of Salt Lake City, speaker of the house of the Territorial Legislature (1852-55), and superintendent of public works. He served as one of the Seven Presidents of the Seventy, was called as Brigham Young's second counselor on 7 April 1854, headed the Mormon Reformation beginning in 1855, and died 1 December 1856. Black, *Membership*; Cannon and Cook, 264.

**Graves.** Lucy's family occupied a house owned by this individual with several other refugee families in Quincy in early 1839.

**Greene, John Portineus**, was born 3 September 1793 in Herkimer County, New York, to John Coddington Greene and Anne Chapman Greene. A shoemaker, he was an exhorter for the Methodist Episcopal church; and in 1828 with about twenty or twenty-five others, he formed the Methodist Protestant church and was a traveling preacher at Mendon, New York. He married Rhoda Young, sister of Brigham and Phineas, on 11 February 1813. Rhoda was born 10 September 1789 at Platauva District, New York. Rhoda was the first in the family to accept Samuel H. Smith's testimony and the Book of Mormon. They had seven children: Evan Melbourne (22 December 1814 at Aurelius, Cayuga County, New York), Abby Ann (17 April 1817 in Wayne County, New York), Addison (12 June 1819 at Brownsville, New York), Fanny Eliza (17 January 1821/1822 at Watertown, Jefferson County, New York), Rhoda (2 October 1824 at Watertown), John Young (21 September 1826 at Mentz, New York), and Nancy Zerviah (17 September 1829 at Corneus, New York). He also married Mary Elizabeth Nelson on 6 December 1841.

Rhoda and John were baptized (13 April 1832) at Mendon, Monroe County, New York, then moved to Kirtland, where John served on the high council and was ordained a high priest (16 September 1833). He served missions in New York (1832), New York and Canada (1833, 1834), New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine (1835), and Ohio (1836), and Canada with William Marks (1838). They moved to Far West (1838). John presided over the New York City branch (1839). At Nauvoo, John served on the city council (1841), became marshal (1843), supervised the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor* (June 1844), and died 10 September 1844. Rhoda died 18 January 1841 at Nauvoo. Cannon and Cook, 264; Jessee 2:549; Black, *Membership*.

**Greenwood, Dr.**, "of the next village" to Palmyra was blamed for Alvin's death for prescribing calomel against the patient's wishes. Vogel (1:300) suggests that Lucy confused his name with that of their new land agent, John Greenwood, since there are no Greenwoods in the Ontario/Wayne County census for 1820 or 1830.

**Grenolds/Granolds, Mrs.** A midwife or nurse at Kirtland who attended Jerusha Barden Smith during the birth of her sixth child, Sarah, on 2 October 1837. Jerusha died on 13 October. Mrs. Grenolds was evidently a member of the LDS church because she was in Missouri in 1838-39 and, in March 1839, was living with Joseph Sr. and Lucy to

care for Hyrum's children (presumably Jerusha's four surviving children) at Quincy, Illinois, while Hyrum was still in prison and Mary Fielding Smith, his second wife, was slowly recuperating from the birth of Joseph F. Smith the autumn before. Don Carlos, who provides this piece of information, spells her name *Grinold* (HC 3:273). Esplin, without citation, calls her "Aunt Hannah Grinnals" (35).

**Gun, Captain Asahel**, of Montague, New Hampshire, had a family whose members Lucy remembered as Thankful (born 1754), Unice (Eunice) (born 1762), Abel (born 1766), and Martin (born 1769). The father's military rank appears on his tombstone. Richard Anderson, *New England*, 65.

**Hale, Alva**, Emma's brother. See Isaac Hale.

**Hale, Isaac**, and **Elizabeth Lewis Hale**, the parents of Emma Hale Smith, married in 1790 when they moved from Vermont with Elizabeth's brother Nathaniel and his wife, Sarah Cole Lewis, to become the first settlers at Harmony (now Oakland), Pennsylvania, where all of their children were born. Isaac had been born 1763 at Waterbury, Connecticut, to Reuben Hale and Diantha Ward Hale (born 1741) and served in the Revolutionary War. Elizabeth was born in 1767 at Wells/Litchfield, Vermont, the daughter of Nathaniel Lewis (born 1740) and Esther Tuttle Lewis (born 1747). Isaac and Elizabeth belonged to the Methodist Episcopal church. They had nine children, all born at Harmony:

1. Jesse was born 24 February 1792, married Mary McKine (1799-1864) in 1815, was a tax collector in Harmony, served as a school trustee, and fathered twelve children. By 1843 he had moved to Dixon, Lee County, Illinois. He died in 1874.

2. David was born 6 March 1794, was a tax collector in Harmony and a pilot on the Susquehanna River, married Rhoda Jane Skinner (1823), a midwife who helped Emma deliver her first child, a stillborn and deformed son named Alvin. David and Rhoda had at least two daughters. By 1843 David and his family had settled near Amboy, Lee County, Illinois. Visiting in the 1860s, Joseph III mentions a daughter, Betsey.

3. **Alva** was born 29 November 1795. In 1828 he came with a team and wagon to bring Emma and Joseph back to Harmony where he reportedly served briefly as Joseph's scribe. By 1843 Alva and his family had settled near Sublette, Lee County, Illinois. Joseph III, who visited him in the 1860s with Emma, mentions three children: Eunice, Jesse, and William.

4. Phoebe was born 1 May 1798.

5. **Elizabeth** was born 14 February 1800, married Benjamin Wasson (Joseph III spells it "Wassen"), and lived near Colesville where they had six children: Lorenzo (he became a Mormon; married Marietta Crocker on 9 July 1843 at Nauvoo; also married Aurelia H. Gaylord; served a mission in Pennsylvania; and died in July 1857), Harmon, Clara, Rocky (Roxie), Caroline, and Warren.

Between at least 1818 and 1842, Elizabeth and Benjamin lived at Amboy, Lee County, Illinois. Benjamin Wasson died en route to the California gold fields. Daughter Clara later married Mormon William Backenstos, brother of Jacob Backenstos, the non-Mormon sheriff of Hancock County who endeavored to protect the Mormons.

Elizabeth and her youngest daughter, Caroline, were members of the Church of England.

6. Isaac Ward was born in 1902 and had moved to Amboy, Lee County, with his family by 1843.

7. **Emma** was born 10 July 1804. See Joseph Smith Jr.

8. Tryal/Trial was born 21 November 1806; she married Michael Bartlett Morse (he taught a Methodist class at Harmony), and moved to Chemung County, New York, briefly before settling in Amboy, Lee County, Illinois, in 1859. They had twelve children. Joseph III recalls, as children, Lorenzo, Bartlett, and "a number of daughters." Tryal and an eighteen-year-old daughter were killed by a tornado on 3 June 1860.

9. Reuben was born 18 September 1810.

Elizabeth took in boarders (and/or ran an inn) and taught her children to read and write. Isaac Hale was briefly interested in Josiah Stowell's money-digging project (October 1825). He died 11 January 1839, leaving his farm and the responsibility for Elizabeth to Alva. Elizabeth died 16 February 1842 at Harmony. Newell and Avery, 3, 102, 147-48; JS III, 36-37, 76; Vogel 1:68, 372, 582-83; Black, *Membership*.

**Hamilton, Artois**, owned the Hamilton Tavern or Hamilton House in Carthage, Illinois, the most important guest house in the city of 22,559 (1845). Joseph and Hyrum Smith and their party lodged here overnight on 24-25 June before giving themselves up the next day. (Governor Thomas Ford was also there.) Samuel H. Smith, who was trying to reach his brothers, sent a fourteen-year-old boy with a wagon to the Hamilton House. After the murders, Hamilton had pine boxes made for the bodies and, with two of his sons, joined Samuel and Willard Richards in escorting the bodies back to Nauvoo. Joseph's body was in Samuel's wagon, while Hyrum's was in Hamilton's. Hamilton also sheltered John Taylor while he was recovering from his wounds. Artois's son William R., a youthful member of the Carthage Greys who was stationed on the courthouse roof to keep a lookout for approaching groups, wrote disgustedly in 1902 that he thought "the officers and some privates were working for delay" in failing to respond quickly to the attack. Canfield Hamilton had a tavern at Warsaw, but his relation to Artois is not specified. Flanders, 156-57, 167; Norman, 1-2; Hallwas and Launius, 219, 228-30; Oaks and Hill, 1, 17, 122.

**Harmon** family of Gilsum, New Hampshire. Lucy remembers three of the children as schoolmates: Martha ("Patty"), Toriah, and John.

**Harris, Emer**, the older brother of Martin Harris, was born 29 May 1791 in Cambridge, Washington County, New York, to Nathan Harris and Rhoda Lapham Harris. He moved with his parents to Palmyra, New York, where he began farming on land bought from his father in 1806-7, then moved to Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, where he became part-owner of a sawmill. Martin reportedly gave him the first bound copy of the Book of Mormon that Martin himself received. After reading it, Emer was baptized on 10 February 1831 by Hyrum Smith, became an elder and moved to Kirtland (1831), was ordained a high priest on 25 October 1831 by Joseph Smith, and worked for a time as Joseph's scribe. He served a mission in New York and Pennsylvania (1832-33) with

Simeon Carter and Martin Harris, worked on the Kirtland temple, moved to Missouri in October 1838, and moved to Nauvoo in 1839 where he worked on the Nauvoo temple. He received his patriarchal blessing in 1848 from John Smith, reached Utah in 1850, settled first in Ogden, and then in Provo (1855), where he served as a patriarch, moved to southern Utah (1862), and returned to Logan (1867) where he died 28 November 1869.

He married Roxana/Roxanna Peas on 22 July 1802, and they had six children: Selina (10 October 1803), Elathan (7 October 1805), Alvira (7 August 1807), Sephrona (17 August 1809), Nathan (26 September 1811), and Ruth (7 September 1813). Emer married Deborah Lott on 16 June 1819, and they had four children: Emer Jr. (November 1819), Martin Henderson (29 September 1820), Harriet Fox (26 December 1822), and Dennison Lott (17 January 1825). Emer married his third wife Parna Chapell on 29 March 1826 (born 12 November 1792 at Berkshire, Berkshire County, Massachusetts), and they had four children: Fannie Melvina (21 January 1827), Joseph Mormon (19 July 1830), Alma (6 January 1832), and Charles (2 July 1834). Two additional marriages but without details are recorded for Emer on 11 January 1846 and 10 September 1850/1855. Cannon and Cook, 266; *Profile*, 33; Black, *Who's Who*, 119-21; Black, *Membership*.

**Harris, Lucy.** Martin Harris's wife and daughter. See Martin Harris and Flanders Dikes respectively.

**Harris, Martin,** was born 18 May 1783 at East Town, Saratoga County, New York, the second of Nathan Harris's and Rhoda Lapham Harris's eight children. (Nathan and Rhoda apparently joined the Mormons and moved with them to Ohio where they died at Mentor.) The family moved to the Palmyra area in 1794 when he was ten.

In March 1808, Martin married his first cousin, fifteen-year-old Lucy ("Dolly") Harris (daughter of Rufus and Lucy Harris, born 1792, probably at Palmyra) and became a farmer on part of his father's land. They had three children: Duty L. (1812-15), George W. (ca. 1814-64), and Lucy (1816-41).

By 1827 Martin owned almost 120 acres of land. He joined the local agricultural society and "produced linen, cotton, and woolen ticking, blankets, and worsted and flannel fabrics" for which he won thirteen fair prizes between 1822 and 1824. He also raised wheat, sheep, and hogs. He served with the militia "on several occasions" during the War of 1812, served on a fund-raising committee for Greek war relief, served on another appointed by the county's anti-Masonic convention, was road overseer eight years, was grand juror, and was a witness in three criminal trials. His religious history before 1830 reportedly included Quaker, Universalist, Restorationism, Baptist, Presbyterian, and possibly Methodist (although Richard Lloyd Anderson challenges all of these designations except Methodism and Universalism, and Dan Vogel challenges all but Universalist and Restorationist).

According to Martin's own account, he first learned about the gold plates from his brother Preserved. According to Lucy, Martin was Joseph Smith Sr.'s first confidant about the Book of Mormon outside of the Smith family (they participated in treasure-

seeking together) and was very supportive. He gave Joseph Smith Jr. money, took the transcribed characters from the plates to Professor Charles Anthon and Dr. Mitchell in New York City, inscribed (and lost) the first 116 pages of the manuscript, became one of Three Witnesses, and mortgaged his farm to pay for the Book of Mormon. He had the reputation of being credulous and superstitious. Mrs. Harris also complained that he beat her and turned her out of the house repeatedly and had an affair with a Mrs. Haggart.

Martin defaulted on the mortgage, separated permanently from Lucy in April 1831, moved to Kirtland in May 1831, and continued on the next month to Missouri. He was ordained a priest before 9 June 1830, ordained a high priest at Kirtland and served on the high council. Martin served a mission with his brother Emer (1832), participated in Zion's Camp, helped choose the Twelve, and served on the Kirtland high council (1835).

Lucy Harris died in the summer of 1836, and Martin married Carolyn/Caroline Young in 1837. She was born 17 May 1816 at Hector, Schuyler County, New York, to John Young and Theodocia Kimball Young. They became the parents of six children born between 1838 and 1856. Alienated when the Kirtland Bank failed, Martin was excommunicated in late December 1837, but was rebaptized both in 1840 and in November 1842.

Caroline took the children to Utah, but Martin remained in Kirtland, affiliating himself with eight different religious movements, all of them connected with Mormonism except for the Shakers (from which he had disaffiliated by 1855). These groups, as identified by Richard Anderson, are the Parrish-Boynton party, rebaptism in 1842 by an LDS missionary, an 1846 mission to England with a Strangite missionary, participation in 1847-48 with McLellan's group, approval of Gladden Bishop's "program for further revelations" based on the Book of Mormon, and association with "William Smith and others." When a reconciliation was effected, Martin, age eighty-six, was rebaptized on 17 September 1870, came to Utah, and gave numerous testimonies of the Book of Mormon. He lived briefly in Salt Lake City with Irinda Crandall McEwan, his grandniece, in Smithfield with Martin Harris Jr., his oldest son by Caroline, and in Clarkston (1874) where he died 10 July 1875. Caroline died 19 January 1888 at Lewisville, Jefferson County, Idaho. Richard Anderson, *Investigating*, 99-100, 110-11, 114-15, 165, 168-69, 177; Cannon and Cook, 266; Vogel 1:72; Vogel 2:29, 35-36, 257-58, 321; Black, *Who's Who*, 124-27. See also Oaks, who argues: "[Martin Harris] deserves better than to be remembered solely as the man who unrighteously obtained and then lost the initial manuscript pages of the Book of Mormon" (36).

**Harris, Preserved**, was born 8 May 1785 at Palmyra, Wayne County, New York, to Nathan Harris and Rhoda Lapham Harris, joined the Mormon church in New York, and died 18 March 1867 at Mentor, Lake County, Ohio. Before 1811, he married Nancy Warren, the daughter of Samuel Warren, born 31 December 1792 at Ontario County, New York. She died 19 April 1872 at Mentor. According to Lucy, Joseph and Emma Smith and their party, en route to Kirtland in late January 1831, stayed with Preserved. Joseph Jr. preached Nathan Harris's funeral sermon on 18 November 1835 at



Preserved's home in Kirtland. The Kirtland high council disfellowshipped Harris on 16 June 1836 with another man when Joseph Smith charged them with "a want of benevolence to the poor, and charity to the Church." *Profile*, 33; *Jessee* 2:351; *HC* 2:317, 445.

**Harvy.** Lucy mentions a family by this name at Montague, Massachusetts, where she lived between ages about four to thirteen. Two Harvey families "had children who were likely [Lucy's] playmates," Richard L. Anderson, *New England*, 65.

**Havens, Captain,** was the master of a privateer during the Revolutionary War, mentioned in Solomon Mack's autobiography.

**Henry.** A militia captain in whose troop Solomon Mack, during the French and Indian War, served in the regiment of Colonel Whiting; they saw action at Half-Way Brook and Fort Edwards in New York, in 1755.

**Higbee brothers.** See Elias Higbee.

**Higbee, Elias,** was born 23 October 1795 at Galloway, Gloucester County, New Jersey, to Isaac Higbee Sr. and Sophia Somers Higbee. They encountered the gospel through missionary Lyman Wight at Clermont County, Ohio; Wight would fish (their profession) with them through the day and preach at night. Most of the family were baptized in early May 1832. (Also baptized at the same time were John Higbee, Isaac Higbee Jr., his wife, Keziah String Higbee, Keziah's sister Margaret, and her husband, John T. Kerr.) The extended family moved to Jackson County in April 1833 and took up about eighty acres in Lyman Wight's settlement. During the mobbings, they turned this property over to Bishop Edward Partridge to help Joseph Smith pay his debts. They moved to Clay County in November 1833.

On 10 September 1818, Elias married Sarah Elizabeth Ward, born in 1801/1800, in Clermont County, Ohio; they had eight children, the first two of whom were later involved in plots against Joseph Smith:

1. **Francis Marion** was born in 1820 at Tate, Clermont County, Ohio. He was arrested during the fall of Far West (1838) and arraigned at the Richmond hearing. In Nauvoo he was elected a colonel in the Nauvoo Legion (1841). He was excommunicated on 18 May 1844 for apostasy and threats against Joseph Smith. Willard Richards identifies him among those at the jail when Joseph and Hyrum were killed. When the 1850 census was taken, he was still living in Hancock County. He died in New York, date unknown.

2. **Chauncey Lawson** was born 7 September 1821, also at Tate. At Nauvoo, he was excommunicated for adultery and opposition to Joseph Smith on 24 May 1842. The next day the Nauvoo high council ordered the publication of affidavits in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* claiming that Chauncey had seduced various women. Willard Richards identifies him among those at the jail when Joseph and Hyrum were killed. Chauncey married Julia M. White (1854), practiced law, was elected to the Illinois general assembly from Pike County (1855-56, 1859-60), and to the state senate (1861-62), and was appointed circuit judge (1861), and a member of the appellate court (1877). He died 7 December 1884 at Pittsfield.

The other six children of Elias and Sarah were Andrew Jackson (3 September 1825), William W., De Witt Clinton (November 1827), Elizabeth, Sarah, and Elias Keryle (6 April 1839). Elias served a mission to Missouri before his baptism, was ordained an elder on 20 February 1833 by his brother Isaac, moved to Jackson County in March 1833, was driven to Clay County that fall, ordained a high priest by Amasa M. Lyman, and served a mission in Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio (1835). He worked on the Kirtland temple, returned to Missouri in the spring of 1836, moved his family to Caldwell County where he helped found Far West, served on its high council, was appointed county judge, and was called as a church historian (6 April 1838). He also served on the high council in Clay County. After the expulsions, he accompanied Joseph Smith to Washington, D.C., where he took the lead in presenting the Mormon case to Congress. Elias died at Nauvoo of cholera on 8 June 1843. Joseph Smith preached his funeral sermon on 13 August 1843. Sarah died 1 April 1874 at Clarence, Shelby County, Missouri. HC 5:18, 420, 529, 6:398, 7:146; Black, *Membership*; Cannon and Cook, 158, 267; Black, *Who's Who*, 134-36; Cook, *Law*, 108; Jessee 2:552-53; Flanders, 143.

**Hinkle, George M.**, was born 13 November 1801 in Jefferson County, Kentucky, joined the Mormon church in 1832, and received his patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith Sr. at Kirtland on 26 September 1835. He served missions in Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri. He moved to Missouri where he operated a store in Far West and served on its high council. With fellow high councilor John Murdock, he established De Witt in Carroll County. They purchased half the town plat from Henry Root on 23 June 1838 for \$500, with Bishop Edward Partridge cosigning the note. In June 1838 Hinckle sold his house to Bishop Partridge for Joseph Smith; between July and October 1838, seventy Mormon families settled there. Hinckle held a commission, signed by the governor, as colonel in the state militia. After the Mormons were forced out of De Witt in October 1838, Hinkle and Murdock sold their interest in the town plat in February 1839. Lucy, like other Mormons of the time, believed that he and other negotiators betrayed Joseph Smith to the Missouri militia at the fall of Far West. Hinckle did not consider himself a traitor and, although he testified against Joseph Smith at Austin King's preliminary hearing in Richmond, reminded his critics that he was there under subpoena. Lucas's reports make it clear that he considered Hinkle to be the "chief" Mormon representative, not Joseph Smith. Hinkle was excommunicated on 17 March 1839 at Quincy, Illinois and, in June 1840, organized the Church of Jesus Christ, the Bride, the Lamb's Wife. He had a medical practice, a farm, and a drugstore in later years, and died in 1861 in Iowa. Some of his descendants affiliated with the RLDS Church. Cannon and Cook, 197, 268; LeSueur, 56, 112, 175; Porter, "Odyssey," 329-30; Jessee 2:553; HC 6:398.

**Hoit, Hiram.** Lucy identifies a Hyran [Hyrum?] Holt (possibly Hoit) as one of the families with whom they shared a house as refugees in Quincy. Hiram Holt was one of ten children born to James Hoyt and Beulah Sabin Hoyt, all of them in Oneida County, New York, between 1808 and 1830. Most of these siblings can be located in Nauvoo



during the 1840s, though not, with the data available to me, by 1839. Hiram would have been twenty-six, old enough to be married with children, by that year. Black, *Early*.

**Hooper.** Lucy warmly commemorates the kindly welcome she and her family received from this family at Waterloo, New York, in the early months of 1831 while they waited to go to Kirtland. According to Porter ("A Study," 272), Pontius Hooper kept a tavern in "the Kingdom" near Waterloo.

**Howard.** Two cousins by this name at Norwich, Vermont, who were also moving to Palmyra, New York, were involved with the Smiths. One (name unknown) traveled with Joseph Sr.; the second proved to be an unsatisfactory escort to Lucy and her children in January 1817. Joseph Jr., in a memoir dictated in 1838-39, recalls the name of this second teamster as Caleb Howard, a drinker, gambler, and womanizer. Durham, 481.

**Howe, George Augustus,** was born about 1724, the third Vicount Howe, not to be confused with his two brothers, Richard and William, who succeeded in turn to the title and both fought in the Revolutionary War, Richard in the British Navy and William in the British Army. George Augustus was the son of Emanuel Scrope Howe, governor of Barbados (1732-35). He was commissioned an ensign in the Grenadier Guards in March 1745 and was, by May 1749, a lieutenant colonel. Early in 1757 he was appointed colonel of the Third Battalion of Royal Americans in New York, was promoted to brigadier general in December 1857, energetically studied woodcraft and warfare, and was widely admired and respected. He was killed by a French skirmishing party on 6 July 1758 and buried at Albany, New York. *Dictionary*, 5:287-88.

**Howe, Harriet,** who joined the Mormon church in Painesville, Ohio, in 1832, was a witness against Wesley Hurlburt, with others, that he had denied the faith on 2 January 1834. He was excommunicated. (Philastus Hurlburt had been excommunicated for sexual misconduct the previous June, but the women who testified are not identified.) She was the sister of Eber D. Howe, publisher of the Painesville *Telegraph*. Her sister-in-law, Sophia Hull Howe (1800-66), also joined the Mormon church in Kirtland. Harriet helped with the Kirtland temple, making clothing for the workmen and helping with the veil. In December 1835 she was living in Painesville, where Emma called on her while Joseph was transacting business in town. Harriet called on the Smiths a few days later. HC 2:2, 324, 331; Jesse 2:555; Vogel 2:284.

**Hull, William,** whom Lucy mentions slightly in her biographical sketch of her brother Stephen Mack, was born in 1753 at Derby, Connecticut, and fought in many Revolutionary War battles, including engagements at Princeton, Stony Point, and Trenton. In 1812, when his attempt to capture Ontario failed, his troops retreated to Detroit where the British surrounded the town, demanding his surrender. Hull sent to Fort Dearborn in Illinois Territory for reinforcements, but Indians had captured the fort and killed most of the troops. Hull surrendered and was convicted by an 1814 court-martial of cowardice and neglect of duty. U.S. president James Madison, who had

ordered the Ontario attack, cancelled the sentence of death pronounced by the court-martial. Fowler, 376.

**Humphrey/Humphrey, Solomon**, was born 23 September 1775 at Canton, Hartford County, Connecticut, to Solon Humphrey Sr. and Lucy Case Humphrey. He married Ursula Andrews and had two known sons: Smith Humphrey, born 1 November 1805, and Luther Humphrey, born at Glover, Vermont, in 1808. A Baptist exhorter, Solomon Humphrey was converted by Don Carlos Smith, when Don Carlos was visiting his grandfather Asael Smith in Potsdam, New York, in 1831. Solomon was ordained an elder and called on a mission with Noah Packard (7 June 1831). Among those he baptized were John Smith (brother of Joseph Smith Sr.) and George A. Smith. He moved to Kirtland in Lucy Mack Smith's company in 1831. Although Lucy makes much of his age as the oldest elder in the church, she was actually two months older. He helped lay the cornerstone of the Kirtland temple (1833), participated in Zion's Camp (1834), where he refused to kill a rattlesnake lying within a foot of his head when he woke after a nap (27 May), and volunteered for a mission (August 1834) with Solomon Wixom. He died in Clay County, Missouri, in September 1834. Cannon and Cook, 269; Black, *Who's Who*, 136-38; Jessee 2:555; Black, *Membership*.

**Huzzy/Hussy, William T.**, a hatter at Palmyra, headed a would-be mob to waylay Joseph Jr. en route to sign the contract with Grandin but was disarmed by Joseph's pleasant greeting. He arrived in Palmyra about 1812 and joined the Mount Moriah Lodge of the Masons. Vogel 1:397.

**Hyde, Orson**, was born 8 January 1805 at Oxford, New Haven County, Connecticut, one of the eleven children of Nathan Hyde, a veteran of the Revolutionary War and War of 1812, and Sarah ("Sally") Thorpe Hyde. Sally died when Orson was seven, and he was raised by Nathan Wheeler, who moved from Derby, Connecticut, to Kirtland when Orson was fourteen. There Orson worked in an iron foundry, carded wool, and clerked at the Gilbert & Whitney Store in Kirtland. Sidney Rigdon converted him from Methodist to Campbellite, and he was appointed pastor of several branches in Lorain and Huron counties, Ohio (early 1830). Sidney Rigdon baptized him Mormon on 2/9 October 1830 and ordained him "to the high priesthood" on 25 October 1831, both at Kirtland. Hyde received his patriarchal blessing 29 December 1835, was an apostle from 1835-38, briefly apostatized in October 1838, was reinstated, and served as president of the Twelve (1847-75).

He married Nancy Marinda Johnson on 4 September 1834, Geauga County, Ohio. She was born 28 June 1815 to John Johnson Sr. and Mary Elsa Johnson and was baptized in April 1831. They had ten children. He married two plural wives: Martha Browett in 1843 and Mary Ann Price in April 1843. He was endowed 10 December 1845 in the Nauvoo temple and sealed to Nancy on 11 January 1846. He later married five additional wives.

In 1838 they moved to Missouri where Hyde, disillusioned with Joseph Smith, signed a critical affidavit with Thomas Marsh. He reconciled with the leaders in 1839, then moved to Nauvoo. He was presiding elder at Winter Quarters until 1852 when

they came to Utah. In 1868 Nancy became president of the Seventeenth Ward Relief Society, a position she held until her death on 24 March 1886. A dedicated temple worker, she served on the board of the Deseret Hospital. After several years' separation, Nancy and Orson divorced in 1870.

Hyde served repeated missions: to Ohio (1831) with Hyrum Smith, in New York with Samuel H. Smith (1832); to Massachusetts, Maine, and Rhode Island; to Pennsylvania and Ohio with Hyrum Smith (1833); to Pennsylvania and New York with Orson Pratt (1834); Zion's Camp (1834); to New England (1835), to New York and Canada (1836), and to England (1837-38). He moved to Far West (1838), then to Nauvoo, and served a mission to Palestine (1840-December 1842). Joseph Smith asked Nancy to become his plural wife during this last absence. Hyde published the *Frontier Guardian* in Kanesville, Iowa. After moving to Utah in 1852, he presided over the British Mission, and served as an associate judge of the Supreme Court, in the territorial legislature, as senate president (1870), and as regent of the University of Deseret. He helped settle Carson City, Nevada (1856), and Sanpete Valley (1858-77). Brigham Young readjusted the quorum's seniority system in 1875, replacing Hyde with John Taylor as senior apostle. Orson died 28 November 1878 at Spring City, Sanpete County, Utah. Compton, 228-53; Black, *Who's Who*, 142-44; Black, *Membership*.

**Jacaway/Jackway/Jackways, David.** Lucy identifies him as a Palmyra neighbor who joined with others to attempt to take the plates away from Joseph Jr. David Strong Jackways and his father, William, were hatters. They moved to Palmyra in 1787 where they owned 500 acres. David is listed in the 1820 census and apparently belonged to the Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra. He threatened legal action against Joseph Sr. in the spring of 1831. A "D. S. Jackways," on 4 December 1833, was one of fifty-one Palmyra residents who signed an affidavit attesting that Joseph Sr. and Jr., because of their "visionary projects" of money-digging were "considered entirely destitute of moral character, and addicted to vicious habits." Joseph Jr. in a letter from Kirtland warned Hyrum that "David Jackways has threatened to take father with a supreme writ in the spring" of 1831 and urged haste in moving from Palmyra to Waterloo. Rodger Anderson, 148; Vogel 1:397-98; Marquardt and Walters, 137; italics omitted.

**Jackson, Joseph H.** Lucy describes him as a suitor for her granddaughter, Lovisa, rejected by Lovisa's father Hyrum because he was not a Mormon. He had apparently been in a trusted position in Nauvoo since the spring of 1843. (See contextual note, chap. 54.) Joseph Smith broke with him during the winter of 1843-44, according to Oakley, but as late as 29 December 1843, the *History of the Church* 6:149 reports a conversation between Jackson and Bernhisel, which, Jackson said, "almost persuaded" him "to be one with me," a sentiment to which Joseph apparently responded warmly. Jackson published an exposé in Warsaw, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson in Nauvoo: Disclosing the Depths of Mormon Villainy Practiced in Nauvoo* in 1844. He reportedly confessed his role in the murders to Emma and a warrant was issued for his arrest but never served. HC 6:149; Oaks and Hill, 38, 45n37.

**Jessup, Henry,** was an apparently pious deacon in Palmyra who, Joseph Smith Jr.

warned, was capable of taking a poor widow's only cow. Richard L. Anderson, "Circumstantial," 391, 390n52, comments that the *Wayne Sentinel*, 7 April 1826, refers to him "in a manner that suggests some of the materialistic values attributed to him." When the Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra was incorporated on 18 March 1817, Jessup was named as one of the original trustees. He ran a tannery in Palmyra (1814-28) with George Palmer, investigated and reported negatively on the inactivity of Lucy, Hyrum, and Samuel in March 1830, gave Martin Harris a letter of recommendation to a New York City banker when Martin was trying to secure another loan rather than sell his farm in early 1831, and signed a group affidavit on 4 December 1833 declaring the Smith family "entirely destitute of moral character, and addicted to vicious habits." Marquardt and Walters, 16; Vogel 1:308; italics omitted.

**Johnson, Benjamin Franklin**, was born in 1818 at Pomfret, Chataqua County, New York, to Ezekiel Johnson and Julia Hills Johnson. His large family of sixteen siblings was much interested in religion and he frequently attended Presbyterian meetings and revivals. After his brothers joined the Mormon church in Kirtland, he also moved to Kirtland with his family (1833) where he was baptized (1835). He moved to Far West (1838), then, after the expulsion, tried to build up Kirtland again. He moved to Ramus, Illinois (1842), where he operated an inn and worked in the church (a stake for part of the time), and was a member of the Council of Fifty. After the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, he managed the Mansion House.

He married Melissa Bloomfield LeBaron (1842) and two other wives before reaching Utah, four afterwards, by whom he fathered a total of forty-five children plus adopting one. His sister Almira became Joseph Smith's plural wife. He reached Utah in 1848, served in the legislature, helped settle Santaquin (1851), served a mission to Hawaii (1852-55), served a penitentiary term for unlawful cohabitation, moved often among settlements including in Mexico and Mesa, Arizona, and died in Gila Bend, Arizona, in 1905. Cannon and Cook, 271; Johnson, *My Life's*, passim.

**Johnson, John, Sr.**, was born 11 April 1778 at Chesterfield, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, to Israel Johnson and Abigail Higgins Johnson. At one point (1803-18), he lived at Pomfret, Vermont, only a few miles from the Smith family. He and his wife, Mary Alice/Elsa Musselman Johnson, moved to Hiram, Ohio, in 1818, where, by 1830, they owned 300 acres and a new farmhouse. They had fifteen children, many of whom joined the Mormon church in 1830-31. These children include: Alice (Elsa) (1800 at Chesterfield), Robert (1802, same place), seven born at Pomfret: Fanny (1803), John Jr. (1805), Luke Samuel (1807, *q.v.*), Olmstead G. (1809), Lyman Eugene (1811), Emily H. (1813), Marinda Nancy (28 June 1815; see Orson Hyde), Mary (1818), Justin Jacob (1820), twins Edwin and Charlotte (1821), Albert G. (1823), and Joseph (1827).

John and Mary came from Hiram to Kirtland, thirty miles away, with Ezra Booth to meet Joseph Smith, who cured Mary's arm of limited range of motion because of "rheumatism" in the shoulder. The Johnsons offered Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon their hospitality (12 September 1831) where the two worked on the new Bible translation. Here they were beaten and tarred by a mob on the night of 24-25 March 1832.

John Johnson's collar bone was broken when he attempted to defend them but was healed by David Whitmer. Johnson then moved to Kirtland where he opened an inn near the Whitney store, was ordained an elder (17 February 1833) and a high priest (4 June 1833). He served on the Kirtland high council, worked on the temple, and became disillusioned during the Kirtland Safety Society difficulties. Although a trial for his membership began (1837), it was not completed, and the status of his membership is not clear. However, he remained in Kirtland, alienated from the church, until his death on 30 July 1843. Perkins, "The Prophet," 97-98; Black, "Hiram," 163-64; Black, *Who's Who*, 152-53; Black, *Membership*.

**Johnson, Luke Samuel**, was born 3 November 1808 to John Johnson Sr. and Mary Elsa Jacobs Johnson at Pomfret, Windsor County, Vermont. He married Susan Armelda/Arminda Poteet/Pottet on 1/29 November 1833/1832. They had six children: Elsa Mary, Fanny, Eliza, Vashata, James, and Solomon. Joseph Smith Jr. baptized Luke on 10 May 1831 and ordained him a high priest on 25 October 1831. Luke was the constable who arrested, then engineered the escape of, Joseph Smith Sr. in Kirtland. Both Luke and his younger brother Lyman were ordained apostles in Kirtland on 14 February 1835. Luke served on the Kirtland high council (ordained 17 February 1834). Both were ardent missionaries. Luke served missions in Ohio with Robert Rathburn (1831), in Virginia and Kentucky (1832-33), Zion's Camp (1834), and the eastern states in 1835 with Seymour Brunson and Hazen Aldrich. The financial difficulties caused by the Kirtland Safety Society were disillusioning to both brothers. Luke and Lyman were disfellowshipped 3 September 1837, briefly reconciled, then were excommunicated on 13 April 1838 at Far West. Lyman regretted his loss of faith but did not reconcile with church leaders before his accidental drowning in 1856. Luke taught school in Virginia for one year, then became a physician. He was rebaptized by his brother-in-law Orson Hyde on 8 March 1846 at Nauvoo and went to the Salt Lake Valley with the pioneer camp of 1847.

He married America Clark in March 1847. Their children are: Susan Marinda (9 August 1848, Council Bluffs, Pottawattamie County, Iowa, where the next four children were also born), Orson Albert (14 February 1850), Mark Anthony (10 November 1851), Charlotte Elizabeth (13 January 1853), John Joseph (11 January 1855), Lovinia Ann (8 November 1856 at Clover, Tooele County, Utah), Phebe W. (3 May 1858 at Erda, Tooele County), and Luke Jr. (10 April 1861, at Clover). He served as bishop of St. John, Tooele County. He died 9 December 1861 at Salt Lake City at the home of his sister, Nancy Marinda Johnson Hyde. Cannon and Cook, 272; Black, *Who's Who*, 154-59; Black, *Membership*.

**Kellog.** During the Smith family's brief stay near Waterloo, New York, while waiting to move to Kirtland, they lived in a house owned by this individual in "the Kingdom," an area between Waterloo and Seneca Falls. A Fuller Kellog appears in the 1830 Seneca Falls census. Porter, "A Study," 272.

**Kimball, Heber C.**, was born 14 June 1801 at Sheldon, Vermont, to Solomon F. Kimball and Anna Spaulding Kimball. A potter, he began investigating Mormonism in

1830 with his friend Brigham Young; they were baptized (1832) and moved to Kirtland (1833). Both participated in Zion's Camp (1834), were ordained apostles (1835), and served missions to Great Britain (1837-38 and 1839-41). He moved to Missouri (1838) and helped the rest of the Twelve move the Mormons out of the state (1838-39).

Heber married Vilate Murray 22 November 1822, the daughter of Roswell Murray and Susannah Fitch Murray. (Vilate died 22 October 1867 at Salt Lake City.) They were the parents of ten children, including daughter Helen Mar who became Joseph Smith's plural wife at age fourteen. Heber married forty-two more women and fathered a total of sixty-five children. After the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Kimball assisted Brigham Young as senior apostle in organizing the exodus across the plains, directing the settlements in Utah, and reconstituting the First Presidency in December 1847 at Kanesville, Iowa, where Kimball became Brigham Young's first counselor. In Utah he engaged in farming, saw-milling, ranching, and freighting, and served in several civic offices, including chief justice and lieutenant governor. Inexplicably estranged from Brigham Young during his later years, he died 22 June 1868 after a wagon accident. Cannon and Cook, 272; E. Kimball, 781-84; Black, *Who's Who*, 160-62; Stanley Kimball, *Heber*, passim; Compton, 487.

**King, Austin A.**, was born in 1803 and served two terms in the legislature as the Boone County, Missouri, representative, then moved to Ray County in 1836. He had the reputation of being a "very serious, religious man . . . respected for his legal knowledge and conduct of the court." After his brother-in-law was killed during the Mormon troubles in Jackson County in 1833, he became convinced that the Mormons were the cause of the turmoil in Missouri. In November 1838, as judge of the circuit court of Ray County, he conducted the preliminary hearing in Richmond, Ray County, to determine if there was enough evidence to bind over Joseph Smith and more than sixty Mormon prisoners for trial in three areas: theft and arson for illegal raids on non-Mormons in Daviess County, murder and treason for their participation in the battle of Crooked River, and treason (trying to establish a political kingdom of God separate from the American government). Hyrum Smith's affidavit paints a picture of rank impropriety, intimidation, and injustice; but Launius asserts that "King performed well in keeping order and preventing a gross obstruction of justice." King chaired a public meeting in Richmond on 26 December 1838 in which local citizens passed resolutions insisting that the Mormons leave; he stated that the Mormon practice of "gathering" assured hostility against them. Launius, *Alexander*, 67; LeSueur, 81-82, 233-34.

**Kingsbury, Joseph Corroden**, was born 2 May 1812, at Enfield, Hartford County, Connecticut, to Solomon Kingsbury and Amanda A. Pease Kingsbury. The family moved to Painesville, Ohio, in 1812. Joseph was clerking in Newel K. Whitney's store when he heard Mormonism preached by the Missouri-bound missionaries: Oliver Cowdery, Ziba Peterson, Parley P. Pratt, and Peter Whitmer. He was baptized 15 January 1832. As Lucy Mack Smith mentions, he drove her to Kirtland in his carriage when the party she was leading landed at Fairport, Ohio. He received his patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith Sr., served a mission to New York, was a high councilor at Kirtland,



and married Caroline Whitney, Newel K. Whitney's younger sister, in 1836. Two years later, they moved to Far West in the fall of 1838, then moved to Montrose, Iowa (1839), and Nauvoo (1841) where he clerked in Joseph Smith Jr.'s store.

On 29 April 1843, he collaborated in a sham marriage with his niece performed by Joseph Smith: ("I according to President Joseph Smith Council and others agreed to stand by Sarah Ann Whitney [daughter of Newel K. and Elizabeth Ann Whitney] as supposed to be her husband and had a pretended marriage for the purpose of bringing about the purpose of God in these last days.") He served a mission to New England (1843-44) and was still absent when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were murdered. He received a second patriarchal blessing from John Smith and, in the Nauvoo temple, was sealed to his deceased wife, Caroline (1845), married Dorcas More at the same time, and a few months later married Loenza Pond as a plural wife (January 1846). Sarah Ann was married to Heber C. Kimball "for time." Kingsbury reached the Salt Lake Valley 29 September 1847, settled first in Weber Valley, then farmed in Salt Lake Valley, and then worked in the tithing store in Salt Lake City. He served as bishop of Salt Lake Second Ward (1851-54). He died 15 October 1898 at Salt Lake City. Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 475-76; Black, *Membership*.

**Knight, Joseph, Sr.**, was born 3 November 1772 at Okham, Worcester County, Massachusetts, to Benjamin and Hannah Knight. They lived at Bainbridge, New York (1808-10), then Colesville, New York (1810-29), where he farmed and operated a gristmill. A Universalist by belief, he was engaged with Joseph Smith Sr. in treasure-digging activities and actively supported Joseph Smith Jr. during the translation of the Book of Mormon, giving the struggling young couple money and supplies. After a revelation to Joseph Jr., Knight was baptized on 28 June 1830 by Oliver Cowdery and moved his family to Thompson, Ohio, then to Jackson County (1831) where they suffered from poverty. After the expulsion, they settled in Nauvoo (1839). He died 2 February 1847 at Mount Pisgah.

In 1795 Joseph married Polly Peck, born in 1774 in Vermont, the sixth of the thirteen children of Joseph Peck and Elizabeth Read Peck. They were the parents of seven children: Naham (1796), Esther (1798), Newel (1800, *q.v.*), Anna (1804), Joseph Jr. (1808), Polly (1811), and Elizabeth (1817). Joseph married Phoebe Crosby Peck in 1800, who had five children by her first marriage, and bore him two more. Black, *Who's Who*, 166-68; Cannon and Cook, 255, 273; Vogel 1:126; Hartley, *They*, *passim*.

**Knight, Newel**, was born 1800 at Marlborough, Vermont, moved with the family to Colesville where he had a gristmill and a carding machine, was baptized in May 1830, served as president of the branch at Thompson, Ohio, and led the Colesville Branch to Jackson County, Missouri (1831), where he served as counselor to Bishop Isaac Morley. He married Sally Coburn in 1825 and they had two sons. (Sally was born in 1804 at Guildford, Chenango County, New York.) Sally's sister Emily witnessed the baptism of the Colesville Saints in New York on 28 June 1830 and wrote a skeptical book, *Mormonism: Or Life among the Mormons* (Madison, WI: J. Canwell, Book and Job Printers, 1882). After Sally died at Turnham's Landing, Clay County (September 1834), Newel

married Lydia Goldthwaite Bailey at Kirtland (May 1835), with Joseph Smith Sr. officiating; she bore seven children. He participated in the Kirtland temple dedication, then moved to Far West. He died 11 January 1847 in Nebraska. Black, *Who's Who*, 166-68; Cannon and Cook, 255, 273; Vogel 1:126; Hartley, *They*, passim.

**Knowlton, Family.** Lucy Mack Smith visited this family on Bear Creek, Illinois, during the winter of 1839-40. Sidney Algernon Knowlton, born at Ashford, Connecticut, on 24 May 1792, was the oldest of six children born to Ephraim Knowlton and Jemima Farnham Knowlton. In 1802 the family sold its Connecticut property. Sidney married Harriet Burnham on 30 June 1816. She was born 7 March 1797 at Dunbarton, Merrimack County, New Hampshire, the daughter of John Burnham and Sarah Andrew Burnham, both of Massachusetts. Sidney and Harriet were the parents of ten children (three died in infancy), born in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, and Illinois: Ruhamah B. (6 September 1817), Harriet Virginia (30 March 1820), Martha Jane (3 June 1822; see biographical sketch in "The Textual History"), Julian (17 August 1824), Ephraim (22 March 1827), Mary Ann (11 September 1829), George Washington (4 July 1832), John Quincy (9 July 1835), Benjamin Franklin (30 January 1838), and Marcia Eliza (19 December 1841). Converted by John E. Page, the parents and older children were baptized in January 1840. Sidney served a six-month mission in 1842 with Howard Coray, who by then had married Martha Jane. The family moved to Utah in 1849 and settled in Salt Lake City. Sidney married five plural wives and died 20 April 1863. Harriet died 10 September 1881. Knowlton, 1-13.

**Lackey/Lakey, Abner F.** According to Lucy, this individual befriended her when Joseph Sr. was arrested for debt at Palmyra about 7 October 1830. In the 1820s, he built "a cabinet shop and a fine brick house" at Palmyra, married twice, and fathered six children. Vogel 1:431.

**Lamoreaux, Andrew Losey,** was born 17 October 1812/1813 at Pickering, York County, Ontario, Canada, to John Lamoreaux and Abigail Ann Losey Lamoreaux. He married Isabell Wilson on 12 October 1833 at Markham, York County, Ontario. They had seven children: Ann (8 April 1834 at Scarborough, York County, Ontario), Abigail (1835, also Scarborough), Caroline (1841 in Ohio), Elizabeth (1842 in Ohio), Andrew (1843 in Ohio), William George (21 August 1845 at Nauvoo), and John Henry (1848 in Utah). Ordained a high priest, he was endowed 23 December 1845 in the Nauvoo temple. From Utah, he was called to preside over the French Mission (15 September 1852) where he translated several works with Louis Alphonzo Bertrand. Returning with a company of seventy-four converts, he died of "Asiatic cholera" at St. Louis, 18 June 1855. Black, *Membership*.

**Laurence.** See Samuel Lawrence.

**Law, William,** was born 8 September 1809 in Tyrone County, North Ireland, to Richard Law and Mary Wilson Law. A Presbyterian, he was converted by John Taylor and Almon Babbitt in Upper Canada, where he was baptized in 1836. He served many missions, including one with Hyrum Smith. He and his wife, Jane Silverthorne (1815-



1882), had eight children: Richard, Rebecca, Thomas, Helen, William, John, Wilson, and Cys. In November 1839, he moved to Nauvoo, where he was a member of the Fourth Ward, became Joseph Smith's second counselor 24 January 1841, and was endowed 26 May 1843. Already troubled by the increasing consolidation of power in Joseph Smith's hands, he was shocked when Hyrum Smith first read him the revelation on polygamy and even more shocked when Joseph affirmed that it was a true revelation. He and Jane were excommunicated with his brother Wilson and Robert D. Foster on 18 April 1844 in a trial which he was not invited to attend and whose minutes he was not allowed to see. On 21 April 1844, dissenters meeting at Wilson Law's declared Joseph a "fallen prophet," announced the formation of the Reformed Mormon Church, and appointed William president with Austin Cowles and Wilson Law as counselors, Robert D. Foster and Francis M. Higbee as apostles, and Charles Ivins as bishop. The *Warsaw Signal* reported on 15 May 1844 that "about three hundred" had attended the previous Sunday's meeting. In early June, this group published the *Nauvoo Expositor*. After the murders of Joseph and Hyrum, William moved to Hampton, Illinois, in the fall of 1844. A warrant was issued for his arrest in connection with the Smith murders, but no action was taken. From Hampton, he moved to Galena and Apple River where he was a merchant for a decade and a physician; he then moved to Shullsburg, Wisconsin. In letters to W. Wyl [Wilhem Ritter von Wymetal] in 1887, he averred, "The great mistake of my life was my having anything to do with Mormonism," said he had never read any books about Mormonism, including John Cook Bennett's, and kept no papers from that period. His wife had, with his approval, long ago burned the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants. "We have lived down in a great measure the disgrace following our unfortunate association with the Mormons. We committed a great error, but no crime. This is my consolation, that we only erred in judgement." He died 19/12 January 1892 at Shullsburg. Black, *Membership*; Black, *Who's Who*, 175-77; Cook, *Law*, 2, 104, 106, 128; HC 4:20; 6:341; Flanders, 142-44; Hallwas and Launius, 163; Launius and Hallwas, 168-69.

**Law, Wilson**, William's older brother, was born in 1807, married Elizabeth Sikes on 25 December 1842 at Nauvoo with Joseph Smith officiating, and died in 1877. At Nauvoo he was a major general in the Nauvoo Legion, a member of Fourth Ward, and a member of the city council. He was involved in the dissidents' Reformed Mormon Church, is traditionally assigned the authorship of two poems by "Buckeye" revealing quite accurate information about Joseph Smith's polygamous activities, was excommunicated on the same day as William and Jane (like them without being informed that the trial was being held), and helped publish the *Expositor*. A warrant was issued for his arrest after the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith but not pursued. With Francis and Chauncey Higbee, William Law, and Robert and Charles Foster, he brought a civil damages action for the destruction of the *Expositor* press against Edward Hunter, Orson Spencer, John Greene, and Stephen Markham, but it was dismissed for want of prosecution. In 1850 he was living at Delaware, Mercer County, Pennsylvania. He died in 1877. HC 6:31; Black, *Membership*; Oaks and Hill, 80; Jessee 2:565; Flanders, 143-44; Hallwas and Launius, 132-34

**Lawrence, Margaret**, is the “Sister Lawrence” whom Lucy visited near Lima, Illinois, in 1839. Margaret was born in Toronto ca. 1801. She married Edward Lawrence, a prosperous farmer, ca. 1822 and they settled at Pickering Township (near Toronto), Ontario, Canada, where six of their seven children were born: Maria (18 December 1823), James (ca. 1824), Sarah (13 May 1826), Nelson (not known), Henry (ca. 1835), Julia Ann (ca. 1837), and Margaret E. (ca. 1840). They first heard the gospel in the spring of 1836 from Parley P. Pratt but were reportedly converted when Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Thomas B. Marsh, and John Taylor arrived in August 1837. The family formed the nucleus of a little branch. They moved toward Missouri in 1838 but, probably because of the Mormon War there, stopped at Lima, Illinois, halfway between Quincy and the future site of Nauvoo. Edward died about March 1840; either late that year or early the next, the family moved to Nauvoo. A male guardian was legally required to safeguard the children’s considerable inheritance; Joseph Smith was appointed to that position in June 1841, with William Law and Hyrum Smith as bondsmen. Late in 1841 or in 1842, Margaret married widower Josiah Butterfield, a convert during the Kirtland period, who was a president of the first Quorum of the Seventy (1837) and a high counselor. She bore him two sons: Don Carlos and Edward. Apparently Joseph Smith did not account satisfactorily for the estate and did not transfer the guardianship back to Margaret and Josiah, creating considerable hostility between the two men. Margaret was sealed to Edward for eternity on 21 November 1843 with William Clayton (not Butterfield) as proxy and Hyrum Smith as officiator. Josiah was sent on a mission to Maine in April 1844, excommunicated for unknown reasons in October, but rebaptized within the year. Margaret and Josiah were endowed on 20 January 1846. They separated in 1850, and Margaret brought her children to Utah that summer. She died before 1853.

Margaret’s two elder daughters, Maria and Sarah, who were living with Joseph and Emma, became Joseph’s plural wives in the late spring of 1843, with Emma’s reluctant permission. After Joseph’s death, Maria was endowed on 7 January 1846, sealed to Joseph (Almon Babbitt stood as proxy), and apparently married Brigham Young for time (Benjamin F. Johnson says not). Maria died giving birth to Babbitt’s child in 1847 at Nauvoo. Sarah was endowed 6 January 1846 in the Nauvoo temple, sealed to Joseph by proxy on 26 January, and sealed for time to Heber C. Kimball. She divorced him on 18 June 1851, and married Joseph Mount, a widower, in 1853. Compton, 473-85.

**Lawrence, Samuel T./F.** This Palmyra neighbor hosted Willard Chase and the “conjurer” (possibly Luman Walter/Walters) during the time of intense curiosity about the gold plates during 1829. Quinn identifies two Samuel Lawrences. The first, born between 1775 and 1784 at Andover, Windsor County, Vermont, was both a contemporary of Joseph Smith Sr. and affiliated with him in folk magic and in affiliation with Nathaniel Wood of the “Wood Scrape” at Middletown, Vermont, in the 1790s. A second Samuel Lawrence (Joseph Jr.’s associate in Palmyra) was born between 1780 and 1790. According to Lorenzo Saunders, Lawrence had been involved with the Smiths in various money-digging adventures and had, at Joseph Jr.’s request, first introduced him to Emma Hale. According to Willard Chase, Joseph first showed Lawrence the location

where the plates had been deposited. Joseph Capron made an affidavit on 8 November 1833 describing a money-digging scene in which Lawrence "with a drawn sword in his hand marched around to guard [against] any assault which his Satanic majesty might be disposed to make." On 17 April 1833, "Samuel T. Lawrence" was indicted in Wayne County for "fraudulent secreting property" but may have left the area before a trial. Rodger Anderson, 47, 58, 118; Quinn, *Early*, 123-24; Vogel 1:331-32; see also Quinn, *Early*, 122-33, for pre-1830 occult and genealogical linkages among early Mormon families.

**Lightner, Adam**, was born 14 April 1810 at Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, to Adam Lightner [Sr.] and Mary Trout Lightner. A store owner at Far West, he married Mary Elizabeth Rollins on 11 August 1835 at Liberty. She was born 9 April 1818 at Lima, Livingston County, New York, the third child of John Porter Rollins and Keziah Keturah Van Benthuyssen Rollins. (Keziah was the sister of Algernon Sidney Gilbert's wife Elizabeth.) Mary Elizabeth was baptized with most of her family in November 1830 by Parley P. Pratt, and moved to Missouri with her extended family in the fall of 1831.

Adam and Mary Elizabeth married on 11 August 1835 and had seven children: Miles Henry (born at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri), Caroline Keziah (18 October 1840 at Half Breed Tract, Caldwell County), George Algerman (22 March 1842 at Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois), Florentine M. (3 May 1843 at Pontoosuc, Hancock County), John Horace G. (9 February 1847 at Galena, Daviess County, Illinois), Elizabeth (3 April 1849 at Hudson, St. Croix County, Wisconsin), and Mary Rollins (9 April 1851 at Willow River, Waushara County, Wisconsin). They refused to accept General John Clark's safe passage out of Far West, but, after the arrests, went to Louisville, Kentucky, for six months. They moved to Nauvoo when the Mormons began to build the city but experienced many financial difficulties. In response to a revelation, Mary Elizabeth was sealed polyandrously to Joseph Smith in late February 1842 and to Brigham Young in May 1845. Adam did not join the LDS church, and the family was too poor to go west until 1863. They settled in Minersville where Adam died, still unbaptized, on 19 August 1887. He was baptized by proxy 14 April 1891 and endowed the next day. Six of Mary Elizabeth's children died before her own decease on 17 December 1913. Compton, 205-27; Black, *Membership*.

**Lucas, Samuel D.**, was a Presbyterian deacon and brigadier general in the Missouri state militia. He had moved to Jackson County by 1826, participated in the Mormon expulsion (1833), and brought Jackson County militia to the Mormon engagement at Far West (1838). He and Doniphan were both technically under the command of General John B. Clark during the siege of Far West; however, Lucas acted before Clark arrived in taking prisoner Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, George W. Robinson, and Amasa Lyman, presiding over an illegal court-martial (it had no jurisdiction over civilians), and ordering Doniphan to execute the prisoners the next morning. His behavior seems to have been wildly inconsistent. When Doniphan refused, Lucas took no action to carry out the execution himself. He obeyed Clark when ordered to take the prisoners to Jackson County, then hustled them

across the county line when Clark sent a message to return them, giving the Smith brothers to understand that he was protecting them. In a letter to Boggs ten days later, Lucas denied holding the court-martial. He exhibited the prisoners throughout Independence but also let them walk freely about the streets and lodged them at a good hotel. He enforced the winter 1838-39 exodus from Missouri. Cannon and Cook, 275; Launius, *Alexander*, 58, 62-65; LeSueur, 186.

**Lumoreaux.** See Lamoreaux, Andrew.

**Lyman, Amasa Mason**, was born 30 March 1813 at Lyman, Grafton County, New Hampshire, to Roswell/Boswell and Martha Lyman, was baptized in 1831, and was ordained a high priest in 1833. He participated in Zion's Camp, moved to and was expelled from Missouri in 1838, and was ordained an apostle in 1842.

He married Maria Louisa Tanner on 10 June 1835 at Kirtland who bore eight children: Matilda (14 November 1836 at Kirtland), Francis Marion (12 January 1840 at Goodhope, Hancock County, Illinois), Ruth Adelia (1 August 1843 at Shokokon, Hancock County), Amasa Mason Jr. (22 February 1846 at Nauvoo), Maria Louisa (8 May 1849 at Little Cottonwood, Salt Lake County, Utah), and, at San Bernardino, California, Lelia Deseret (21 January 1852), Love Josephine (25 April 1854), and Agnew/Agnes Hila (5 December 1857). Amasa also married Caroline Ely Partridge on 6 September 1844 at Nauvoo. Their first three children were born at Salt Lake City, their last two at Fillmore, Millard County, Utah: Martha Lydia (1 April 1853), Fredrick Rich (12 October 1856), Annie (2 July 1860), Walter Clisbee (1 October 1863), and Harriet Jane (17 August 1866). Amasa and his third wife, Eliza Maria Partridge, married 28 September 1845/1844 at Nauvoo, had five children: Don Carlos (14 July 1846 at Florence, Missouri), Platte DeAlton (20 August 1848 at Goshen, Wyoming), and, at Salt Lake City, Carlie Eliza (1 August 1851), Joseph Alvin (13 December 1856), and Lucy Zina (26 August 1860). He apparently married a total of nine times, but names and dates have not been recorded for the wives. The eighth marriage apparently occurred on 14 November 1844 at Nauvoo (children: Lorenzo Snow born 6 November 1851 and Henry Elias born 4 July 1854). He was excommunicated in 1870 for doctrinal unorthodoxy and died in 1877 at Fillmore. Cannon and Cook, 275; Black, *Membership*.

**Lyman, George**, of Huntsville, Missouri, was the nephew of John Smith's wife, Clarissa, and the cousin of George A. Smith. He was born in 1825 at Colton, St. Lawrence County, New York, to Asa Lyman (Clarissa's brother) and Sarah R. Davis Lyman. He is listed among Nauvoo members and was living in Quincy in 1840. He married Rhoda Gifford in 1847 and they had a daughter, Sarah Elizabeth (13 January 1848), before his death in 1848. Vogel 1:570-71; Black, *Membership*.

**Mack, Almira, Daniel, Jason, Lovina, Lovisa, Lydia I, Lydia II, Stephen**, and **Solomon Jr.** See Solomon Mack.

**Mack, Solomon**, Lucy's father, was born 15 September 1732, according to the vital records of Lyme, Connecticut, not 26 September 1735, as he himself states. He was the son of Ebenezer Mack (1697-1777) and Hannah Huntley Mack (1708-96). He had at

least two brothers, Elisha and Samuel, with whom he constructed dams across the Connecticut River about 1790. He and Elisha also collaborated on a grist and sawmill at Gilsum, New Hampshire. During the French and Indian War, he enlisted, first, under Captain James Harris, from 10 September to 24 November 1755, then reenlisted the same day at Fort Edward under Captain Israel Putnam, serving until 29 May 1756. He served in Major Joseph Spencer's company from 5 June to 18 November 1758.

Solomon married Lydia Gates, born 3 September 1732 at East Haddam (now Millington), Connecticut. She was the daughter of Daniel (not Nathan) Gates (5 February 1706-5 October 1775) and Lydia Fuller Gates (1709-78). Nathan Gates was a son, Lydia's brother. Daniel Gates was a deacon and a selectman in the First Congregational Church of East Haddam. Lydia was baptized in this church on 29 October 1732 and remained a communicant as an adult.

Solomon and Lydia moved to Marlow, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, where they remained until 1773. They then moved to Gilsum, New Hampshire, to Montague, Massachusetts (ca. 1779-83), then to Tunbridge, Vermont. In 1804 they had a farm near the line between the towns of Sharon and Royalton that Solomon rented to his son-in-law Joseph Smith Sr.; here Joseph Jr. was born in 1805. By March 1807, Solomon and Lydia were again living on this farm and stayed there until the spring of 1811. Afflicted with ill health and guided by Lydia's faith, Solomon began studying the Bible during the winter of 1810-11, had a number of spiritual manifestations that convinced him of the love of Jesus, and, although crippled, devoted the remainder of his life to religious activities. He wrote his autobiography, sold his remaining interest in the farm in May 1811, and began traveling about by horseback selling his autobiography as a spiritual tract. He and Lydia lived with their son Daniel at Royalton during this period. Lydia died about 1818, and Solomon Sr. made his home with Solomon Jr. at Gilsum, New Hampshire, where he died 23 August 1820.

Solomon and Lydia had eight children:

1. **Jason** was born about 1760. He had a foster son named William who lived with Lucy and Joseph for half a year. A sketchy note with Lucy's rough draft mentions a daughter. (See "Miscellaneous Papers.") Though disappointed in love, Jason was diligent in Christian service and had the gift of healing.

2. **Lovisa** was born about 1761 and married Joseph Tuttle (1756-1816) at Montague, Massachusetts, on 31 January 1780. They moved to Hadley (1790), South Hadley (1792 and 1794), and Sunderland (1793). They were childless, but Joseph's oldest son by his second marriage, Joseph II (1796-1884), records that they were married fourteen years before her death. Richard L. Anderson hypothesizes that Lucy confused Lovisa's marriage (when she was four) with Lydia's (when she was ten) and thus fails to account for seven of Lovisa's fourteen years of marriage. Joseph Tuttle Sr. was the son of John Tuttle, a wheelwright, carpenter, stone mason, and veteran of the French and Indian War. He lived in Sunderland, Massachusetts.

3. **Lovina** was born about 1762, nursed her just-older sister Lovisa during the early stages of consumption, which lasted approximately two years (ca. 1789-91) until her

miraculous healing, then became ill and died an exemplary death after approximately a three-year illness (1791-94).

4. **Lydia** was born about 1764. She married Samuel Bill, a prosperous resident of Gilsum, on 26 January 1786, and had six children. Samuel kept a tavern at Gilsum (1803), was town selectman for ten years, and was on the school committee (1805). Lydia died 8 January 1826.

5. **Stephen** was born 15 June 1766 and died in 1826. He married Temperance Bond, born in 1771 at Gilsum, Cheshire County, New Hampshire. Temperance came to Utah and died in Salt Lake City in 1856. Stephen lived in Gilsum, Vermont, from at least 1789 to 1793, then moved to Tunbridge, Vermont. Land records show him as engaging in a dozen real estate transactions, with another dozen undertaken in conjunction with his partner, John Mudget. According to his obituary, published 14 November 1826, he was known by the military title of colonel, had lived in the Detroit region for “nearly twenty years,” and was elected to the first territorial legislature. Speaking at the dedication of the Detroit, Michigan, temple on 23-24 October 1999, LDS church president Gordon B. Hinckley noted that Stephen “surveyed the first road through what became Detroit”—identified by members as Woodward Avenue, running in front of the temple (actually built in Bloomfield Hills), while Thomas C. Bithell, president of the Bloomfield Hills Michigan Stake, said it “would seem likely” that Joseph Sr., Hyrum, and Joseph Jr. passed the temple site when visiting relatives in the area in 1834. Stephen and Temperance had twelve children including these seven:

- a. Mary (“Polly”), was born 4 September 1793 in New Hampshire, married **David Dort** (*q.v.*) on 2 June 1813, and first heard the gospel from Lucy Mack Smith, at Pontiac, Michigan.
- b. **Lovisa** married a man named Cooper.
- c. “**Hariett**” married a man named Whittemore.
- d. Ruth married a man surnamed Stanley, who may have been related to Horace Stanley, the Pontiac friend of Stephen Mack with whom Lucy corresponded.
- e. Fanny married her brother-in-law, David Dort, after the death of her sister Polly.
- f. **Almira** and Almon, twins, were the youngest children, born in 1805 at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont. Almira came to Manchester in June 1830, was baptized probably in September 1830 by David Whitmer, and was confirmed by Joseph Jr. Almira married William Scobey of Fayette on 7 August 1831. After his death (4 December 1833) at Pontiac, Michigan, she lived with the Curtis family in Liberty, Clay County, Missouri (Joseph Jr. wrote to her there on 3 December 1835), then married Benjamin Covey at Kirtland in 1836. She reached the Salt Lake Valley in 1848 and died in Salt Lake City in 1886.

6. **Daniel** was born ca. 1770 at Marlow, Cheshire County, New Hampshire. He lived at Montague, Massachusetts, before his marriage on 27 January 1799 to Sally Ball at Tunbridge, Vermont. In 1810 he was living at Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont. In 1830 he was living at Marlow. Joseph Sr. and John Smith visited him there in 1836.



His parents lived with him at least some of the time in their advanced years; mother Lydia lived with him for the two years before her death in about 1818. Samuel H. Smith was baptized for him at Nauvoo in 1841.

**7. Solomon Jr.** was born 28 January 1773 and was a prosperous farmer at Gilsum all his life. He married, first, Esther Hayward (1797), second, Mrs. Huldah Hayward Whipple, and third, on 4 June 1845, Mrs. Betsey Way Alexander. Solomon died 12 October 1851. He was the father of nine children: Calvin (28 November 1797), Orlando (23 September 1799), Chilon (26 July 1802), Solomon III (23 May 1805), Amos (1 May 1807), Dennis (18 October 1809), Merrill (14 September 1812), Esther (2 April 1815), and Rizpah (5 June 1818).

**8. Lucy Mack (Smith)** was born 8 July 1775 (not 1776 as she states). See Joseph Smith Sr. Anderson, *New England*, 19-25, 64-70, 162, 178-80, 184-85; HC 2:324; Vogel 1:231, 648; Jessee 2:537, 567; G. Hill, "A Temple."

**Mann.** This non-Mormon family kindly took in the Smiths as they left the state of Missouri. Mann had been a county representative to the state House of Representatives.

**Markham, Stephen,** was born 9 February 1800 at Hartford, Ontario County/Avon, Livingston County, New York, to David Markham and Dinah Merry Markham. He was baptized in July 1837/1838 at Chester, Geauga County, Ohio, by Abel Lamb and led a company of sixty at his expense to Far West. At Nauvoo, he was ordained a high priest on 8 October 1844, was a colonel in the Nauvoo Legion, a member of Third Ward, often Joseph Smith's private courier, and was endowed 16 December 1845 in the Nauvoo temple. He came to Utah in the 1847 pioneer company and settled at Bear River (1850) and Spanish Fork (1860) where he farmed and worked as a carpenter.

He married Hannah Hogaboom(m) on 6 October 1848 and they had three children: Warren, Whiting, and David. After reaching Utah, she took the three sons and went to California where they lived for the rest of their lives. In Utah he married twice more and fathered fourteen more children. He died 10 March 1878 at Spanish Fork, Utah County, Utah, where he was bishop. Black, *Membership*.

**Marks, William,** was born 15 November 1792 at Rutland, Vermont, to Cornwall/Cornell Marks and Sarah Goodrich Marks. He was baptized about 1835 at Portage, Alleghany County, New York, ordained a priest (1835) and an elder (3 June 1836), and was endowed at Nauvoo (4 May 1842 and 22 October 1843). He moved to Kirtland (1837) and published the *Messenger and Advocate*. He also served on the Kirtland high council (3 September 1837), was an "agent" to Bishop Newel K. Whitney, and was president of Kirtland Stake (1838). In Nauvoo the family lived in Fourth Ward. William became president of the stake (1839-44), an alderman (1841), a regent of Nauvoo's university (1841), an incorporator of the Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, associate justice of the municipal court, a Mason (20 April 1842), and a member of the Council of Fifty (1844). He married Rosannah Robinson on 2 May 1813, and they were the parents of five children: Ephraim (died 7 April 1842), Goodrich, Sophia, William Jr., and Llewellen. After the death of Joseph Smith, he expressed support for Sidney Rigdon and was not sustained as stake president on 7 October 1844. He became a

counselor to J. J. Strang (1847-50), then briefly joined with Charles A. Thompson in organizing another church (1852-53), affiliated briefly with John E. Page (1855), helped found the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (1859-60), and served as counselor to Joseph Smith III from 1863 until his death on 22 May 1872 at Plano, Kendall County, Illinois. *Jessee* 2:568; Cannon and Cook, 276; Black, *Membership*.

**Marsh, Thomas Baldwin**, one of the original Twelve, was born 1 November 1799/1800 at Acton, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, to James Marsh and Mary ("Molly") Law Marsh. Marsh worked on a farm at Westmoreland, New Hampshire, until 1813, ran away, and held various jobs (farm worker, hotel waiter, groom, grocer) at Albany and New York City and at a Boston type foundry (1822-29). He married Elizabeth Godkin, 1 November 1820. A dissatisfied Methodist, he learned about Mormonism in 1829, met Martin Harris and Oliver Cowdery, received some proof sheets of the Book of Mormon, then being printed, and took them home where his wife also believed them. He was baptized 3 September 1830 at Palmyra, Wayne County, New York, by David Whitmer and ordained an elder that same month by Oliver Cowdery. On 6 June 1831, he was ordained a high priest at Kirtland by Lyman Wight. He served missions to Missouri (1831-32) with Selah Griffin; in New York (July 1832), in Kentucky with Elisha Hurd Groves (May 1835); in Tennessee (September 1836); and in Canada with Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon (July-August 1837).

He led a group of Colesville Saints to Missouri (1832), where he settled successively in Jackson, Lafayette, and Clay counties. In the last, he served on the high council (1834). On 26 April 1835 in Kirtland, he was ordained an apostle by Oliver Cowdery, as president of the Twelve on 22 January 1836, and a high priest on 3 June 1831. He became disillusioned after August 1838 and moved from Far West into Clay County and then to Richmond in Ray County. He was excommunicated at Quincy, Illinois, on 17 March 1839 with George M. Hinckle and others. He was rebaptized 16 July 1857 at Florence, Douglas County, Nebraska, came to Utah that same year, and was teaching school at Spanish Fork during the 1860 census. He was endowed 1 November 1862 in the Endowment House and married the same day to Hannah Adams. He reportedly "accepted the Reorganization [RLDS church] prior to his death" but died impoverished in January 1866 in Ogden, Weber County, Utah. Porter, "The Field," 80; *Jessee* 2:568; Black, *Membership*.

**Martin**. A "captain" with a non-Mormon Missouri unit in 1838 who guarded Joseph and Hyrum Smith, earning Lucy Mack Smith's gratitude.

**McCleary, Sophronia Smith Stoddard**, was the fourth child and first surviving daughter of Joseph and Lucy Smith's eleven children. Born 17 May 1803 at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont, she married Calvin W. Stoddard on 2/30 December 1827 at Palmyra, Wayne County, New York.

Calvin was born 7 September 1801 to Silas and Bathsheba Stoddard. Although Calvin is, by some, reputed to be the carpenter on the Smiths' new home, and, hence, the man who defrauded them of the farm by misrepresenting them to the land agent,



John Greenwood, this identification is by no means clear. A "Squire Stoddard" had bought land from the same company (Evertson, *q.v.*) south of the Smith farm on 2 November 1825. George W. Stoddard was listed as a sixty-two-year-old farmer in the 1850 census of Arcadia, Wayne County. He or another George Stoddard was baptized in 1820 into Palmyra's First Baptist Church, disfellowshipped in 1823 for swearing, and reinstated in 1825.

Both Calvin and Sophronia were probably baptized Mormon in April or June 1830. Calvin was ordained an elder 25 October 1831 and helped construct the Kirtland temple. His patriarchal blessing by Joseph Smith Sr. on 9 December 1834 mentions that he had been excommunicated, rebaptized, and was at that time excommunicated. Sophronia also received her patriarchal blessing from her father on 8 December 1834 in Kirtland. Joseph Smith linked Calvin with William Smith on 1 January 1836 as being attacked by "the devil" and causing "a division in the family." The Kirtland Elders' Quorum minutes record that he made a "confession" on 7 March 1836 and was allowed to retain his license on 29 October 1836 (no details).

Sophronia and Calvin had two daughters:

1. Eunice was born 22 March 1830 at Palmyra and died in infancy.
2. Maria was born 12 April 1832 at Kirtland, was baptized by Joseph Smith Jr. (date not given), was endowed 27 January 1846, and married Barnett Woolley/Woolley on 6 June 1852 at Webster, Hancock County, Illinois. Their only child, Flora, died in giving birth to her first child, who also died.

Calvin died 7 September 1836 at Kirtland. On 11 February 1838, Sophronia married William McCleary/McLeary/M'Lerry, a wagon-maker, at Kirtland. He was born 9 October 1793 at Rupert, Bennington County, Vermont. Joseph Smith Sr. gave him his patriarchal blessing on 2 October 1837 at Kirtland. William was ordained an elder on 26 February 1838, moved to Missouri with the rest of the family in May 1838 and to Illinois in February 1839, was endowed with Sophronia on 23 December 1845 at the Nauvoo temple, and was sealed to Sophronia on 27 January 1846. He was at least once faced with ecclesiastical charges of unbelief. Don Carlos mentions that "McLerry," Sophronia, and "Clarinda," whom he does not otherwise identify, were all sick on 25 July 1839. (See Appendix.) William built wagons for the Nauvoo exodus and died shortly afterwards. In 1850 Sophronia and daughter Maria were living with Sophronia's sister Lucy. When Maria married, Sophronia lived with her. The 1860 census shows Sophronia living near Colchester, Illinois. She was a Presbyterian. She died 28 August 1876, and a relative wrote: "She was ever ready to bear her testimony to the truth of the work, and she fell asleep in Christ without a struggle, with full hope of being raised in the first resurrection." Ancestral File; Newell and Avery, 19; Johansen, 23; McGavin, 90-91; Cook and Backman, 10, 19, 40; Marquardt and Walters, 121; Nibley, 336; Vogel 1:427-28; Jessee 2:570; Backman, *Heavens*, 146; JS III, 219; Black, *Early RLDS*, 5:636-37; Vogel 1:427-28; Black, *Membership*; Richard Anderson, "I Have," 44.

**McClellin, M'Lellin/McLellin, William E.,** was born 18 January 1806 in Smith County, Tennessee, to Charles McLellin (mother's name not known), in a family of at least four brothers and at least one sister. He taught school, clerked, practiced medi-

cine, and edited newspapers. He married Cinthia Ann (surname not known) on 30 July 1829 at Charleston, Clark (later Coles) County, Illinois, and, after her death giving birth to their first child, who also did not survive, married Emeline Miller (niece of John and Mary Johnson) on 26 April 1832 at Ravenna, Portage County, Ohio. They had six known children: Charles William (14 April 1834 at Liberty, Missouri); Sarah Emiline (5 January 1836 at Kirtland); James Martin (22 February 1838, probably at Far West); Helen Rebecca (11 February 1843 at Hampton, Illinois); Albert Eugene (2 June 1845 in Scott County, Iowa); and Marcus Nelson (9 February 1848 at Kirtland).

McLellin heard the gospel from Samuel Harrison Smith and Reynolds Cahoon in July 1831 (according to his journal, also from Harvey Whitlock and David Whitmer), was baptized 20 August 1831 at Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, by Hyrum Smith, was ordained an elder 24 August 1831, and was ordained an apostle 15 February 1835 at Kirtland by Oliver Cowdery. He served a series of missions in the early 1830s; among his companions were Parley P. Pratt and Samuel H. Smith. He served on the Clay County high council (called 7 July 1834), was disfellowshipped in the summer of 1835, attended the dedication of the Kirtland temple (1836) but was disappointed in the endowment, began finding fault with Joseph Smith, was reconciled briefly in 1837, was excommunicated for apostasy on 11 May 1838, and took an active part in plundering Joseph Smith's house in Far West in 1838. He moved his family to Iowa and was associated successively with George Hinkle, Sidney Rigdon, the Strangites, and David Whitmer. After 1850 he did not affiliate with any branch of Mormonism, although he corresponded with Joseph Smith III and the Hedrickites. He died 24 April 1883 at Independence, Jackson County, Missouri. Porter, "Odyssey," 291-378.

**McIntyre/Mackentire/M'Intyre/McIntire, Alexander**, the Smith family doctor in Palmyra, "president of the County medical association and a community leader." At least twice he defended the family against persecution. His wife was the daughter of Dr. Gain Robinson, another community leader, and, according to Vogel, McIntyre's uncle. Robinson performed the autopsy on Alvin with McIntire assisting. McIntire was a Freemason (Mount Moriah Lodge) and at least once took legal action against Hyrum for a debt. Richard Anderson, "Reliability," 19; Marquardt and Walters, 119; Vogel 1:22, 301.

**M'Clentic [McLintock?]**, the son of a Campbellite minister who was involved in the tarring and feathering of Joseph Smith on 24-25 March 1832 at Hiram, Ohio.

**Messer**. Lucy remembers this Quincy family as being very kind to her during her illness in early 1839.

**Middleton, Julia Murdock Smith**. See Joseph Smith Jr.

**Miller, George**, was born 25 November 1794 at Stanardville, Orange County, Virginia, to John Miller and Margaret Pfeiffer Miller. He moved to Kentucky, Louisiana, and Virginia before becoming a property owner in McComb Township, McDonough County, Illinois, in 1831 where, a carpenter, he built an eight-room house and owned 300 acres. A Presbyterian, he offered the Smith family land and shelter in early 1839 af-

ter their exodus from Missouri, then became a Mormon (10 August 1839). At Nauvoo he became a bishop (1840), president of the high priests (1841), a brigadier general in the Nauvoo Legion (1842), regent of the University of Nauvoo, director of the logging project at the pineries in Wisconsin (1842-44), and a member of the Council of Fifty (1844) and of the city council (1845). He resigned from the church in March 1847 over Brigham Young's leadership, was excommunicated (1848), affiliated with Lyman Wight in Texas and J. J. Strang in Michigan (1847-56), and died in 1856 at Marengo, McHenry County, Illinois. *Jessee* 2:571; *Black, Who's Who*, 195-97.

**Millikin, Arthur.** See Lucy Smith Millikin.

**Millikin, Lucy Smith**, the eleventh child and third daughter of Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith, was born 18 July 1821 at Palmyra, Ontario County, New York. She received her patriarchal blessing at Kirtland on 9 December 1834 from her father, and married Arthur Millikin (Lucy spells his name "Milikan," Joseph III "Milliken") on 4 June 1840 at Nauvoo with Joseph Smith Jr. performing the ceremony. Arthur was born 9 May 1817 at Saco, York County, Maine, to Edward Millikin and Hannah Andrew Millikin. He joined the Mormon church in 1836. As the drummer boy at the Battle of Crooked River, he was shot through both legs above the knee. In Nauvoo he had a harness business on the corner of Parley and Durfee streets and belonged to Nauvoo Fourth Ward. Lucy and Arthur lived briefly in Maine where their first child was born, then returned to Nauvoo. Lucy in 1840 was baptized by proxy for her deceased aunt, Lovina Mack. After the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum, she and Arthur took Mother Lucy and moved to Colchester, McDonough County, Illinois, near Katharine, Sophronia, and (temporarily) William. Arthur worked in the railroad office and in the mining business. The entire family eventually affiliated with the RLDS church.

Arthur and Lucy had four sons and five daughters; Joseph Smith III names seven of them: Florence, Julia, Clara, George, Charles, Sarah, and Don Carlos. Information is available on two:

1. Don Carlos, the oldest son, was born 13 October 1843 at Saco, York County, Maine, and married three wives consecutively: Sophia Gridley, Mary Elvie Durfee (1886), and Emma Smith (September 1900). He lived at Colchester from 1856 to 1873. During the Civil War, he served in Company H of the 15th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, was a member of the Grand Army of the Republic of Hamilton, was baptized RLDS on 21 June 1873 at Colchester by Joseph Smith III, and was a member of Odd Fellows, Monticello Lodge No. 697. Don Carlos died 26 November 1932 at Hamilton County, Illinois.

2. George W. D. was born 4 March 1848 at Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois, moved to Colchester in 1856, was baptized RLDS on 19 December 1889 by A. H. Smith, and attended Pilot Grove Branch. He died 16 January 1913 at Colchester.

Arthur Millikin died of pneumonia/"rheumatism of the brain" on 23 April 1882 at Colchester, McDonough County, Illinois. Lucy died 9 December 1882 of consumption, contracted by nursing Don Carlos's wife through her final illness of that disease, near Colchester, Illinois. Joseph Smith III characterized Arthur as "my favorite uncle, . . .

the soul of honor" while Lucy "was one of the most pleasant-mannered women I have known." Ancestral File; McGavin, 108-10; JS III, 21, 54; Jessee 2:572; Black, *Early RLDS*, 4:442-43; Black, *Membership*; Richard Anderson, "I Have," 43.

**Moredock.** This individual was apparently Constant Murdock, elected a grand juror in Norwich, Vermont, in March 1816. Joseph Smith Sr. rented a farm from him (1813-16) during the three years of failed crops that sent the family to Palmyra, New York, in 1816.

**Morey, George,** was born 15 November 1803 at Pittstown, Monroe County, New York, and received his patriarchal blessing on 29 December 1835 at Kirtland from Joseph Smith Sr. He married Sylvia Butterfield. In Missouri he served on the Far West high council (1837-38) and is identified as a militia captain. At Nauvoo he was appointed constable (March 1841) and was ordained a high priest the same year. He disaffiliated from the LDS church and moved, first to Brown County, Illinois, then to Hamilton, Decatur County, Iowa (1852), where he joined the RLDS church and presided over the Hamilton branch. He died there on 15 December 1875. Jessee 2:573; Black, *Membership*; Black, *Early*.

**Morgan, William,** was the sheriff of Daviess County. On 8 August 1838, Mormons visited him and asked him to sign a statement expressing lack of support for mob activity. He was responsible for transporting Joseph and Hyrum Smith and others to Boone County for trial in April 1839 after they had spent the winter of 1838-39 in Liberty Jail. They escaped, through the purposeful drunkenness of the guards. The angry citizens of Gallatin rode Morgan through the town on an iron rod and he died soon afterwards, apparently from injuries. Launius, *Alexander*, 70-71; LeSueur, 66.

**Morin, Judge.** According to Hyrum Smith's affidavit, Morin lived four or five miles from Adam-Ondi-Ahman in 1839.

**Morley, Isaac,** born 11 March 1786 at Montague, Franklin County, Massachusetts to Thomas E. Morley and Edetha Marsh Morley, reached the rank of captain in the War of 1812. He was baptized 15 November 1830 at Kirtland by Oliver Cowdery and Parley P. Pratt, was ordained an elder in October 1830, ordained a high priest on 3 June 1831 by Lyman Wight, was set apart as counselor to Bishop Edward Partridge (3 June 1831-40), and received his patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith Sr. on 4 May 1835. He served missions to Missouri (1831) with Ezra Booth and to the eastern states (1835) with Edward Partridge. He led a colony of Mormons to settle Far West, Missouri, where Joseph Smith Jr. ordained him a patriarch. He moved to Clay County on 11 November 1834 and to Far West in Caldwell County in April 1837, where he continued to serve as a patriarch.

He married Lucy Gunn on 20 June 1812 (died at Winter Quarters). Their seven children were all born at Kirtland: Philena (2 March 1813), Lucy Diantha (4 October 1815), Editha Ann (25 January 1818), Calista (11 May 1820), Cordelia Calista (28 November 1823), Theresa Arathusa (18 July 1826), and Isaac Jr. (2 May 1829). His second wife was Hannah Blakesley/Blaixley Finch, widow of Edwin Parker Merriam Finch

(married in 1844 at Nauvoo). They had three children: Joseph Lamoni (15 July 1845), Simeon Thomas (12 June 1846), and Mary Leonora (26 March 1852). His third wife was Abigail Leonora Snow (married in 1844 at Nauvoo). He was endowed 23 December 1843/11 December 1845 in the Nauvoo temple and was sealed to his first two wives on 14 January 1846. He was Lima Stake president in Illinois (22 October 1840), where he founded the town of Yelrome (e-Morley spelled backwards) and owned a coopering shop.

He reached Utah in 1847 and was called as Salt Lake Stake high councilor (15 February 1849). In October 1849 at age sixty-three, he led a company of 225 to settle Manti, the first settlement in Sanpete County, where he plowed the first furrow, built the first home, and made the first table. By allowing Chief Walker to take his infant son, Simeon Thomas Morley, overnight, he reportedly won the Indians' trust, ended the Walker War, and baptized Walker. He served in the Utah Territorial Legislature (1851-57) and as a stake patriarch. He died 21 June/July 1864 in Fairview, Utah, and was buried at Manti. Wiggins, 219-21; Black, *Membership*; Cannon and Cook, 277; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 291-92, 499-500.

**Moses, Julian**, a fellow missionary whose path crossed that of Don Carlos Smith in October 1838 in Tennessee, was born 11 April 1810 at Norfolk/Canaan, Litchfield County, Connecticut, to Jesse Moses and Esther Brown Moses. He was baptized 1 September 1834 and received his patriarchal blessing in 1835/1836 at Kirtland from Joseph Smith Sr. He married Barbara Neff on 25 March 1845 and Ruth Ridge on 12 February 1857 at Salt Lake City where their four children were born: Julian Neff (29 December 1857), Barbara Matilda (3 December 1859), Sarah Elizabeth (18 March 1863), and Esther Brown (5 August 1875). He served four missions in Tennessee between 11 December 1839 and 6 April 1841. He was ordained a Seventy on 14 March 1846 by Joseph Young, sealed to Ruth on 12 February 1857, and endowed 19 March 1857 at Salt Lake City's Endowment House. He died in Utah 12 February 1892. Black, *Membership*.

**Mudget, John**. Stephen Mack's partner in the mercantile business had a number of land transactions in Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont, where he is listed in the 1800 census. Porter, "A Study," 11.

**Mulholland, James**, was born in 1804 in Ireland and came with his family to Halton County, Ontario, Canada. He married Sarah Scott. They had at least one child, a daughter Sarah, whose marriage to Alexander Mullinder on 25 October 1843 at Nauvoo was performed by John Taylor. Mulholland was a clerk for Joseph Smith (1838-39), was in Missouri, and in Nauvoo was a member of Fourth Ward, subtreasurer, and clerk for land contracts. Jessee 2:574; Black, *Membership*.

**Murdock, John**, was born in 1792 at Kortwright, Delaware County, New York, the fourth of seven children born to John Murdock Sr. and Eleanor Riggs Murdock, who died in childbirth when John Jr. was four. Two other children predeceased her. John Sr.'s second wife was harsh to John and his three brothers; from the age of ten he lived

with an aunt and uncle who saw to his education and religious training. John moved to Orange, Cuyoga County, Ohio. He had been a Dutch Lutheran, Presbyterian Seceder, and Free Baptist before becoming first a Campbellite at Kirtland, then a Mormon. Parley P. Pratt baptized him in November/5 December 1830. Oliver Cowdery ordained him an elder a few days later and he immediately began preaching the Mormon gospel.

He married Julia Clapp (14 December 1823); their children were Orrice Clapp (24 December 1824), John Riggs (13 December 1826), Phebe (10 March 1828), and twins Joseph and Julia (30 April 1831). When his wife died six hours after childbirth, the twins were given to Joseph and Emma Smith, and John married Amoranda Turner on 4 February 1836 (no children; she died of fever in Missouri, 16 August 1837), and Electa Allen on 3 May 1838 at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri. They had Gideon Allen (1 August 1840 at Lima, Adams County, Illinois), Rachel (1 February 1843 at Nauvoo), and Hyrum Smith (8 January 1844 at Nauvoo). Electa, Rachel, and Hyrum died at Nauvoo. On 13 March 1846, John married Sarah Zufelt Weire, adopted her son George and fathered another, Brigham.

John received his patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith Sr. in February 1835; Joseph Smith Jr. ordained him a high priest 6 June 1831. He served as a bishop twice: of Nauvoo Fifth Ward (ordained 21 August 1842) and Salt Lake City Fourteenth Ward (14 February 1849), and was ordained a patriarch in February 1835 (reordained by Heber C. Kimball on 9 April 1854). In Missouri he served on Far West's high council and settled De Witt (1838) with George M. Hinckle. He was endowed 15 December 1845 in the Nauvoo temple. He served missions in Ohio; to Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri (1831-32 with Parley P. Pratt and Hyrum Smith); to Ohio and Pennsylvania with David W. Patten (1832), to New York (April-December 1833), to Indiana with Orson Pratt (1834), Zion's Camp (1834), to Maryland (1841), to New York (1844-45), and to Australia with Charles W. Wandell (arrived at Sydney 30 October 1851-2 June 1852).

He moved to Council Bluffs, Iowa, in 1846. Two of his sons, Orrice and John R., were in the Mormon Battalion. He reached Salt Lake City on 24 September 1847, served in the territorial House of Representatives, and settled near his sons by his first marriage in Lehi where he farmed and had an unsuccessful plural marriage to Majorie McEwan, a widow who refused to live with him. He died 23/24 December 1871 at Beaver, Beaver County, Utah. Cannon and Cook, 278; Newton, 177-93; Black, *Who's Who*, 201-3; Black, *Membership*.

**Murdock, Julia.** See Joseph Smith Jr.

**Murksley.** Lucy identifies him as a Methodist exhorter who visited her at Randolph, Vermont, about 1801-2 when she was recovering from both physical and spiritual malaise. Vogel (1:238) suggests that he may be John Maxley, who appears on Randolph's 1800 census.

**Norton, A. O.** Lucy associates him with Augustine Spencer in preferring the charges of treason against Joseph Smith. The *History of the Church* corroborates "Norton" but does not give his first name; however, a Henry O. Norton (Henry C., according to



B. H. Roberts) testified before Daniel H. Wells's court on 17 June 1844 that the destruction of the *Expositor* press was carried out in an orderly way. Henry O. Norton swore a charge of treason against Hyrum Smith on 24 June, was at Hamilton's Hotel on the day of the murders, and, according to Willard Richards, was part of the mob at Carthage. HC 6:344, 354-55, 488, 560, 7:85, 146; CHC 2:319-20; Flanders, 138.

**Osgood.** Lucy commemorates him as a hospitable neighbor during their brief stay at Waterloo, New York, during the winter of 1830-31, before they moved to Kirtland. The 1830 Seneca Falls census lists a Leonard W. Osgood. Porter, "A Study," 272.

**Page, Hiram**, was born in 1800 and married Catherine Whitmer on 10 November 1825. She was born 22 April 1807 at Fayette, Seneca County, New York, to Peter Whitmer Sr. and Mary Musselman Whitmer. They had nine children: John, Elizabeth, Philander, Mary, Peter, Nancy, Hiram, Oliver, and Kate. Hiram was one of the Eight Witnesses to the Book of Mormon (1829); he and Catherine were baptized 11 April 1830 at Seneca Lake, Seneca County, New York, by Oliver Cowdery, and Hiram was ordained a teacher on 9 June 1830. They moved to Jackson County (1832), Clay County (1836), Far West (where he owned 120 acres of land), and Ray County. He was severely beaten by a mob in Missouri (see Appendix), but the judge refused to issue a warrant for his assailants. He moved next to Clay County, then to Far West where he left the LDS church after the excommunications of David and John Whitmer (1838). He died on his farm 12 August 1852 near Excelsior Springs, Ray County, Missouri, affirming the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon. Catherine was living at Richmond, Ray County, during the 1880 census. Richard Anderson, *Investigating*, 126, 127, 129; Vogel 1:99; Cannon and Cook, 279; Black, *Who's Who*, 207-10; Black, *Membership*.

**Page, John Edward**, was born 25 February 1799 in Trenton, Oneida County, New York, to Ebenezer and Rachel Page and was baptized 18 August 1833 at Brownhelm, Lorain County, Ohio, by Emer Harris. His brother, Ebenezer, born 1807 at Waterville, New York, also joined the Mormon church. (Another brother, Lorin Page, born 12 April 1813 at Waterville, New York. He may not have been baptized but was with John and Ebenezer in Missouri.) John was ordained an elder on 12 September 1833, served two missions in Canada (1836, 1837), baptized nearly 600, was ordained a seventy (1836) at Kirtland, and, on 19 December 1838, was ordained an apostle. A second apostolic ordination occurred on 19 December 1838 at Far West, Caldwell County.

John married Lorain Stevens on 26 December 1833 and fathered two children; his wife and both children died in Missouri as refugees in Far West. His brother Ebenezer was imprisoned and lost property during 1838-39. John relocated near Warsaw, Illinois, and married Mary Judd in January 1839. She is the Sister Page whom Lucy met at Nauvoo. Born at Bastard, Leeds County, Canada, on 26 November 1818, Mary was the oldest of Arza Judd's and Lucinda Adams Judd's eight children. She and her family were probably among the converts of John Page, for they emigrated with him from Canada in May 1838 in a wagon train of thirty, arriving at De Witt, Missouri, which was attacked a few days later by a mob. The company took refuge

with the other exiles in Far West. Mary and John had three sons: John S., Justin, and Jerome.

John was called on, but did not serve, missions to England and Palestine (with Orson Hyde in 1840), although he preached for several months in eastern cities. He was initiated into Masonry on 21 April 1842 and endowed in the Nauvoo temple on 10 December 1845. He supported James Jesse Strang's claim to head the church, was disfellowshipped on 9 February 1846, and was excommunicated on 26 June 1846. He next affiliated with the Hedrickites, ordaining Granville Hedrick an apostle and "president of the high priesthood" on 17-18 May 1838, and helping the Hedrickites gain possession of the temple lot in Independence. His brother Ebenezer affiliated with the RLDS church. John died 14 October 1867 at Sycamore, Dekalb County, Illinois.

Mary married William Eaton, affiliated with the RLDS church, and was living at Independence in May 1903. Joseph Fielding Smith wrote to her there, attempting to identify the authors of some anonymous hymns. (John had published *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Use of Latter Day Saints* in Pittsburgh in 1841 to which Mary had contributed a number of hymns. She also wrote hymns for what she refers to as "the old edition of the Harp.") She wrote back crisply, answering his question but declining "to be present even in name in assisting such a work" because of her opposition to polygamy. She also offered testimony in the Temple Lot Case in 1893. William Eaton was born about 1818, was baptized LDS in 1845 by Freeman Nickerson, joined the Hedrickite church, and died of malaria in 1880 in Independence. Mary's parents and probably some of her siblings followed Brigham Young to Utah. Mary died 6 March 1907. Black, *Membership*; Cannon and Cook, 279-80; Inez Smith Davis; Mary Page Eaton; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 308; Black, *Membership*.

**Parish/Parrish, Warren**, was born in 1803 in New York and was baptized in May 1833 by Brigham Young. A brother-in-law of David Patten, he married Martha H. Raymond on 3 December 1835 in Geauga County, Ohio. He participated in Zion's Camp (1834), served missions to Tennessee and Kentucky with Wilford Woodruff (1835-36), was ordained a seventy (1835), acted as scribe to Joseph Smith (14 November 1835-37), was treasurer of the Kirtland Safety Society (1836), and then renounced his membership (1837). Parkin refers to an "illicit affair" that Warren Parrish had with a Mrs. Zerah Cole in Kirtland (243). In 1850 he was a clergyman living at Mendon, Monroe County, New York; in 1870 he was insane, living at Emporia, Lyon County, Kansas, where he died in 1887. Cannon and Cook, 280; Jessee 2:577; Black, *Membership*.

**Parks, General**. Involved in the Mormon War of 1838-39 in Richmond, Ray County, Missouri.

**Partridge, Edward**, was born 27 August 1793 at Pittsfield, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, to William Partridge and Jemima Bidwell Partridge. He married Lydia Clisbee on 22 August 1819 at Painesville, Lake, Ohio. They had seven children, all but the youngest born at Painesville, Geauga County: Eliza Maria (20 April 1820), Harriet Pamela (1 January 1822), Emily Dow (28 February 1824), Caroline Ely (8 January 1827), Clisbee (8 August 1829), Lydia (8 May 1830), and Edward Jr. (25 June 1833 at



Independence, Jackson County, Missouri). A hatter, Edward had been a Unitarian and a Campbellite when Joseph Smith Jr. baptized him at Fayette, Seneca County, New York, on 11 December 1830. He was ordained an elder 15 December 1830 and a high priest on 3 June 1831. He received a patriarchal blessing on 4 May 1835. In Missouri he managed the United Firm, dedicated the office of the *Evening and Morning Star* (29 May 1832), was tarred and feathered (20 July 1833), and was arrested for treason (1838). He was sealed to Lydia on 14 January 1846 at the Nauvoo temple. Ordained to the office that later became Presiding Bishop, he also served as a bishop in Nauvoo (5 October 1839). He died 27 May 1840 at Nauvoo. Cannon and Cook, 280; Black, *Membership*.

**Patten, David W.**, was born 14 November 1799 at Theresa, Jefferson County, New York, to Benoni Patten and Edith/Abigail Cole Patten. He was baptized (1832), ordained an elder (17 June 1832), and had served three missions by 1833. He married Phoebe Ann Babcock (1828) at Dundee, Monroe County, Michigan. He went to Missouri at Joseph Smith's request, served another mission to the Southern States, and was ordained an apostle on 15 February 1835. He exercised the gift of healing. Warren Parrish was his brother-in-law. He was fatally wounded at the battle of Crooked River in Ray County and died 25 October 1838. Cannon and Cook, 280-81; Black, *Membership*; Black, *Who's Who*, 217-20.

**Peterson, Richard Ziba.** Details about his birth and parents are not known. Oliver Cowdery baptized him at Seneca Lake, New York, 18 April 1830. By June he was ordained an elder and called to preach to the Lamanites in October 1830 with Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer Jr., and Parley P. Pratt. En route they preached with great success in Ohio. He was officially reprimanded but reconciled in July 1831. On 11 August 1831 he married Rebecca Hopper of Lone Jack, Jackson County, Missouri, and they became the parents of at least eight children. He was ordained an elder on 2 October 1832 but resigned in May 1833. In 1848 the Peterson family moved to California where Peterson was elected sheriff at Dry Diggins (now Placerville, Eldorado County), and died in early 1849 of unknown causes. Rebecca raised her children in Napa Valley where she died in 1896. Vogel 1:100; Garrett; Cannon and Cook, 281.

**Phelps, William Wine**, was born 17 February 1792 at Dover/Hanover, Morris County, New Jersey, to Enon Phelps and Mehitabel Goldsmith Phelps. He purchased a Book of Mormon from Parley P. Pratt on 9 April 1830, sat up all night reading it, moved to Kirtland, where he was baptized (June 1831), was ordained an elder by Joseph Smith, and accompanied him to Missouri where, as printer for the Mormon church, he published the Book of Commandments and the *Evening and the Morning Star*. After a mob destroyed his house and press (July 1833), he returned to Kirtland where he helped print the first LDS hymnal and the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, acted as a scribe for Joseph Smith, and wrote "The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning" for the dedication of the Kirtland temple. As a member of the presidency of the church in Missouri 1834-38, he purchased the northern half of the Far West site while John Whitmer purchased the southern half. In April 1837, the high council investigated and rebuked

them. Phelps was excommunicated on 10 March 1838, was reconciled by July 1840, moved to Nauvoo where he assisted Joseph Smith with clerical duties, became a member of the Council of Fifty (March 1844), and was endowed (9 December 1843).

He married Sally Waterman on 28 April 1815 and fathered ten children. In Nauvoo he was sealed to Laura Stowel and Elizabeth Dunn, both on 2 February 1846. He left Nauvoo in 1846, was excommunicated on 9 December 1847 and rebaptized two days later. He reached Salt Lake City in 1849, served in the legislature (1841-57), as speaker of the house (1851), on the university board of regents, in the constitutional convention, and as a lawyer, surveyor-general, chief engineer, and ordinance worker in the Endowment House. He died 6 March 1872 at Salt Lake City. Cannon and Cook, 282; Black, *Who's Who*, 223-26; Cook, *Revelations*, 87-88.

**Pierce, Willard**, kept a tavern on the route that Lucy traveled with her children between Norwich, Vermont, and Palmyra, New York, ca. 1816. Here Lucy said goodbye to her mother, Lydia Gates Mack. It is possible (though not certain) that Pierce's tavern was at or near Royalton, the town in which Lucy's brother Daniel resided, since Lydia went to stay with him. Two men named Pierce appear on the 1800 and 1810 Royalton censuses, in 1820, only one, and none in 1830.

**Pitkin**. On 2 April 1832, a member by this name escorted, presumably from Nauvoo, Newel K. Whitney, Jesse Gause, and Joseph Smith to Warren (just south of Warsaw, Hancock County, Illinois) where they met Sidney Rigdon and continued on to Missouri. An extended Pitkin family lived in Nauvoo Third Ward. Two men were of an appropriate age to escort the Smith party: (1) *George W. Pitkin*, whom George Q. Cannon (137) identifies as this individual, was born 17 May 1801 at Hartford, Windsor County, Vermont, to Paul Pitkin and Abigail Lathrop Pitkin. On 8 February 1829, he married Amanda Eglestone, born 11 February 1805 at Torrington, Litchfield, Connecticut, the daughter of Curtis Eglestone and Amarilla Fowler Eglestone. They were the parents of seven children. Joseph Smith Jr. baptized George in May 1831. Sisters Abigail and Laura also joined the LDS church and became plural wives of Heber C. Kimball. (2) *Chauncey Warriner Pitkin*, born 1812 at Holland, Erie County, New York, died 1868. There is not enough information to determine whether he was at Nauvoo. An Orrin Pitkin lived at Hiram, Ohio, in 1814, but his relation to George's family is not known. Platt, "1843," 46; Black, *Who's Who*, 257; Black, *Membership*.

**Pope, Nathaniel**, was justice of the U.S. Circuit Court at Springfield, Illinois, in 1843 and rendered a verdict of not guilty when Joseph Smith was accused of being an accessory to the attempted assassination of Lilburn Boggs.

**Porter**. A tavern keeper by this name at Greenville, Indiana, close to the Kentucky state line, became the involuntary host of Joseph Smith and Newel K. Whitney when Newel broke his leg in a carriage accident. Lucy reports that Porter tried to poison them.

**Powell, James**, a non-Mormon married to a Mormon woman in Carroll County "was clubbed senseless" when a Missourian mob "tried to take possession of his property and

home." They fractured his skull, and a doctor later removed fourteen fragments of bone from his skull and exposed brain. LeSueur, 180.

**Pratt, Orson**, was born 19 September 1811 at Hartford, Washington County, New York, to Jared Pratt and Charity Dickinson Pratt. His brother Parley baptized him on 19 September 1831 at Canaan, Columbia County, New York. They traveled to Fayette, New York, where he met Joseph Smith (October 1830) who ordained him an elder (1 December 1830). Sidney Rigdon ordained him a high priest on 2 February 1832. He was ordained an apostle 26 April 1835, became a charter member of the Kirtland Safety Society (1837), presided over the LDS church in New York City, moved to Missouri in 1838-39, and to Nauvoo (1841). There he taught at the University of Nauvoo, was disciplined for his opposition to polygamy (20 August 1842), was rebaptized and re-ordained (20 January 1843), served on the city council, was endowed (23 December 1843), and became a member of the Council of Fifty (11 March 1844). He was the first man to enter the Salt Lake Valley in July 1847. He wrote many pamphlets, ably defended the church, edited the *Millennial Star*, served as speaker of the house of Utah's Territorial Legislature, and prepared the 1876 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants and the 1878 edition of the Pearl of Great Price. He served many missions: to New York, Ohio, "the Eastern States" generally, on Zion's Camp, to Upper Canada, to Great Britain, and to Washington, D.C. Among his companions were Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman E. Johnson, Newel Knight, Hyrum Smith, William Snow, and William Pratt.

He married Sarah Marinda Bates on 4 July 1836 and fathered twelve children. He was later sealed to seven additional wives and fathered twenty-five more children. He died at Salt Lake City on 3 October 1881. Cook, *Revelations*, 49-51

**Pratt, Parley P.**, was born 12 April 1807 at Burlington, Otsego County, New York, the older brother of Orson Pratt. He was converted by the Book of Mormon, baptized and ordained an elder September 1830 by Oliver Cowdery, and went on a mission to the Indians in Missouri with companions Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, and Ziba Peterson, planting a vigorous branch of the Mormon church in Ohio en route (1830-31). He served many missions: to the Shakers, throughout the eastern states, New York, on Zion's Camp, Pennsylvania, New England, Toronto, Great Britain, New York City, the Pacific Islands, South America, and California.

He married Thankful Halsey on 9 September 1827 and they had one child: Parley Parker Jr. Parley Sr. married eleven additional wives and fathered twenty-seven more children.

He was ordained a high priest on 3 June 1831, had administrative positions in Missouri, was "appointed to receive endowment" at Kirtland on 23 June 1834 and at Nauvoo on 2 December 1843, became a member of the Council of Fifty on 11 March 1844, served on the Clay County high council (1834), was ordained an apostle (21 February 1835), was arrested at the fall of Far West and incarcerated but escaped, edited the *Millennial Star* and *The Prophet*, and wrote the highly influential missionary tract *Voice of Warning* (1837) and his autobiography. In Utah he was on the constitutional commit-

tee (1849) and led an exploration expedition to southern Utah. He was murdered by the husband of his last plural wife on 13 May 1857 at Van Buren, Crawford County, Arkansas. Cook, *Revelations*, 45-47.

**Price, Sterling**, led a delegation of Missourians from Chariton County to Far West to complain about Mormon misbehavior in September 1838, was pacified by Doniphan, and coauthored a pamphlet defending the Mormons, specifically denying that they were abolitionists. He was a colonel in the Missouri militia who guarded Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, and the other prisoners from Far West during their transport from Jackson County to Richmond and oversaw the guards during the grand jury trial before Judge Austin A. King in November 1838. Boggs named him in December 1838 as head of a company to "protect" the Saints of Caldwell County. He headed the Second Missouri Volunteers during the Mexican War, 1846-47, relieving Doniphan's First Missouri Mounted Volunteers in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Named a major general in the Missouri State Guard after the attack on Fort Sumpter, he negotiated an agreement with U.S. general Stephen Watts Kearney to keep order in the state if Kearney would confine federal troops to St. Louis. A pro-secessionist, he accepted a command as a Confederate general in February 1862 and later served as governor of Missouri. Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 734; Launius, *Alexander*, 51, 134, 200, 252-53, 255; LeSueur, 82, 84, 233.

**Putnam, Israel**, was born in 1718 at Old Salem (now Danvers), Massachusetts, fought in the French and Indian Wars as a second lieutenant, but rose to lieutenant colonel. He was captured by the Indians but escaped death thanks to the daring rescue that Solomon Mack mentions. In 1762 he led an unsuccessful expedition of Connecticut troops against the French in the West Indies. He opposed the British government, became a leader in the Sons of Liberty, chaired the Committee of Correspondence at Brooklyn, Connecticut, rushed to Cambridge to join the American forces at the Battle of Lexington, and fought in the battle of Bunker Hill. He became a major general in the Continental Army and died in 1790. Rossiter, 806.

**Reed/Reid, John S.**, was Joseph Smith's attorney on 1 July 1830 when Joseph was brought before Justice Joseph Chamberlain in South Bainbridge, New York, and again at Colesville on charges of tricking Josiah Stool out of money and also misbehaving with Stool's daughters. (Both Josiah and his daughters testified on Joseph's behalf, denying any wrongdoing on his part.) Joseph Knight hired Reid and James Davidson, both of whom are described as Knight's neighbors and farmers who were familiar with law, though not lawyers. Reid later recalled these trials in Nauvoo on 17 May 1844 in a speech published in the *Times and Seasons*. The speech was the last of seven made at a delegates' convention to nominate Joseph Smith for the U.S. presidency. Reid, a non-Mormon, represented New York as a delegate. HC 1:89, 93-96, 389; Marquardt and Walters, 190.

**Rees, Amos**, was one of four attorneys the Mormons hired (with Alexander William Doniphan, David R. Atchison, and William T. Wood) after they were expelled from

Jackson County in 1833. Doniphan probably shared Rees's law office when he first moved to Liberty in 1833. He was one of two messengers sent from Richmond to inform Governor Boggs of tensions in Daviess County. With Doniphan, he defended Joseph Smith and the other prisoners taken at Far West in the preliminary hearing held before Judge Austin A. King in Richmond in November 1838. Launius, *Alexander*, 12, 15, 66-71; LeSueur, 150.

**Reynolds, J. H.**, was the sheriff of Jackson County. He investigated the attempted assassination of Lilburn Boggs on 6 May 1842 and finally arrested Porter Rockwell for the crime at St. Louis on 4 March 1843. Launius, *Alexander*, 79-80.

**Reynolds, Thomas C.**, was born 12 March 1796 in Mason County, Kentucky, where he was admitted to the bar in 1817, then moved to Illinois where he served as clerk of the State House of Representatives, as Attorney General, as Speaker of the House, as Chief Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, and as judge of a circuit court. He moved to Missouri about 1829, represented Howard County in the state General Assembly, was speaker of the house, and was nominated by Governor Boggs as judge of the Second Judicial District in 1837. A Democrat, he defeated John B. Clark in a contest for governor of the state (1840-44). As chief executive, he organized fifteen counties, opened a university, and issued the first Thanksgiving Day proclamation for the state. He committed suicide on 9 February 1844, reportedly because of depression over ill health. *Biographical Dictionary*, 841-42.

**Rich, Charles Coulson**, was born 21 August 1809 in Campbell County, Kentucky, taught school and was a cooper, read the Book of Mormon after meeting Hosea Stout, was baptized by George M. Hinckle on 1 April 1832, was ordained an elder on 16 May 1832 by Zebedee Coltrin and Solomon Wixom, went to Kirtland to meet Joseph Smith, and participated in Zion's Camp. He married Sarah DeArmon Pea in 1838 and five other women by whom he fathered fifty-one children. He bought 170 acres in Caldwell County and, while carrying a flag of truce during the siege of Far West, was fired on by Captain Samuel Bogart, who recognized him as a combatant at Crooked River. In Nauvoo he served on the high council, as a captain in the Nauvoo Legion, on the board of regents for Nauvoo University, on the Council of Fifty, and in the Nauvoo Stake presidency. He became a Master Mason and a city counselor, and was endowed in the Nauvoo temple 18 December 1845. He served missions in Illinois and Michigan in 1843, presided over the branch in Mount Pisgah, Iowa, crossed the plains as captain of a company (1847), was ordained an apostle (1849), and helped colonize San Bernardino, California; Cache County, Utah; and Bear Lake, Idaho. Cannon and Cook, 284; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 328; Arrington, *Charles*, passim; LeSueur, 162; Black, *Membership*.

**Richards, Willard**, was born 24 June 1804 at Hopkinton, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, to Joseph Richards and Rhoda Howe Richards. A religious seeker in his youth, he taught school in Massachusetts and New York, lectured on scientific topics throughout New England, became a Thompsonian botanical doctor, was converted by

the Book of Mormon, and traveled to Kirtland to investigate the LDS church in October 1836. He was baptized by his cousin Brigham Young on 31 December 1836 and ordained an elder by Alva Beman on 6 March 1837. He served missions to the eastern states (1837) and to Great Britain (1837-41) where he married Jenetta Richards (24 September 1838), served as first counselor in the British Mission presidency to Joseph Fielding, and was ordained an apostle on 14 April 1840, "the first and only apostle ordained outside the United States." In Nauvoo he served on the city council, was temple recorder, became a Mason (7 April 1842), was endowed (4 May 1842), served on the Council of Fifty, became Joseph Smith's private secretary and confidential assistant, tried to defend him and Hyrum during the murders at Carthage Jail, and became Brigham Young's second counselor in 1847. He served in that position until his death in Salt Lake City on 11 March 1854. In addition to Jenetta, he married eight additional wives and fathered eleven children. Black, *Who's Who*, 241-43; Cook, *Revelations*, 233-34.

**Rider, Symonds.** See Symonds Ryder.

**Rigdon, Phebe Brooks.** See Sidney Rigdon.

**Rigdon, Sidney**, was born 19 February 1793 at St. Clair, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, to William Rigdon and Nancy Galliger/Gallaher. (Nancy was baptized in Pittsburgh by her son and Luke Johnson in 1836 and died in Nauvoo). Sidney had three siblings: Carvil, Loami, and Lucy. He married Phebe Brooks of Bridgetown, Cumberland County, New Jersey, on 12 June 1820. They were the parents of eleven children: Athalia, Nancy, Sarah, Eliza, Sidney Algernon, John W., Lucy, Phoebe, Hortencia, Ephraim, and Samuel Carver.

Sidney became a Baptist preacher in 1819, had a church in Pittsburgh (1822-24), moved to Mentor, Ohio, where he led a Baptist congregation, then joined Alexander Campbell in founding the Disciples of Christ. Phebe and Sidney were baptized 8/14 November 1830 by the four Mormon missionaries to the Lamanites: Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Ziba Peterson, and Peter Whitmer Jr. He was beaten and concussed in a mob attack against him and Joseph Jr. on the night of 24-25 March 1832 at the John Johnson home in Hiram, Ohio, was ordained a high priest on 3 June 1831, received his patriarchal blessing on 13 September 1835 at Kirtland from Joseph Smith Sr., and served as a counselor in the First Presidency (1832-44). He traveled and worked closely with Joseph Smith, serving missions to Missouri, Ohio, New York, Zion's Camp, Canada, Washington, D.C., Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. He moved to Far West on 4 April 1838, was incarcerated with Joseph Smith and others in Liberty Jail in the winter of 1838-39, was allowed bail and left by night with Phebe in February 1839. In Nauvoo he was a regent of the university and a member of the Council of Fifty but became alienated from Joseph Smith when the latter asked Sidney's daughter Nancy to become his plural wife. Sidney was excommunicated 13 August 1843, reconciled temporarily, but broke permanently with the church during the succession crisis of 1844. He established his own church at Pittsburgh, lived an increasingly reclusive life, and died 14 July



1876 at Friendship, New York. Van Wagoner, *Sidney*, passim; Cannon and Cook, 294; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 665, 681; Vogel 1:48, 2:415; Black, *Membership*.

**Riley, M.**, was a Baptist minister in Liberty, Clay County, who argued during the June 1834 trial over the expulsion from Jackson County that the Mormons should also be expelled from Clay County. Launius, *Alexander*, 22.

**Robinson**, apparently not a Mormon, was hospitable to Don Carlos Smith and George A. Smith on their missionary journey in the fall of 1838 when they were temporarily stranded at Columbus, Hickman County, Kentucky. They called him "colonel" because of his former service in the army.

**Robinson, Gain C.**, was a doctor and druggist in Palmyra who consulted on Alvin's case and was the father-in-law (Vogel says also uncle) of Alexander McIntyre, the family's physician. His day book on 20 November 1823, the day after Alvin's death, contains the notation that he received \$3.00 for "Joseph Smith visit," suggesting that he helped perform the autopsy. When the Smith farm was jeopardized by misrepresentations to the land agent, Dr. Robinson was able to collect sixty signatures to a statement of their good character in a couple of hours. For the account books of Gain C. Robinson and Cains C. Robinson, 1820-30, see Vogel 3:432-40. Marquardt and Walters, 13; Richard Anderson, "Reliability," 19; Vogel 1:301.

**Robinson, Ebenezer**, was born 25 May 1816/1819, at Floyd/Rome, Oneida County, New York, to Nathan Robinson and Mary Brown Robinson. Joseph Smith Jr. baptized him at Kirtland in October 1835. He married Angeline Eliza Works on 18/13 December 1835 at Kirtland where he was Don Carlos Smith's colleague in printing. Don Carlos (Appendix) mentions on 25 July 1839 that Angeline was ill. After her death, Ebenezer married Martha A. Cunningham. Daughter Grace was born 22 December 1849 at Green Castle, Franklin County, Pennsylvania.

Robinson received his patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith Sr. at Kirtland on 31 January 1836, was ordained a seventy on 20 December 1836 at Kirtland by Zebedee Coltrin, and served missions to Ohio and New York with Chillion Daniels (1836). In 1837 he moved to Far West where he served on the high council (December 1838) and as justice of the peace (1839). As an officer in David W. Patten's company, he participated in the battle of Crooked River, was taken to Richmond as a prisoner, but was released on bail. In Nauvoo he was a member of Third Ward, joined the Freemasons, and edited and published the *Times and Seasons*. He did not join the Nauvoo Legion, feeling that it was inappropriate for a church to sponsor a militia unit, and was troubled by the doctrine of polygamy. He joined the RLDS church at Hamilton Township, Decatur County, Iowa, on 28 April 1863, then joined David Whitmer's church in 1888. He died 11 March 1891 at Davis City, Decatur County, Iowa. Cannon and Cook, 285; Black, *Membership*.

**Robinson, George W.**, was born 14 May 1814 at Pawlet, Rutland County, Vermont, to Ephraim Robinson and Mary Upham Robinson. He married Athalia Rigdon, the eldest daughter of Sidney and Phebe Rigdon, on 13 April 1837. He was ordained a sev-

enty on 20 December 1836 at Kirtland by Zebedee Coltrin, received a patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith Sr., served as Joseph Smith's clerk and as general church recorder (6 April 1836-October 1840), moved to Far West, Missouri, on 28 March 1838, helped Joseph Smith organize Adam-ondi-Ahman Stake (June 1838), and served on its high council and with the Danites. On 31 October 1838, he was arrested with Joseph Smith and others, tried before Austin A. King at Richmond in November 1838, was acquitted, and moved to Quincy, Illinois, in 1838-39. At Nauvoo he was a member of First Ward, the city's postmaster (April 1840), and one of the original incorporators of the Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association (1841). He became disaffected, was "denounced" by Joseph Smith on 29 August 1842 and left Nauvoo (1843). In 1846 he was living on a farm near Cuba, Allegany County, New York, then moved to nearby Friendship, where Sidney Rigdon died in his home on 14 July 1876; Robinson followed in 1878. Black, *Memberships*; Cannon and Cook, 158-59; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 649; LeSueur, 64.

**Rockwell, Orrin Porter**, was born 25 January 1815 (also 25 June 1815, 28 June 1814, 28 January 1813) in New York or Belchertown, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, to Orrin Rockwell and Sarah Witt. He married, first, a woman named Alvira M. (surname and date unknown), then, second, Luana Hart Beebe on 2 February 1832 in Jackson County, Missouri. Luana was born 3 October 1814 at Madison, New York, to Isaac and Olive Beebe. She received her patriarchal blessing on 22 January 1843 and was endowed 2 January 1846 (three days before Porter) in the Nauvoo temple. Joseph Smith III comments that, at Galland's Grove, Iowa, Wheeler Baldwin told him in the spring of 1862 that he (Baldwin) had married Rockwell's "forsaken wife," but does not name her. Porter's third wife was Mary Ann Neff, born August 5, 1829/31, at Strasburgh, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, to John Neff II and Mary Barr Neff. She and Porter were married 3 May 1854 and sealed in the Endowment House 5 March 1857/1858. She died 28 September 1866. Another wife, Sarah Jane Mantle, is also listed with a marriage date of 16 February 1867 at the Endowment House, Salt Lake City, and seven children.

Porter was a teenager (fifteen to seventeen, depending on which birthdate is accurate) when he was baptized with his mother on 9 June 1830 at Fayette, Seneca County, New York. He and his mother traveled from Palmyra to Kirtland in Lucy Mack Smith's company in 1831, and Lucy records that he set off in Buffalo to visit his maternal uncle, disregarding his mother's pleas to stay on the boat and her own warning that the boat would not wait for him. He moved to Missouri in 1831. In July 1833 he and his father were running a ferry on the Big Blue River in Jackson County. He was ordained a deacon (1838) at Far West, and later (no date) a high priest. At Nauvoo he was a member of Fourth Ward, guarded Joseph Smith, was endowed 5 January 1846 in the Nauvoo temple, accompanied Joseph Smith and others to Washington, D.C., and was charged with assault and an attempt to kill Lilburn Boggs, governor of Missouri, in 1842, when the owner of a hardware store in Independence remembered that he had been in the store shortly before the gun used in the assault was stolen. Rockwell had come to Independence in February 1842 so that Luana, pregnant with their fourth child, could visit



her family. He was captured in St. Louis in March 1843, tried for attempted jailbreak but not the murder in December 1843, and defended by Doniphan, was ordered to serve "five minutes" jail time, after which Doniphan advised him to leave the state at once. He reached Nauvoo on Christmas Day 1843 where his arrival disrupted Joseph Smith's Christmas party. Porter accompanied Brigham Young to Utah in 1847 where he was a rancher, an Indian fighter, a messenger, reportedly a Danite in Brigham Young's private service, and a guerilla fighter during the Utah War of 1857-58 in the Echo Canyon campaign. In 1849 Porter Rockwell went to California, "opened the Round Tent Saloon at Murderer's Bar and hauled in whiskey from Sacramento." He also operated an inn at Buckeye Flat, and under the assumed name of James B. Brown kept a Halfway House on the road to Placerville. In 1850 he returned to Utah and died 9 June 1878 at Salt Lake City. Schindler, 192-98; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 526-28; Launius, *Alexander*, 81-82; JS III, 95; Cannon and Cook, 285.

**Rockwell, Sarah Witt**, Orrin Porter Rockwell's mother, was born 17/9 September 1785, at Belchertown, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, to Ivory Witt and Abigail Montague Witt.

She married Orrin Rockwell in 1809. She had at least two sons and three daughters:

1. Caroline was born in 1812 at Belchertown, Massachusetts, was baptized by David Whitmer at Fayette, New York, married Horton Smith (1811-65) of Hambden, Geauga County, Ohio, in 1834, and had six children. She died at Hambden in 1887.

2. Electa was born in 1814 at Belchertown, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, married Samuel M. Ouseley in Clay County, Missouri, in 1837, moved with him to California in 1852, and settled in 1853 in Gilroy, Santa Clara County, where she died in 1900.

3. **Orrin Porter Rockwell** (*q.v.*) was born in 1815.

4. Emily married Christopher Stafford.

The family moved to Manchester, New York, after 1813. Sarah Witt Rockwell, Porter, Caroline, and Electa were baptized 9 June 1830 and moved to Kirtland in the company led by Lucy Mack Smith where father Orrin was baptized. The family was driven out of Jackson County in 1833 and out of Caldwell County in 1838. Orrin Rockwell died 22 September 1839. Sarah was endowed the same day as Porter—5 January 1846 in the Nauvoo temple. She died some time after January 1846. Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 529-30; Quinn, *Early*, 404n261, 452n229; Vogel 1:97, 109, 2:199-200; Black, *Membership*.

**Rogers, Robert**, an American military leader mentioned by Solomon Mack, was born 7 November 1731 at Methuen, Massachusetts, to James and Mary Rogers, learned Indian woodcraft skills, and became captain of an independent company of rangers (scouts) in British pay in 1756. By 1758 he was major of nine ranger companies, led many raids, and became "the most romantic figure" of the French and Indian War because of his preference for "spectacular and hazardous exploits." Between 1760 and 1775, he "proved himself incapable of coping with the problems of peace and civiliza-

tion," ran up debts of £13,000, conducted ranger operations against the Cherokee in South Carolina, published some plays in England, traded illegally with Indians, was suspected of "treasonable dealings" with the French, returned to America in 1775 where George Washington imprisoned him on suspicion of espionage in 1776, escaped to Canada where he raised a company of Queen's rangers, was defeated in New York, and was deprived of his command. His wife, Elizabeth Browne Rogers, petitioned the New Hampshire legislature for a divorce and was granted full custody of their only child; Rogers fled to England in 1780 and died there on 18 May 1795. *Dictionary*, 8:108.

**Rowley, Gersham**, (not Bowley) appears on the muster roll in Solomon Mack's company, headed by Major Joseph Spencer. Richard L. Anderson identifies several typographical errors in names, suggesting that Solomon's handwriting was difficult for the printer to read. *New England*, 163, 32.

**Ruggles**, (first name not known), was the minister of the Congregational church at Pontiac, Michigan, whom Lucy met while visiting Stephen Mack's daughters.

**Ryder, Symonds/Simonds**, was born 20 November 1792 at Hartford, Washington County, Vermont, to Joshua and Marilla Ryder. A Campbellite convert in 1828 and minister in Hiram, Ohio, he was impressed by Mormon missionary Ezra Booth. He visited Joseph Smith in Kirtland and heard a young girl prophesy an earthquake in China. When he read a newspaper account of the disaster, he was convinced of Mormonism's divinity, accepted baptism in early June 1831 and was ordained an elder on 16 June by Joseph Smith Sr. Repelled by both a misspelling of his name on his ministerial certificate and by the impression that the law of consecration and stewardship would give Joseph Smith control of his property, he turned against the church and, by late summer, was preaching anti-Mormonism jointly with Ezra Booth. He helped a mob tar Joseph Smith in March 1832 at the John Johnson home at Hiram. He was in the local militia, an elder in the Campbellite church, and a trustee of a local college. He died 1 August 1870 at Hiram, Portage County, Ohio. Black, "Hiram," 163-64; Black, *Who's Who*, 256-58; Cannon and Cook, 286; Black, *Membership*.

**Sagers, William Henry Harrison**, was born 3 May 1815/1814 at LeRoy, Genessee County, New York, to John Sagers and Amy Sweet Sagers. He married Olive Amanda Wheaton on 22 January 1846 at Nauvoo. He was baptized 7 January 1833, endowed 1 January 1846 at the Nauvoo temple and sealed to Olive on 22 January 1846. According to Don Carlos Smith (see Appendix), Sagers accompanied him and George A. Smith on a mission from Adam-ondi-Ahman to the east in September 1838. Sagers also opened New Orleans to missionary work, was appointed to a mission in Jamaica, West Indies (31 August 1841), and served missions to Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. One of his companions was Orson Pratt. He served on the Adam-ondi-Ahman high council. He married two more wives: Sarah Lorene Bailey (22 January 1846, Nauvoo), and Marion Smith Browning (5 June 1858, Provo, Utah). Their six children were born at Tooele, Tooele County, Utah, where he was a painter and farmer: Martha Smith (26 April 1859), William Wallace (26 June 1860), Robert Bruce (30 March 1862), Adam

Smith (11 September 1863), Mary Smith (6 August 1865), and Marion Smith (15 November 1868). He died 19 June 1886 at Blackfoot, Bingham County, Idaho. Black, *Membership*.

**Salisbury, Katharine Smith**, the ninth child and second daughter of Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith, was born 28 July 1813 at Lebanon, Grafton County, New Hampshire. Her name is spelled as Catharine (by Lucy), Katharine (on her tombstone), and with many variants. She was baptized at age sixteen on 9 June 1830, the same day as William and Don Carlos. She married a lawyer/blacksmith, Wilkins Jenkins Salisbury (also Saulsbury/Salsbury), on 8 January 1831, probably at Waterloo. (Richard Anderson, "I Have," 42, gives this date as 8 June 1831 at Kirtland.) Salisbury was born 6 June 1809 at Lebanon, Madison/Macedonia County, New York, to Gideon Salisbury and Elizabeth Shield Salisbury.

Wilkins and Katharine had eight children, five sons and three daughters. (Cecil McGavin says that Katherine had four sons and four daughters but gives the names as five sons and three daughters: Frederick, Solomon, Samuel, Alvin, Don Carlos, Emma, Mary, and Lucy—thus omitting Elizabeth and Loren from the list below, and adding Samuel and Mary). The list below follows Lucy's genealogy in chap. 9, ending with Emma C. The last two children were born after the completion of Lucy's manuscript.

1. Elizabeth was born 9/12 April 1832 at Lebanon, Madison County, New York.

2. Lucy was born 3 October 1834 at Willoughby, Lake County, Ohio (or at Lebanon, Madison County, New York); married a Mr. Whalen; was baptized RLDS on 29 May 1892 by Fred Johnson and confirmed the next day by J. C. Crabb, W. Waterman, and F. Johnson. She died 18 October 1892, at Burlington, Des Moines, Iowa, and was buried at Webster, Hancock County, Illinois.

3. Solomon Jenkins Salisbury was born 18 September 1835 at Kirtland, Geauga County, Ohio, and settled with his parents at Plymouth, Hancock County, Illinois, when the family was driven from Missouri. He married Eliza Swisher, 19 February 1856, and Margaret Swisher, 17 September 1865, and settled in Pilot Grove Township, Vermillion County, Illinois, in 1860. On 10 October 1872 during a period of serious illness, "one night [in vision] a visitor informed him that in order to accomplish what he wanted to live for, he was to 'Send for Joseph Smith and he will tell you what to do when he comes.' Joseph Smith III came and administered to Solomon. He was baptized and confirmed" RLDS on 23 October 1872 at Pilot Grove and was ordained a priest on 24 May 1874/13 July 1873 and an elder in 1874. He participated in Pilot Grove Second Branch until his death of heart failure on 12 January 1927, at Burnside, Hancock County, Illinois.

4. Alvin was born 7 June 1838 en route to Missouri and baptized RLDS on 3 February 1878 by John H. Lake. He was the father of eight children. According to Joseph Smith III, Katharine had had a prophetic dream of Alvin's death and counseled him often to guard his temper; he was stabbed to death by a man with whom he had a long-standing quarrel. Alvin, who was not armed, "was a very large man and of immense strength," but his opponent had a knife.

5. Don Carlos was born 22/25 October 1841 at Plymouth/Fountain Green, Han-

cock County, Illinois. He married Sibian Weinman. Their son, Herbert S. Salisbury, became president of Graceland College in 1901 and assistant RLDS Church Historian in 1919.

6. Emma C. was born 25 March 1844 at Fountain Green.

7. Loren was born in 1849 at Fountain Green.

8. Frederick was born 27 January 1850 at Fountain Green.

Jenkins Salisbury was called on a mission 12 March 1833, went on Zion's Camp, received his patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith Sr. on 9 December 1835 at Kirtland, and was ordained a seventy. Accused with Almon Babbitt of violating the Word of Wisdom in 1833 in Kirtland, Salisbury was charged by Oliver Cowdery on 16 May 1836 with bringing "unnecessary persecution" upon Joseph Jr. by his behavior, leaving his family without food, provisions, or information about where he was going or when he would return, using "strong drink," and being "intimate with other women." Salisbury admitted drinking and "tale-bearing . . . but denied the other charges." He was excommunicated "until there was a thorough reformation." Katharine and Jenkins accompanied the Smith family to Missouri, Katharine giving birth to Alvin en route, and were driven out in the winter of 1838-39. In June 1844 when Joseph and Hyrum were killed, Katharine and Jenkins were living at Plymouth, Hancock County, Illinois, where Salisbury was working as a blacksmith. He died 23 October 1853 of typhoid fever at Webster, Hancock County, Illinois. After missionaries from the RLDS church contacted the family in 1872, those who had been baptized Mormon were received into the church and those who had not were baptized. Katharine testified in 1892 in the Temple Lot Suit and also, the next year, bore her testimony at an RLDS general conference. Katharine died 1 February 1900 at Fountain Green, Illinois. Ancestral File; McGavin, 96-102; Platt, "Lost," 12; JS III, passim; Nibley, 344-45; Black, *Membership*; Black, *Early RLDS*, 1:470, 2:442, 5:246-48; HC 2:185, 442; Vogel 1:517, 523; RLDS 5:141; Richard Anderson, "I Have," 43.

**Salisbury, Wilkins Jenkins.** See Katharine Smith Salisbury.

**Scovil/Scoville, Lucius Nelson**, was born 18 March 1806 at Middlebury/Waterbury, New Haven County, Connecticut, to Joel Scovil and Lydia Manville Scovil. He was baptized 2 July 1836, received his patriarchal blessing 27 June 1837 at Kirtland from Joseph Smith Sr., was ordained a seventy, was endowed at the Nauvoo temple on 13 December 1845, and was sealed 31 January 1846. He was a member of Nauvoo Second Ward, senior warden of the Freemasons lodge in Nauvoo, and was called on a British Mission in 1846 and to the eastern states.

He married Lury/Lucy Snow on 15 June 1824/18 June 1828 and they had nine children. Born at Mantua, Portage County, Ohio, were Joel Franklin (28 April 1830), Lucy Loretta (17 January 1832), and Edwin Wallace (19 July 1835). Sariah was born 27 April 1837 at Kirtland. Born at Nauvoo were Eliza Rebecca (14 April 1842), Henrietta (3 August 1844), Hiram (11 June 1845), and twins Martha and Mary (14 January 1846). Lucius Scovil also married Jane Fales (no date) and Hannah Marsden (16 September 1856).

He came to Salt Lake City in 1847 where he farmed, was living in Provo in 1860 where he was county clerk, and died 14 March or 14/2 February 1889 at Springville, Utah. Black, *Membership*.

**Singly, Sister.** This Mormon woman generously shared her financial resources with the extended Smith family, with whom she was traveling to Missouri, in May-July 1838. She may have been Margaret Leisure Singly, born to John Leisure on 22 September 1791 at Unity, Pennsylvania. Her husband, Nicholas Singly Sr., was born 26 October 1791 in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania. They had at least one son, Nicholas Jr., born in November 1848. Margaret was baptized in 1833, "suffered through persecution" with Nicholas as they moved with the Saints to Kirtland, Missouri, and Nauvoo, and then moved to California in 1849. Margaret was baptized into the RLDS church in 1866, followed by Nicholas Jr. on 17 August 1869. Margaret died in October 1874, at Eureka, Humboldt County, California. Black, *Membership*; Black, *RLDS*.

**Smith, Agnes Coolbrith.** See Don Carlos Smith.

**Smith, Alvin.** See Joseph Smith Sr.

**Smith, Asael Sr.,** the father of Joseph Smith Sr. was born 1/7 March 1744 at Topsfield, Massachusetts, to Samuel Smith (1714-85) and Priscilla Gould Smith, the fifth of their five children. Asael was baptized Congregationalist on 11 March 1744. Priscilla did not recover from Asael's birth and died 25 September 1744. Samuel next married Priscilla's cousin, also named Priscilla Gould, on 8 October 1745. (She was born 6 April 1714 and died 27 May 1797.) Asael assumed his father's debts and the care of his stepmother when his father died 14 November 1785, virtually impoverishing himself for about five years, to honor his pledge to his father.

On 12 February 1767, Asael married Mary Duty at Topsfield. She was born 11 October 1743, the daughter of Moses Duty (1700-78) and Mary Palmer Duty (1717-ca. 1791), of Denham, also Congregationalists. (Mary appears as "Elizabeth" on some records.) Her siblings were Moses (9 April 1742); Elizabeth (ca. 16 October 1743); Eunice (20 June 1745; she "could take up a barrel of cider and drink out of the bung"); Mark (16 October 1747); William (9 January 1749; killed during the Battle of Bunker Hill); Elizabeth (26 October 1751); Sarah (25 July 1753); and Hannah (11 June 1755; married William Rowell of Salem, had six children).

Asael and Mary became the parents of eleven children:

1. **Jesse** was born at Topsfield on 20 April 1768 and married Hannah Peabody of Royalton, Vermont, on 20 January 1792. They were the parents of ten children. He appears in Lucy's narrative as adamantly opposed to religion and personally abusive to Joseph and John.

2. Priscilla was born at Topsfield on 21 October 1769. She stayed behind in the fall of 1791 when the family moved to Vermont to care for her father's elderly sister, Priscilla Smith Kimball, who was dying. Priscilla married John C. Waller/Wallen of Royalton on 24 August 1796. By 1836 she was living at Middlebury, Vermont. By 1846 she had moved to New York City. According to George A. Smith in 1857, Priscilla was still

living in New York City at age ninety. "She is sanguine in relation to the truth of 'Mormonism,' although she had never embraced it. And, to use the language of her son [Calvin C. Waller], she preaches it all the time." Priscilla and John were the parents of nine children.

3. **Joseph Sr.** (*q.v.*) was born 12 July 1771 at Topsfield.

4. **Asael Jr.** was born 21 May 1773 at Windham, Rockingham County, New Hampshire. He married Betsy Shellinger/Schellinger, daughter of Abraham Schellinger of Royalton, on 21 March 1802 and fathered eight children including Jesse Johnson Smith, who died of cholera during Zion's Camp. Their oldest son Elias, for many years a probate judge in Utah, figures prominently in the textual history of Lucy's book. Asael Jr. was an officer in the Vermont militia, moved to Stockholm, St. Lawrence County, New York, before 1810, then to Potsdam. He was baptized 26 June 1835. Nephew Don Carlos Smith ordained him a high priest. He served on the high council at both Kirtland and in Iowa, and was ordained a patriarch (1844). According to George A. Smith, he had a strong testimony of the Book of Mormon and an excellent knowledge of the Bible. Lyman E. Johnson baptized him in 1835; he moved with the extended family, including his mother and brothers, in 1836. Asael Jr. died at Iowaville, Wappelo County, Iowa, on 22 July 1848.

5. **Mary** was born 4 June 1775 at Windham, New Hampshire (or Derryfield, Hillsborough County, Vermont), and married Israel/Isaac Pierce/Pearce on 22 December 1796 in Royalton. They were the parents of eight children and lived near Lebanon, New Hampshire.

6. **Samuel** was born 15 September 1777 at Derryfield, Hillsborough County, was living in Potsdam by August 1810, married Frances Wilcox in 1816, and died about 2 May 1830 in Canton, St. Lawrence County, New York.

7. **Silas** (*q.v.*) was born 1 October 1779.

8. **John** (*q.v.*) was born 16 July 1781.

9. **Susan** was born 18 May 1783 at Derryfield, Vermont. (Asael, then town clerk, records her name as Susannah.) Susan did not marry. She adopted her niece, Charlotte M. Sanford, as her heir and died 22 March 1849 at Potsdam.

10. **Stephen**, born 23 April 1785 in Derryfield, Vermont, died at age seventeen at Royalton, Vermont, 25 July 1802. His obituary says he was "designed for a public education."

11. **Sarah**, born at Topsfield, Massachusetts, on 16 May 1789, married Joseph Sanford on 15 October 1809, and had at least one child, a daughter named Charlotte, who became the heir of her unmarried aunt Susan. Sarah died 27 May 1824 and was buried beside her brother Stephen at Royalton.

On 1 May 1772 Asael Sr. and Mary Duty moved from Topsfield to Windham, New Hampshire. On 15 April 1774, they moved from Windham to Dunbarton, New Hampshire. Asael enlisted in the Revolutionary army in the summer of 1776, despite his six children, and served during July and August under Captain John Nesmith on New York's northern frontier to guard against an invasion from Canada. He was a cooper (barrel-maker) from at least age thirty-four to forty-seven and a farmer. He pur-



chased a 100-acre farm at Derryfield, New Hampshire, on 27 May 1778 and served as town clerk (1779-86). When they moved to Tunbridge, Vermont, he took title to eighty-three acres in 1791, adding more land in 1794 and 1795. He was one of the town's three selectmen (1793-95), moderator of the town meeting, a member of public committees, a road surveyor, and a grand and petit juror. He is described as having an "awry" or "crooked" neck, apparently caused by a severe burn. Asael was moderator of the convention in 1797 that established a Universalist society in Tunbridge; two of the other fifteen signers were his sons Jesse and Joseph. Asael and Mary were living in Tunbridge, Vermont, in 1800 and 1810, and in Stockholm, St. Lawrence County, New York, in 1820 and 1830.

According to George A. Smith, Jesse tried to appropriate his father's property. (See "Contextual Note," chap. 46.) Rather than quarrel, most of the family moved to Stockholm and Potsdam, New York. Samuel arrived 31 August 1810; John 13 November 1810; Silas 24 October 1806. George A. Smith dates Silas's arrival as 1809.

Asael died in 1830 at age eighty-six; he expressed his faith in the truthfulness of Mormonism before he died. In May 1836 ninety-two-year-old Mary Duty Smith, accompanied by the families of Asael Jr., Silas, and other converts, made the 500-mile journey to Kirtland, greeted all of her grandchildren (except George A., who was on a mission), received Joseph Jr.'s blessing, and announced her intention of being baptized. However, she died peacefully only a few days later on 27 May 1836. Richard Anderson, *New England*, 88-92, 94-102, 105-6, 110-11, 148, 188-89, 190-95, 207, 209-13; Vogel 1:236; Jessee 2:592.

**Smith, Don Carlos**, the tenth child and sixth (and youngest) son of Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith, was born 25 March 1816 at Norwich, Windsor County, Vermont, and baptized 9 June 1830 at age fourteen. He was ordained an elder the same month. He was ordained first president of the high priests quorum in 1836. A professional printer, he published *Elders' Journal* at Kirtland.

He married Agnes Coolbrith, a woman nine years his senior, on 30 July 1835 at Kirtland. She had been born 9 July 1808 at Scarborough, Cumberland County, Maine, to Joseph Coolbrith and Mary Hasty Foss Coolbrith, the third of their eight children. She encountered the gospel in Boston at age twenty-three when she was boarding with Augusta Cobb, later Brigham Young's plural wife. Orson Hyde and Samuel Smith preached the gospel to them in the summer of 1832; she was baptized on 30 July. Also living in Augusta's boarding house and baptized that summer was Mary Bailey, Samuel Harrison Smith's future wife. Don Carlos and Agnes had three daughters: Agnes Charlotte, born 7 August 1836 at Kirtland; Sophronia, born 22 April 1837 at Norton, Ohio; died 3 October 1843; and Josephine Donna ("Ina"), born 10 March 1841 at Nauvoo. Ina, who later concealed her Mormon roots, became California's first poet laureate.

Don Carlos and Agnes moved to Missouri with the Smith family in the summer of 1838. That fall Agnes was driven from her home and walked to Adam-ondi-Ahman three miles away, carrying her two-year-old on one hip and a six-to-eight-month-old baby on the other in snow over her shoe tops and wading the Grand River in water up to her waist. In Nauvoo, Don Carlos, with Ebenezer Robinson, printed the *Times and*



*Seasons* and served on the city council, as brigadier general of the Nauvoo Legion, and as president of the high priests quorum. He died in Nauvoo on 7 August 1841 and was sealed by proxy to Agnes on 28 January 1846. Agnes was sealed to Joseph Smith (before 24 March 1842), for time to George A. Smith, who was proxy for her sealing to Don Carlos (28 January 1846), and was married to William Pickett, a recent convert from St. Louis who had been an attorney in Mobile, Alabama. Agnes gave birth to twin sons at St. Louis on 11 December 1847. The family moved to California where it disintegrated under Pickett's drinking and repeated desertions. Agnes died 26 December 1876 at Oakland, California. Ancestral File; Berrett, "Joseph," 36-48; Compton, 145-70; Cannon and Cook, 288; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 658.

**Smith, Emma Hale.** See Joseph Smith Jr.

**Smith, George A.,** was born 26 June 1817 at Potsdam, St. Lawrence County, New York, to John Smith and Clarissa Lyman Smith. He was converted by his uncle Joseph Sr., who visited the family in August 1830 with a Book of Mormon, was baptized 10 September 1832 at Potsdam by Joseph H. Wakefield, and was confirmed by Solomon Humphrey. In May 1833 the family moved to Kirtland where George A. worked on the temple and guarded the home of Sidney Rigdon from dissenters during the winter of 1833-34. He went on Zion's Camp (1834), was ordained a seventy by Joseph Smith Jr. on 1 March 1835, and served missions in New York (1835), Ohio (1836), Virginia (1837), Kentucky and Tennessee (1838), Great Britain (1840-41), and Europe and Palestine (1872-73). In the spring of 1838, the family moved to Far West, where he became a high councilor at Adam-ondi-Ahman and was ordained an apostle (26 April 1839) by Heber C. Kimball.

He first married Bathsheba Wilson Bigler on 25 July 1841, the daughter of Mark Bigler and Susannah Ogden Bigler, born 3 May 21, 1822, near Shinnston, Harrison County, West Virginia. They had two children, George Albert Smith Jr., born 7 July 1842, and a daughter Bathsheba, born 14 August 1844. He also married Lucy Meserve, Nancy Clement, Zilpha Stark, Sarah Ann Libby, her sister Hannah Maria Libby, and Susan Elizabeth West. He went to Utah with Brigham Young's pioneer company of 1847, then returned to bring his family to Utah in 1849. He founded Parowan and St. George in southern Utah, then presided over the Saints in Utah County (1852), became Church Historian and Recorder (1854), was admitted to practice law before the State Supreme Court (1855), served many years in the territorial legislature, was the president of several irrigation companies, served as postmaster, and held the position of colonel in the Nauvoo Legion cavalry. He became first counselor to Brigham Young on 7 October 1868 and died in Salt Lake City on 1 September 1875. Pusey, *passim*.

**Smith, Hyrum,** the second surviving son and third of the eleven children of Joseph and Lucy Mack Smith, was born 9 February 1880 at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont. He joined the Presbyterian church in Palmyra at the same time as Lucy and Samuel and was suspended from membership on 10 March 1838 when he refused to deny that Joseph had translated the Book of Mormon from gold plates. Hyrum was elected a school trustee and was a Mason in good standing in Palmyra's Mount Moriah Lodge

No. 112, whose other members included printer Pomeroy Tucker and physician Alexander McIntire. He was one of the Eight Witnesses to the Book of Mormon (1829), was baptized in April 1829, was ordained a priest on 9 June 1830, and was ordained a high priest by Joseph Jr. (June 1831).

He married Jerusha Barden on 2 November 1826, at Manchester, Ontario County, New York. She was born 15 February 1805 at Litchfield, Connecticut, to Seth and Sarah Barden and had at least two sisters living near Palmyra. Jerusha and Hyrum had six children:

1. **Lovina** was born 16 September 1827 at Manchester, Ontario County, New York, and became the object of Joseph H. Jackson's attentions (whether romantic, as Lucy believed, or manipulative, as Jackson himself claimed) the summer she was sixteen. However, on 23 June 1844, Lovina married Lorin Walker at Nauvoo with her father returning from safety in Iowa for the ceremony only days before his assassination. Lorin was Joseph Smith's "personal attendant," engaged "to look after his clothes, horses, military equipments, and, at request, to attend him in his rides and journeys." Lorin was one of the ten children of John Walker and Lydia Holmes Walker, born 25 July 1822/23 at Peacham, Caledonia County, Vermont. His younger sister Lucy, born in 1826, became one of Joseph Smith's plural wives at age fifteen or sixteen while she was a hired girl in Joseph and Emma's household. Lovina and Loren were endowed on 30 December 1845 and sealed on 28 January 1846 before coming to Utah where they raised thirteen children: Hyrum Smith, Isabella Rosalia, Jerusha Clesta, Edwina Mariah, Emma Irene, William Arthur, Sarah Helen, Lucy Lovina, John Lorin, Joseph Frederick, Don Carlos, Charles Henry, and David Franklin. Lorin also had another wife, Mary Middlemus/Middleton. Lovina died at Farmington, Davis County, Utah, on 8 October 1876. Lorin died 26 September 1907 at Rockland, Power County, Idaho.

2. Mary was born 27 June 1829 and died 29 May 1832.

3. John was born 22 September 1832 at Kirtland, married Hellen Maria Fisher on 25 November/December 1853 at Salt Lake City, and fathered nine children: Elizabeth Maria (8 October 1854), Hyrum Fisher (10 January 1856), Lucy (11 July 1858), Don Carlos (7 June 1861), Joseph (10 September 1865), twins Alvin Fisher and Evaline (13 October 1867), John David (1 May 1870), and Hellen Jerusha (26 October 1872). He had one plural wife: Nancy Melissa Lemmon, married 18 February 1857 (one child: John Lemmon, born 16 March 1858). He was baptized by John Taylor in 1841, sealed to his parents on 24 January 1846 at the Nauvoo temple and endowed two days later, received his patriarchal blessing on 18 February 1855 from Brigham Young, who ordained him church patriarch the same day, and served until his death on 5/6 November 1911.

4. Hyrum Jr. was born 27 April 1834 and died 21 September 1841.

5. Jerusha was born 18 January 1836, married William Pierce, and died 27 June 1912.

6. Sarah was born 2 October 1837 at Kirtland. On 20 March 1854, she married Charles Emerson Griffin, born 10 May 1836 at Essex, Chittenden County, Vermont, to Albert Bailey Griffin and Abigail Varney Griffin. They had eleven children born be-

tween 1855 and 1876 at Salt Lake City, Coalville, Summit County, Utah, and Ogden, Weber County, Utah. Charles also married two more wives (one of whom left him) and fathered eight more children. On 6 November 1876, like her mother, Sarah died in giving birth. Charles died 18 July 1900 and is buried at Escalante, Garfield County, Utah.

Jerusha Barden Smith was baptized on 9 June 1830 by David Whitmer, received her patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith Sr. on 19 December 1834 at Kirtland, died 13 October 1837 at Kirtland, and was sealed to Hyrum by proxy 15 January 1846 in the Nauvoo temple. Two months after Jerusha's death, on 24 December 1837 Hyrum married Mary Fielding, born 21 July 1801 at Honidon, Bedfordshire, England, to John Fielding and Rachel Abbotson Fielding, was baptized 21 May 1836, came to the United States with her brother, Joseph Fielding, and her sister, Mercy Rachel Fielding (see Robert B. Thompson), was sealed to Hyrum on 29 May 1843, endowed 10 December 1845 at the Nauvoo temple, and had her sealing reconfirmed on 15 January 1846. They had two children:

1. Joseph F. (Fielding) Smith was born 13 November 1838, worked in the Church Historian's Office under George A. Smith's direction, became sixth president of the LDS church, had six wives (including his cousin, Levira Annette Clark Smith, daughter of Samuel Harrison Smith, who divorced him) and forty-eight children, three of them adopted. He died at Salt Lake City in November 1918.

2. Martha Ann was born 14 May 1841 at Nauvoo. She married William Jasper Harris on 21 April 1857 at the Endowment House in Salt Lake City, had eleven children, and died 19 October 1923.

Hyrum married Mercy Fielding Thompson as one of his plural wives in August 1843 after the death of her first husband, Robert B. Thompson. That same month he also married Catharine Phillips. No children are recorded for either. Hyrum became assistant counselor to the First Presidency on 3 September 1837 and, on 7 November 1837, second counselor, replacing Oliver Cowdery. He led ten families from Kirtland to Far West, Missouri, in the spring of 1838, was arrested during the fall of Far West, and was imprisoned with Joseph in Liberty Jail in Clay County (winter of 1838-39). This experience left his health so "very much impaired" that he could not work. In Nauvoo he was ordained patriarch to the church by Joseph Smith Sr. in September 1840 and assistant president on 24 January 1841. He was assassinated with Joseph Jr. on 27 June 1844 at age forty-four while imprisoned at Carthage Jail in Hancock County, Illinois. Mary died at Salt Lake City on 21 September 1852. *Ancestral File*; Richard Anderson, *Investigating*, 145, Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 711, 713; McGavin, 86; Black, *Membership*; Compton, 458; JS III, 22.

**Smith, Jerusha Barden.** See Hyrum Smith.

**Smith, Jesse,** brother of Joseph Sr. See Asael Smith Sr., and chap. 36.

**Smith, Jesse Johnson,** born 6 October 1808, was the son of Asael Smith Jr. and Betsy Schellinger Smith. Lucy misidentifies his father as Jesse Smith. He joined his cousins—George A. Smith, Hyrum Smith, and Joseph Smith—on Zion's Camp and died of cholera in Missouri on 1 July 1834. His name appears as Jesse J. on the list compiled by

Thomas Bullock and as Jesse B. on lists compiled by Solon Foster and Andrew Jenson. No Jesse Smith appears on B. H. Roberts's list in *HC. Profile*, 93-95; chap. 42 and notes.

**Smith, John**, the brother of Joseph Sr. and father of George A. Smith, was born 16 July 1781, the eighth of the eleven children born to Asael Smith Sr. and Mary Duty Smith.

He married Clarissa Lyman on 11 September 1815. Clarissa was born 27 June 1790 at Lebanon, Grafton County, New Hampshire, to Richard Lyman and Philomelia Loomis Lyman. John's parents moved to St. Lawrence County, New York, before 1810. John and Clarissa had seven children. The first four—daughters born in 1813, 1815, and twins born in 1816—all died within a day of birth. Their next three children were George Albert ("George A.") Smith (26 June 1817), Caroline Clara Smith (6 June 1820), and John Lyman Smith (17 November 1823).

John was baptized 9 January 1832 and ordained an elder. They reached Kirtland on 25 May 1833, where John was ordained a high priest on 21 June 1833, became a member of the high council (1834), and was named "assistant counselor" in the First Presidency (1837). He served a mission to Pennsylvania, New York, Vermont, and New Hampshire with Joseph Sr. (1836), then moved his family to Far West (1838) and Adam-ondi-Ahman where he became stake president (1838). John and Clarissa reached Illinois in February 1839 and settled at Green Plains, six miles from Warsaw, where he farmed and split rails. In June 1839 he moved to Nauvoo. In October 1839 he moved to Lee County, Iowa, where he presided over the church. In October 1843 he moved again, to Macedonia, Hancock County, Illinois, where he presided over the branch of the church. In November 1844 the "wolf-hunts" of the mobbers compelled another move to Nauvoo for safety. Here he also served as stake president and on the Council of Fifty (1844), was endowed 28 September 1843 and again on 26 February 1844, was sealed to Clarissa on 14 January 1846, and was ordained a patriarch on 10 January 1844.

He was sealed to five additional women, including Mary Aikens/Atkin, the widow of his brother Silas, but had no other children. He reached the Salt Lake Valley in September 1847 with the "big company," presided over Salt Lake Stake in Brigham Young's absence (1847-48), then was ordained patriarch to the church (1 January 1849-54). He gave 5,560 patriarchal blessings before his death at Salt Lake City on 23 May 1854. Clarissa died on 14 February 1856. *Jessee* 2:593; *Jarvis*, 24; *Cook, Revelations*, 208; *Richard Anderson, New England*, 143-44, 217; *Johnson, Mormon Redress Petitions*, 345; *Ancestral File*; *Black, Membership*.

**Smith, Joseph, Jr.**, the fifth child and third surviving son of Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith, was born 23 December 1805 at Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont. He translated the Book of Mormon, founded the Mormon church (called Church of Christ) on 6 April 1830, and moved the church from the New York area to Kirtland (1831-38), with joint headquarters in the land of "Zion" (Missouri), 1831-38. After the Mormons were expelled from Missouri while he, Hyrum, and others were imprisoned at Liberty Jail in Clay County, he founded Nauvoo on the banks of the Mississippi as a

city-state (1839-44). He and his brother Hyrum were killed by a mob while imprisoned at Carthage, Hancock County, Illinois, 27 June 1844.

He married Emma Hale Smith on 18 January 1827 at South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York. She was born 10 July 1804, at Harmony, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, the third daughter and seventh child of the nine children of Isaac Hale and Elizabeth Lewis Hale. She met Joseph Smith in 1827 when he boarded at her parents' tavern while working for Josiah Stool of Chenango County, New York. She prepared the first LDS hymn book (1836), charitably nursed the sick, clothed missionaries and workers on the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples, and was first president of the Female Relief Society, 17 March 1842-44. They had eleven children, two of them adopted.

1. Alvin was born and died 15 June 1828 at Harmony, Pennsylvania.

2-3. Twins Louisa and Thaddeus were born and died 30 April 1831, at Kirtland.

4-5. Adopted twins Joseph Murdock Smith and Julia Murdock Smith were born 30 April 1831 at Warrensville to John Murdock and Julia Clapp Murdock and given to Joseph and Emma Smith when the mother died six hours after their births. Joseph died 29 March 1832 at Hiram, Ohio, of complications, probably pneumonia, from measles when he was exposed to the cold night air during a mobbing of Joseph Jr. At Emma's request, Julia was not told the circumstances of her birth and remembers being taunted as an illegitimate daughter of Joseph Smith. She married thirty-six-year-old Elisha Dixon when she was eighteen (1849). He unsuccessfully tried to manage the Mansion House; then in 1852 when he developed health problems, they moved to Galveston, Texas, where he was fatally injured in a steamship boiler explosion in 1853. Julia returned to Nauvoo and, in 1855, married John Jackson Middleton, a Roman Catholic, who had studied for the priesthood but was not ordained because of excessive drinking. He also failed at law and farming before obtaining a position as a clerk in St. Louis. Julia converted to Catholicism but eventually left Middleton, returning to live with Emma and her second husband, Lewis C. Bidamon, in the Mansion House in Nauvoo. In 1858 Julia's brother, John Riggs Murdock, wrote to her from Utah. Her father, John Murdock, told her the truth about her honorable parentage, but illness and poverty prevented a visit. Julia, who had no children, died of cancer on 12 September 1880 in the home of friends at Nauvoo.

6. **Joseph III** was born 6 November 1832 at Kirtland and grew up at Nauvoo where he farmed and married the first of three monogamous wives: Emmeline Griswold (1838-69), Bertha Madison (1843-96), and Ada Clark (1871-1915)—by whom he fathered seventeen children. He accepted the presidency of the RLDS church on 6 April 1860 and, a moderate and intelligent leader, built the membership to about 70,000 by the time of his death. He edited the *Saints' Herald* at Plano, Illinois, the first RLDS headquarters, then Lamoni, Iowa (1881), where he helped found Graceland College, and undertook four missions to Utah where he renewed acquaintance with his relatives and collected information that he hoped to use in defending his father's reputation against polygamy. He died 10 December 1914 at the third (and present) RLDS (re-named Community of Christ, April 2000) headquarters, Independence, Missouri.

7. Frederick Granger Williams was born 20 June 1835 at Kirtland, married Annie Maria Jones in September 1857 and fathered a daughter; however, the couple became estranged. Frederick fell ill and died 13 April 1862 at Nauvoo.

8. Alexander Hale was born 2 June 1838 at Far West, worked devotedly with Joseph III to build the RLDS church, and served as presiding patriarch, apostle, and as counselor in the First Presidency. He and his wife, Elizabeth Kendall, had nine children. He died at Nauvoo on 12 August 1909.

9. Don Carlos was born 13 June 1840 at Nauvoo and died in 1841.

10. An unnamed son was born and died at Nauvoo. According to the Smith Bible record, this child was born 6 February 1842 and, though unnamed, is designated "The 7th Son." Other sources give this child's birthdate as 26 December 1842.

11. David Hyrum was born 17 November 1844 at Nauvoo after his father's death. Sensitive and artistic, he worked hard to build the RLDS church, including service in the First Presidency. He married Clara Hartshorn and fathered a son, but became mentally unbalanced after a mission to Utah. Joseph III was required to institutionalize him in 1877 where he remained until his death on 29 August 1904.

Joseph Smith Jr. was also sealed in plural marriage to a number of women before his death. The exact number may never be known; Todd Compton's recent appraisal (6-9) lists thirty-three "certain" and eight "possible" wives.

After Joseph's assassination (June 1844), Emma remained at Nauvoo, continued to operate the Mansion House as a hotel, married Lewis C. Bidamon on 23 December 1847, joined the Methodist church in 1848, and became a member of the RLDS church when Joseph III became president in 1860. She died 30 April 1879 at Nauvoo. Newell and Avery, *passim*; Newton, *passim*; JS III, *passim*; Vogel 1:583; Jessee 1:514-15.

**Smith, Joseph Sr.**, was born 12 July 1771 at Topsfield, Essex County, Massachusetts, the third of the eleven children born to Asael Smith and Mary Duty Smith. On 24 January 1796, he married Lucy Mack at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont. She was born 8 July 1795 (not 1776 as she states). They had eleven children:

1. Unnamed child, born about 1797 at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont. Speaking many years later, Joseph Sr. recalled this child as a son; Lucy, even later, as a daughter.

2. **Alvin** was born 11 February 1798 at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont. He died unmarried 19 November 1823 at Palmyra, Wayne County, New York. He had been exceptionally supportive of Joseph Jr.'s prophetic mission.

3. **Hyrum** (*q.v.*) was born 9 February 1800 at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont.

4. **Sophronia** was born 17/16 May 1803 at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont. See Sophronia Smith Stoddard McCleary.

5. **Joseph Jr.** (*q.v.*) was born 23 December 1805 at Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont.

6. **Samuel Harrison** (*q.v.*) was born 13 March 1808 at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont.



7. **Ephraim** was born 13 March 1810 at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont, and died 24 March 1810 at Royalton, Windsor County, Vermont.

8. **William Bunnell** (*q.v.*) was born 13 March 1811 at Royalton, Windsor County, Vermont.

9. **Katharine** was born 28 July 1813 at Lebanon, Grafton County, New Hampshire. See Katharine Smith Salisbury. Her name has many variant spellings. Except in direct quotations, I follow Vogel who chose the spelling that appears on her tombstone.

10. **Don Carlos** (*q.v.*) was born 25 March 1816 at Norwich, Windsor County, Vermont.

11. **Lucy** was born 18 July 1821 at Palmyra, Ontario County, New York. See Lucy Smith Millikin.

Joseph Sr., a merchant and farmer, moved his family to Palmyra, New York, in 1816 after three successive seasons of cold. He was one of the Eight Witnesses to the Book of Mormon (1829). The family moved to Kirtland (1831) where he was ordained patriarch to the church (1833), made a member of the Kirtland high council (1834), and named assistant counselor to the First Presidency (1837). The family moved to Missouri in 1838. Joseph Sr.'s health was permanently affected by the shock of hearing Joseph's and Hyrum's death sentences and by the forced exodus from Missouri (February 1839). He died in Nauvoo 14 September 1840. Lucy dictated her history in 1844-45, then lingered on, first in the care of her daughter Lucy at Colchester, Illinois, and then in the care of her daughter-in-law Emma Hale Smith Bidamon at Nauvoo. She died on the Smith farm just outside Nauvoo on 14 May 1856. Newell and Avery, *passim*; D. Hill, *passim*; Black, *Membership*.

**Smith, Joseph III.** See Joseph Smith Jr.

**Smith, Julia.** See Joseph Smith Jr.

**Smith, Mary Bailey.** See Samuel H. Smith.

**Smith, Mary Fielding.** See Hyrum Smith.

**Smith, Samuel Harrison**, fourth son and fifth surviving child of Joseph and Lucy Mack Smith, was born 13 March 1808 at Tunbridge, Vermont. He joined the Presbyterian church at Palmyra at the same time as Lucy and Hyrum, was removed from membership for accepting the Book of Mormon, and was baptized at Harmony on the same day that Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery baptized each other in the Susquehanna River (chap. 28). (According to HC 1:44, he was baptized 25 May 1829.) One of the Eight Witnesses of the Book of Mormon (1829), he was ordained an elder on 9 June 1830, served missions in June-July and December 1830, moved to Kirtland in December 1830, served another mission to Missouri with Reynolds Cahoon in June-September 1831, served a fourth mission in southern Ohio during the fall and winter of 1832, a fifth with Orson Hyde from January to December 1832, traveling through Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Maine, and a sixth in April 1841 in Scott and adjoining counties in Illinois.

On 17 February 1834, Samuel was called to the Kirtland high council where he



served as its president in 1837. He married Mary Bailey on 13 August 1834 in Kirtland. She was born at Bedford, Hillsborough County, New Hampshire, on 20 December 1808. They had four children:

1. Susannah was born 27 October 1835, married a man named Hunt, and died in 1905 or 1906 at Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

2. Mary Bailey was born 27 March 1837. After her father's death, she lived with her grandmother Lucy and helped take care of her. She married twice, a man named Edward Kelteau in late 1854 or early 1855 (some sources also give a marriage to a man named Gatewood), then a man named Norman. She died at St. Louis.

3. Samuel Bailey Harrison was born 1 August 1838 and went to Utah; his first wife divorced him when he married a plural wife; his cousin, Joseph Smith III, with whom he always had cordial relations, tells of meeting him for the last time in Salt Lake City, "bareheaded" and "barefooted" and not in his right senses.

4. Lucy Bailey was born in January 1841.

Mary Bailey Smith died 25 January 1841 after baby Lucy's birth. At Nauvoo on 29 April 1841 (according to the Ancestral File; Lucy mistakenly gives the marriage year as 1842; George A. Smith agrees that the marriage was in 1841 but gives the date as 30 May, while daughter Mary Bailey Smith Norman gives the date as 3 May 1841), Samuel married Levira Clark, daughter of Gardner and Delecta Clark, born at Livonia, Livingston County, New York, on 30 July 1815. They had three daughters, all born in Nauvoo:

1. Levira Annette Clark, born 29 April 1842, married Joseph F. Smith as his first wife, divorced him when he took plural wives, and died at St. Louis in the home of her half-sister, Mary Bailey Smith Norman.

2. Lovisa Clark was born 28 August 1843 and died before the year's end.

3. Lucy J. Clark was born and died 20 August 1844.

In 1838 Samuel accompanied Joseph to Missouri where he participated in the Battle of Crooked River and experienced the mobbings in Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman. He escaped to Quincy in late 1838 and settled at Nauvoo in 1839 where he served as a bishop and a city alderman. His profession was as a laborer or farmer. He died 13 July 1844 in Nauvoo of unspecified strain caused by an effort to escape from a mob after the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum. Richard Anderson, *Investigating*, 138-41, Cannon and Cook, 289; JS III, 223; Nibley, 337-41; Norman.

**Smith, Sarah**, no relation to Joseph Smith, was the sister of Elizabeth Ann Smith Whitney's father, originally from Connecticut. She never married, and Elizabeth Ann came to Ohio to live with her. Elizabeth was "devotedly attached" to her; and after Elizabeth married Newel K. Whitney in 1822, with Sarah's "full approval," they continued to share the same household. When Joseph Smith and Newel Knight left for Missouri on 1 April 1832, they arranged for Emma to live at the Whitney home but did not tell Elizabeth of the arrangement. She was ill when Emma arrived, and Sarah turned Emma away at the door. Deeply mortified, Emma said nothing and found shelter with Frederick G. Williams, Reynolds Cahoon, and Lucy and Joseph Sr. until Joseph returned in June when they went back to the John Johnson house. Sarah, whom Eliza-

beth describes as “ever kind and ever true,” stayed in Kirtland when the family moved to Nauvoo in 1838. Jenson 1:222; Newell and Avery 43-45; HC 1:265-72; Compton, 345.

**Smith, Silas**, was born 1 October 1779 at Derryfield (now Manchester), Hillsborough County, Vermont, the seventh of Asael Smith Sr. and Mary Duty Smith’s eleven children. He married Ruth Stevens of Royalton, daughter of Abel Stevens, on 29 January 1806/1805. They moved to Potsdam, St. Lawrence County, New York, in 1806, and to Stockholm, same county, between 1810 and 1816. After Ruth’s death, Silas married Mary Atkin/Aikens on 4 March 1828. They had three children born at Stockholm: Silas Sanford (26 October 1830), John Aikens (6 July 1832), and Jesse Nathaniel (2 December 1834). Silas’s second wife, Mary, was born 13 August 1797 at Bernard, Windsor County, Vermont, to Nathaniel Aikens and Mary Tupper Aikens and was baptized in 1837. She received her patriarchal blessing and endowment on 23 December 1845 at Nauvoo. Silas served in the War of 1812, was baptized by Hyrum Smith in 1835, and escorted his ninety-two-year-old widowed mother to Kirtland in 1836. He was ordained an elder on 3 March 1836 and high priest on 10 February 1838, both at Kirtland. He died 13 September 1839 at Pittsfield, Pike/Lee County, Illinois. Mary was then sealed to Silas’s brother, John. She died 27 April 1877. Vogel 1:235; Black, *Membership*.

**Smith, William Bunnell**, eighth child and fifth surviving son of Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith, was born 13 March 1811, at Royalton, Windsor County, Vermont. On 9 June 1830, he was baptized by David Whitmer, ordained a teacher on 5 October 1831 at Hiram, Ohio, by Joseph Smith Jr., as a priest on 25 October 1831, as an elder on 19 December 1832, as a high priest by David Whitmer on 21 June 1833, and as an apostle on 15 February 1835 by Oliver Cowdery. Joseph Sr.’s deathbed blessing praises William for his zeal and determination as a missionary even before the church’s organization. He also went on missions to Erie County, Pennsylvania, in December 1832 and to the eastern states with the Twelve in the spring and summer of 1835.

He participated in Zion’s Camp in 1834 and was ordained one of the original Twelve on 15 February 1835 by Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris at Kirtland. Joseph Jr. received a revelation chastising him for his lack of humility in November 1835. William had a disagreement with Joseph over a debating school that led to a physical altercation on 16 December 1835 and was tried for unchristianlike conduct on 2 January 1836 but confessed the next day.

In the spring of 1838, William moved to Missouri and was exiled with the rest of the Saints after the siege of Far West in the winter of 1838-39. He settled at Plymouth, Hancock County, where he opened a tavern. He was “suspended from fellowship” by a conference in Quincy on 4 May 1839, was restored to his office “through the intercession of Joseph and Hyrum” later that month, and was called to accompany the Twelve to England on their mission in 1840 but did not go. He served a third mission in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in the spring of 1841, and a fourth in the East from the spring of 1843 until 22 April 1844 when he returned bringing a large group of New Jersey con-

verts; he served in the House of Representatives in 1842-43. He had another quarrel with Joseph over a lot in Nauvoo (Joseph gave it to him on condition that he live on it; William agreed to do so but immediately arranged to sell it, so Joseph refused to transfer the title). William left for the East with his wife and daughters and was still gone when his brothers were killed.

Fearing for his own life, he did not return to Nauvoo until 4 May 1845. His wife died 22 May; on 24 May he was ordained and set apart as patriarch to the church. He was not sustained as both apostle and patriarch at the 6 October 1845 general conference. Two weeks later he was excommunicated. The date is variously given as either 12 or 19 October 1845. He affiliated briefly with the Strangites (1846-47), was excommunicated for adultery, made two unsuccessful attempts to organize another church, was rebaptized a Mormon in early 1860, but soon withdrew. In 1878 he was received into the Reorganized church on his former baptism in the office of high priest, and, as he became older, wrote rambling, begging letters to his nephew, Joseph Smith III, from his home at Elkader, Clayton County, Iowa. In 1892 he testified against the LDS church in the Temple Lot Suit. In 1890 he moved to Osterdock, Clayton County, Iowa, where he died 13 November 1893, bearing a firm deathbed testimony to the Book of Mormon.

William had ten wives, five of them more or less monogamously. On 14/13 February 1833 at Kirtland, William married his first wife, Caroline Amanda/Amelia Grant, daughter of Joshua Grant and Athalia/Thalia Howard Grant and sister of Jedediah M. Grant. Caroline was born 22 January 1814 at Windsor, Broome/Sullivan County, New York, and received her patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith Sr. at Kirtland on 9 December 1834. William and Caroline had two children, Caroline L. and Mary Jane (both survived to adulthood). Caroline died 22 May 1845 in Nauvoo. Exactly a month later on 22 June 1845, William married Mary Jane Rollins; she left him two months later. Also during that year, he was sealed polygamously to Mary Ann Sheffield. She was not divorced from her husband in England when Brigham Young performed this sealing, and she later testified in 1893 that she considered herself divorced from William when he "went away East"; Mary Ann was living with him and Mary Jane Rollins, his second wife. Mary Jane left William because of this relationship—either because she disapproved of polygamy or because she did not know that a sealing had occurred and thought William was committing adultery. William was also sealed to Mary Jones, Priscilla Mogridge, Sarah Libbey, and Hannah Libbey. None of these women apparently had children, and the extent to which a marital relationship existed is not clear. On 18/19 May 1847, William married Caroline's younger sister, Roxie Ann Grant, and had two more children: Thalia and Hyrum Wallace; they separated thereafter. Before 1858 he married Eliza Elise Sanborn, by whom he had four children: William Jr., Enoch (possibly these two names are one child named William Enoch), Edson Don Carlos, and Louise May. She died in 1889. On 21 December 1889/1891, he married Rosanna/Rosa Jewitt Surprise. Bates, *passim*; Cannon and Cook, 290; RLDS 5:141, 225; McGavin, 94-95; JS III; Nibley, 342-44; Vogel 1:475-76; RLDS; Black, *Who's Who*, 301-3; Black, *Membership*.

**Snow, Eliza R.**, was born 21 January 1804 at Becket, Berkshire County, Massachusetts,

the second of six children born to Oliver Snow (*q.v.*) and Rosetta Leonora Pettibone Snow. The family was Baptist, then converted to the Campbellite movement. Well-educated, Eliza began writing poetry as a schoolgirl, was baptized 5 April 1835 at Mantua, Portage County, Ohio, married Joseph Smith as a plural wife on 29 June 1842, was sealed to Brigham Young for time in 1844, and was endowed on 16 December 1845. She came to Utah in 1847 where she became Utah's leading woman as an ordinance worker in the Endowment House, as second president of the Relief Society, as cofounder of the Primary and the Retrenchment Association (later the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association), and as founder of the Deseret Hospital. Childless, she died 5 December 1887 at Salt Lake City. Beecher, 10, 232, 256-59; Black, *Membership*.

**Snow, Oliver**, was born at Becket, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, on 18/28 September 1775. On 6 May 1800, he married Rosetta Leonora Pettibone, born 22 October 1778 in Simsbury, Hartford County, Connecticut. They moved to Ohio about 1806. Their seven children were:

1. Leonora Abigail was born 23 August 1801 at Becket, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, and was endowed 10 January 1846 at the Nauvoo temple. She married, first, Enoch Virgil Leavitt, then Isaac Morley as a plural wife. She died 11 February 1872.

2. **Eliza Roxcy** was born in 1804.

3. Percy Amanda, a daughter, was born in 1808.

4. Melissa was born in 1810.

5. Lorenzo was born 3 April 1814 at Mantua, Portage County, Ohio. He married Mary Adaline Goddard on 17 January 1845, followed by eight additional marriages. He fathered thirty-nine children, was ordained an apostle in 1849, and served as president of the LDS church (1898-1901).

6. Lucius Augustus was born 1819.

7. Samuel Pearce/Pierce was born 1821.

Oliver served "several terms" as a justice of the peace, in several other township offices, and as county commissioner (1809-15). The family moved, first to Kirtland, then in the spring of 1838 to Far West, then to Illinois. Beecher, 232, 256-59, 262; Black, *Membership*.

**Spencer, Augustine**, the son of Daniel Spencer and Chloe Wilson Spencer, closely allied himself with the Foster brothers and the Higbees in their opposition to Joseph Smith. He owned land in Nauvoo near the temple by 1843. On 26 April 1844, he was arrested for assaulting his brother Orson. On 3 May Joseph Smith received a letter from Parley P. Pratt, then serving a mission in Massachusetts, calling Augustine a "snake in the grass" who had written a letter then circulating in Massachusetts affirming "that Joseph Smith is in the habit of drinking, swearing, carousing, dancing all night, &c., and that he keeps six or seven young females as wives, &c., and many other such like insinuations." Spencer swore charges of treason against Joseph Smith on 24 June 1844, was among those present at Hamilton's Hotel on the day of the murders, and, according to Willard Richards, was with the mob at Carthage. HC 6:344, 354-55, 560, 7:146; Flanders, 158, 188.

**Spencer, Joseph**, was born 3 October 1714, at East Haddam, Connecticut, to Isaac Spencer and Mary Selden Spencer. He married Martha Brainerd on 2 August 1738 and, after her death, married Hannah Brown Southmayd in 1756; he fathered thirteen children. He served as probate judge (1753 until his death), deputy to the Assembly (1750-66), and assistant to the Assembly (after 1766); he became a deacon of the Millington Congregational church (1767) and served in the French and Indian War (as a lieutenant in 1747, a major in 1757, lieutenant colonel in 1759 and colonel in 1766). In May 1775 he became brigadier general of the Connecticut forces in the Revolutionary War but left without leave when, on 20 June 1775, he was superseded by Israel Putnam as major general. His friends negotiated his return; after the siege of Boston and service in New York, he was appointed a major general in August 1776. He resigned in a dispute over his military decisions. As a civilian, he served variously on the Connecticut Council of Safety, the Continental Congress, and the Assembly until his death on 13 January 1789. Solomon Mack enlisted in his company on 5 June 1758 and was discharged 18 November 1758. *Dictionary*, 4:450; Richard Anderson, *New England*, 163.

**Spencer, Orson**, was born 14 March 1802 at West Stockbridge, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, to Daniel Spencer and Chloe Wilson Spencer; had some college education; was baptized in 1841 and endowed on 11 December 1845; was chancellor of the university at Nauvoo; served as mayor of Nauvoo; served a mission to Connecticut (1843); to Great Britain (1848), to Prussia (1852), and to the United States (1854); and brought his own company to Utah in 1849. He died 15 October 1855 at St. Louis, Missouri, where he was stake president. He was married to six women and fathered thirteen children. His first wife, Catherine Curtis Spencer, whom he married on 13 April 1830, was the mother of eight, the first three born at Deep River, Middlesex County, Connecticut: Catharine Curtis (6 October 1831), Ellen Curtis (21 November 1832), and Aurelia Reed (4 October 1834). The next three were born at Middlefield, Hampshire County, Massachusetts: a second Catherine Curtis (2 October 1836), Howard Orson (16 June 1838), and George Boardman (21 February 1840). Born at Nauvoo were Lucy Curtis (9 October 1842) and Chloe Curtis (26 July 1844). Orson's second wife, Martha Knight, had four children: Martha Emma (30 January 1848), Albert James (24 June 1850); William Collinson (10 December 1851); and June Knight (28 June 1854). No children are recorded for the third wife, Ann Dibble, the fourth (unnamed) wife married on 13 October 1849, or the unnamed sixth wife (married 1853 at Salt Lake City), although the unnamed fifth wife had a daughter, Luna (6 December 1856). Black, *Membership*.

**Stanley/Stanny, Horace**. A friend of Stephen Mack with whom Lucy corresponded. He may also have been a relation by marriage since Lucy's niece, Ruth, a daughter of Stephen, was married to a man named Stanny.

**Stevens, father and son**. They were merchants in Royalton who, according to Lucy, defrauded Joseph Smith Sr. out of the proceeds of his ginseng shipment to China about 1804-05.

**Stoal, Josiah.** See Josiah Stowell.

**Stoddard, Calvin W./Sophronia Smith Stoddard.** See Sophronia Smith Stoddard McCleary.

**Stone,** a surgeon who operated on Joseph Jr.'s leg about 1813 during the typhus epidemic. He was assisted by Nathan Smith and Cyrus Perkins, then on the faculty of Dartmouth Medical College, but his name does not appear as a student at the college. Wirthlin (333) hypothesizes that Stone was one of Nathan Smith's students from Dartmouth Medical College, since the incisions were a treatment he recommended for the early stages of osteomyelitis. Bushman, *Joseph*, 33; see chap. 16 notes.

**Stout, Hosea,** was born 18 September 1810 at Danville/Pleasant Hill, Mercer/Boyle County, Kentucky, to Joseph Stout and Anna Smith Stout. His brother Allen was also a committed Mormon who raised a large polygamous family. A veteran of the Black Hawk War, he was raised by Shakers and became a Quaker, and then a Methodist before encountering Mormonism as preached by Charles C. Rich. He married six times (Samantha/Surmantha Peck, Louisa Taylor, Lucretia Fisher, names of others not recorded) and fathered nineteen children. He participated in the battle of Crooked River and escaped from Far West before the city was taken. He was endowed 15 December 1845 at Nauvoo where he served as clerk of the high council and as chief of police, a function he also carried out at Winter Quarters and in Salt Lake City. He was, successively, a captain, major, and colonel in the Nauvoo Legion. Hosea died 2 March 1889 in Salt Lake City. Cannon and Cook, 291; LeSueur, 241; Black, *Membership*.

**Stowell, Josiah,** was born in 1770 at Winchester, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, owned a farm and a saw mill near Bainbridge, New York, and employed Joseph Smith Sr. and Jr. both as day laborers and in a determined search for treasure in Pennsylvania where Joseph Jr. met and courted Emma Hale. He testified freely in court that Joseph Smith Jr. had not attempted to obtain money from him under false pretenses and that he was a true seer. Stowell and his wife, Mariam Bridgeman Stowell, were the parents of eight. He did not move to Kirtland; but as late as December 1843, Martha L. Campbell wrote Joseph Smith, transmitting Stowell's greetings, his request for the faith and prayers of the Saints that his health would improve, his intention to come to Nauvoo in the spring of 1844, and his declaration of faith: "he says he never staggard at the foundation of the work for he knew to much concerning it." He died at Smithboro, Tioga County, New York. Jessee 1:517; Black, *Membership*.

**Taffe,** an innkeeper at Gilsum, Vermont, four miles from South Hadley. Richard Anderson, *New England*, 14.

**Tanner, John,** was born 15 August 1778 at Hopkinton, Washington County, Rhode Island, to Joshua Tanner and Thankful Tefft Tanner. A leading Baptist, John was converted by Jared and Simeon Carter and baptized 17 September 1833, ordained a high priest, endowed 23 December 1845 at the Nauvoo temple, and sealed to his wife on 18 January 1846. Hyrum Smith's affidavit tells how he was fired at twice in Missouri, the



gun misfiring both times, in October 1838, then was hit on the head with a rifle and brought unconscious to the stockade where he was left in the sun, his scalp ripped to the skull, for several hours.

John married Tabitha Bentley in January 1800, and they had a son, Elisha B., born 23 March 1801. In January 1802/1801, he married Lydia Stewart at Greenwich, Washington County, New York, and they became the parents of twelve children. Born at Greenwich were William Stewart (27 October 1802), Matilda (14 September 1804), Willard (29 October 1806), Sidney (1 April 1809), John Joshua (19 December 1811), Romelia (1 April 1814), Nathan (14 May 1815), and twins Edward and Edwin (3 October 1817). Born at Bolton, Warren County, New York, were Maria Louisa (18 November 1818), Martin Henry (21 March 1822), and Albert Mills (4 April 1825). John married his third wife, Elizabeth Beswick, on 3/13 November 1825 at Bolton where their first four children were born: Myron (7 June 1826), Seth Benjamin (6 March 1828/9), Freeman Everton (3 January 1830), and Joseph Smith (11 June 1833). Born at Kirtland were Philomelia (10 March 1835) and David Dan (8 February 1838). Their last two children were born in Lee County, Iowa: Sarah (19 July 1840) and Francis (10 March 1843).

John and his large family came to Utah on 17 October 1848 with the Amasa M. Lyman Company and settled at Payson, Utah County. John died 13 April 1850 at South Cottonwood, Salt Lake County, Utah. Black, *Membership*.

**Taylor**, a member of New Portage, New York, with whom Joseph Smith Sr. sought refuge while waiting to go to Kirtland in 1831.

**Taylor, John**, was born 1 November 1808 at Milnthorpe, Westmoreland County, England, to James and Agnes Taylor. He was a Methodist minister in Toronto, Ontario, when he was converted and baptized by Parley P. Pratt (9 May 1836) and ordained an elder. He was ordained a high priest (1837) at Kirtland, then ordained an apostle on 19 December 1838 at Far West. He moved to Montrose, Iowa, then served a mission with the other Twelve (1840-41, 1846-47) and another to France (1850-52). He edited the *Times and Seasons* (1842-46), *Nauvoo Neighbor* (1843-45), and *The Mormon* (1855-57). At Nauvoo he also served on the city council, with the Nauvoo Legion, as regent of the university, and became a Mason (22 April 1842) and a member of the Council of Fifty. He was wounded by four bullets at Carthage Jail on 27 June 1844. He married Leonora Cannon (1833), Mary Ann Oakley, Elizabeth Kaighin, Jane Ballantyne, Mary Rainsbottom, Lydia Dibble, Sophia Whitaker, Harriet Whitaker, and Margaret Young, and fathered thirty-one children.

He reached Utah in the fall of 1847 where he served as an associate judge, legislator (1857-76), speaker of the house (five terms), probate judge in Utah County (1868-70), territorial superintendent of schools (1877), director/president of ZCMI, and third president of the church (1880-87). He died in hiding from federal officials in Utah on 25 July 1887 at Kaysville, Davis County, Utah. Cook, *Revelations*, 234-35.

**Thayer/Thayre, Ezra B.**, was born 14 October 1791 at Randolph, Windsor County, Vermont, to Ezra Thayer and Charlotte French Thayer. He married Polly Wales



(1810) and had at least one child, a son named Andrew. The Smith family was employed on some of his bridges, dams, and mills in the Palmyra area. Converted by Hyrum Smith's preaching and the Book of Mormon, he was baptized by Parley P. Pratt in October 1830. He was ordained both an elder and a high priest in June 1831, participated in Zion's Camp, received at least three other mission calls, was disfellowshipped briefly (1835), and moved to Missouri (1838), then to Nauvoo where he became a member of the Council of Fifty (1844). He disaffiliated after the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, was living in Michigan in 1860, and was baptized RLDS by W. W. Blair. Cook, *Revelations*, 47-48.

**Thomas.** Don Carlos Smith mentions a member with this surname in Missouri in February 1839. Although the name is far from unusual, a David Thomas owned land at De Witt, Carroll County, Missouri, and, with Henry Root, encouraged Mormons to settle there in 1838. He died in 1845. Jessee 2:599.

**Thompson, Mercy Rachel Fielding.** See Robert B. Thompson and Hyrum Smith.

**Thompson, Robert Blashel,** was born 1 October 1811 at Great Driffield, Yorkshire, England, became a Methodist preacher, moved to Canada, and was converted by the preaching of Parley P. Pratt. After his baptism in May 1836, he visited Kirtland (1837), served his first mission (Toronto), then moved to Far West where he fought at the Battle of Crooked River. At Nauvoo he worked for Joseph Smith as a scribe. He was also general clerk, colonel in the Nauvoo legion, city treasurer, university regent, and associate editor of the *Times and Seasons*.

He married British convert Mercy Rachel Fielding, sister of Joseph Fielding and Mary Fielding on 4 June 1837. She was born 15 June 1807 at Honedon, Bedfordshire, England, to John Fielding and Rachel Abbotson Fielding. She and her siblings, Joseph and Mary, immigrated to Canada in 1832 where they were converted by Parley P. Pratt. Mercy was baptized on 21 May 1836. Robert and Mercy had one child, Mary Jane. After Robert's death on 27 August 1841, she was sealed to Hyrum as his plural wife on 11 August 1843 and to Robert by proxy on 23 January 1846. Mercy died 15 September 1893 at Salt Lake City. Cook, *Revelations*, 278; Black, *Membership*; Black, *Who's Who*, 321-23.

**Tibbets/Tippets, Alvin/Alva,** was born in 1809 at Lewis, New York, and baptized in 1832. He was in Missouri where he was associated with the Danites, came to Nauvoo in 1840 and organized a branch at Burnettsville, White County, Indiana, in 1842; however, that same year, he also appeared as a Nauvoo resident in its census and on its tax records. He died in 1847 at Winter Quarters, Nebraska. Cannon and Cook, 292; Platt, "Early," 8; Quinn, *Origins*, 484.

**Tillery, Samuel,** a jailor and deputy sheriff at Liberty Jail. When Daviess County refused to pay him for transporting the prisoners to Boone County since they escaped en route, Doniphan wrote a letter saying the deputies had done their duty and deserved payment. Launius, *Alexander*, 71.

**Turnham, Joel T.**, judge of the circuit court in Clay County. Launius characterizes his impartiality as “legendary.” During the June 1834 trial over the expulsion from Jackson County, he rebuked a witness who called for the further expulsion of the Mormons from Clay County, called Jackson County’s action a “disgrace,” and described the Mormons as “better citizens than many of the old inhabitants.” In November 1838 when Doniphan applied to him to release Joseph and Hyrum Smith and the others incarcerated with them in Liberty Jail, Turnham refused. Launius, *Alexander*, 22, 70.

**Tuttle, Lovisa Mack.** See Solomon Mack.

**Utley.** Don Carlos Smith mentions staying with a Brother Utley in Benton County, Tennessee, during his mission with George A. Smith in October 1838. David Patten and Wilford Woodruff had been mobbed in this neighborhood “some years ago.” This individual was likely Seth Utley, married to Bathsheba Wood Utley; the *Messenger and Advocate* (February 1936): 263, gives notice of a conference to be held at the home of “Elder S. Utley Chalklevel, Benton Co Ten.,” confirmed in personal writings of Warren Parrish, David Patten, and Wilford Woodruff. An electronic search of Wilford Woodruff diaries on CD-ROM reveals a half dozen references to “Seth Utley” of Tennessee. Black, *Membership*; Parish, 404-5; Wilson, 54; *New Mormon Studies*.

**Walker, Lovina Smith.** See Hyrum Smith.

**Warner.** A man by this name from Macedon, New York, arranged for Joseph Smith Jr. to dig a well for a widow named Wells in Macedon in 1829. Vogel (1:329) suggests that this individual was Nahum Warner, a man in his thirties and the only Warner in the 1830 Macedon census.

**Wasson, Elizabeth Hale.** See Isaac Hale.

**Webster.** This individual was a fellow soldier of Solomon Mack’s under Captain Henry during the 1757 campaign near Stillwater, New York.

**Wells.** In 1829 Joseph Smith Jr. began digging a well for a widow by this name from Macedon, New York. Vogel (1:330) suggests that this is Mary Wells, a woman in her thirties and the only female by that name listed in the 1830 Macedon census.

**Wells, Daniel Hanmer**, was born 27 October 1814 at Trenton, Oneida County, New York, to Daniel Wells and Catherine Chapin Wells. Daniel taught school in Ohio and Illinois, moved to Commerce, Illinois, in 1834, was baptized 19 August 1846, was endowed on 21 February 1851 at the Salt Lake Endowment House, became Brigham Young’s second counselor (1857-77), and also served as superintendent of Public Works, head of the Nauvoo Legion during its Utah engagements with the Indians, president of the European Mission (1884-87), first president of the Manti temple, president of the Endowment House, chancellor of the University of Deseret, territorial legislator, territorial attorney-general, mayor of Salt Lake City (1866-76), and director of the Utah Central Railroad. An entrepreneur in Utah, he developed coal mines in Summit County, operated lumber mills in Cottonwood Canyon, managed the Salt Lake nail

factory, established Salt Lake City's gas works, and was interested in many other business and industrial institutions.

Daniel married Eliza Rebecca Robison/Robinson in 1835/12 March 1837 at Commerce, Hancock County, Illinois, and they had one child, Albert Emory, born 28 March 1839 at Nauvoo. He next married Louisa Free on 15 February 1849 at Salt Lake City; they had seven children: Daniel Hanmer Jr. (24 November 1849), Frances Louisa (13 March 1852), Rulon Seymour (7 July 1854), Emeline Young (13 April 1857), Eliza Free (3 October 1859), Clara Ellen (23 October 1862), and Melvin Dickenson (31 July 1867). On 20 September 1849, he married Martha Givens Harris, and fathered six children: Martha Deseret, Emily, Heber Manning, Joseph Smith, Edna, and Briant Harris. In 1852 he married a fourth wife (name not given) and fathered six children: Catherine, Lucy Ann, Wilford, Arthur D., Mary Minerva, and Louis Robison. An unnamed fifth wife, married in 1852, bore four children: Annette, George A., Stephen, and Charles H. An unnamed sixth wife had eight children: Abbie C., Junius Free (1 June 1854), Gershom Britain Finley (November 1864), Victor Pennington, Luna Pamela, Brigham, Ephraim, and Preston. His seventh wife, Emmeline Blanche Woodward Whitney, married in 1854, had three daughters: Emmie (10 September 1853), Annie, and Louie. He died 24 March 1891 at Salt Lake City. Black, *Membership*.

**West**, of Benton County, Tennessee. Don Carlos Smith appreciatively mentions how this brother gave him and George A. Smith \$28 for traveling expenses on their mission. This individual was probably Samuel West, born 30 March 1804 in Dixon County, Tennessee, to John West and Sarah Walker West. He married Margaret Cooper (1829) and six of their ten children had been born, all in Benton County, at the time of Don Carlos's visit: Sarah Esther (8 November 1829), John Anderson (19 December 1830), Isles Marion (23 April 1832), Susan Elizabeth (4 December 1833), Emma Serphine (3 January 1836), Margaret Fletcher (22 May 1838), Lydia Clementine (21 April 1840 at Wadesborough, Calloway County, Kentucky), William Moroni (9 February 1842 at Wadesborough), Nancy Malinda (22 March 1844 at Nauvoo), and Samuel Wilford (22 April 1847 at Kanesville, Pottawattamie County, Iowa). Samuel also married Christina Johnson on 20 February 1858 and Mary Hansen on 15 May 1858. He was baptized 30 November 1834 at Benton County, Tennessee, by Warren Parrish, ordained a teacher 25 August 1843 by Isaac Higbee and Libius Calhoun; ordained a priest at Pottawattamie County, Iowa, ordained a seventy 10 December 1848 at Kanesville, Pottawattamie County, Iowa, and ordained a high priest on 13 April 1853 at Parowan, Iron County, Utah, by Wilford Woodruff and Orson Pratt. He farmed at Beaver and died 22 February 1870 in Washington County, Utah. Black, *Membership*.

**White**. Lucy, leaving an unfilled blank for the name, comments that Joseph Jr. succeeded in purchasing a large tract of land at Commerce, Illinois. (She does not mention that the Mormons also bought land from Isaac Galland.) The seller was Hugh White who had bought land in the area with his father, James, and two brothers, Alexander and William, in about 1823. In addition to farming, the Whites were also keelboat operators between St. Louis and Galena. The log cabin that Hugh White built became

the home of Joseph and Emma, Joseph Sr., and Lucy (1839-42), still extant and known as the "Homestead." Sidney Rigdon occupied a two-story stone house constructed by James White, no longer standing. Alexander died in 1836, James in 1837. Flanders 23-42; Miller and Miller, 235-41, esp. 27-29, 237-41 for legal and financial arrangements.

**Whitermore.** See Solomon Mack.

**Whiting.** Solomon Mack's narrative mentions a colonel by this name in a 1757 campaign.

**Whitmer, Christian.** See Peter Whitmer Sr.

**Whitmer, David,** was born 7 January 1805 at Harrisburg, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, to Peter Whitmer Sr. and Mary Elsa Musselman Whitmer, was elected sergeant in the local militia on 12 March 1825, was one of the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, and was ordained an elder ca. April-June 1830. He married Julia Ann Jolly on 9 January 1831, moved to Jackson County, was driven into Clay County (1834), was appointed president of the church in Missouri and the Clay County high council (July 1834), became disillusioned with Joseph Smith's leadership, and was excommunicated on 13 April 1838 at Far West at the same time as Oliver Cowdery. His extended family either resigned or was also excommunicated at this time. He became a permanent, prosperous, and well-respected resident of Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, affiliated briefly with William McLellin (1847), organized the Church of Christ in the 1870s, and maintained his testimony of the Book of Mormon until his death on 25 January 1888. Black, *Who's Who*, 328-31; Richard Anderson, *Investigating*, 67, 70-72, 127, 167; Cannon and Cook, 294; Cook, *Revelations*, 24-27.

**Whitmer, Jacob.** See Peter Whitmer Sr.

**Whitmer, John.** See Peter Whitmer Sr.

**Whitmer, Peter, Jr.** See Peter Whitmer Sr.

**Whitmer, Peter, Sr.,** was born 14 April 1773 in Pennsylvania, and married Mary Elsa Musselman Whitmer (born in 1856). Natives of Germany, they moved to Waterloo, New York, about 1809, where they and their children belonged to Zion's Church, a German Reformed group. Peter was road overseer (1826-27) and a school trustee. They were among the earliest 1830 converts. The traditional location for the organization of the church is their home at Fayette, Seneca County, New York, on 6 April 1830. Peter Sr. was baptized 18 April 1830 at Seneca Lake by Oliver Cowdery. They moved to Kirtland (1831), then to Jackson County, Missouri (1832), Clay County, and Caldwell County. The entire family disaffiliated in 1838 after the excommunications of David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery. Peter died 12 August 1854 at Richmond, Ray County. Mary died two years later, also at Richmond.

Peter and Mary had a family of eight children. Their five sons and one of their sons-in-law were witnesses to the Book of Mormon. Mary, as consolation for the extra

labor caused by the presence of Joseph Smith and Oliver, was also shown the plates by an angel.

1. **Christian** was born 18 January 1798 at Dauphin, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. On 22 February 1825, he married Ann/Anne Schott (1801-66), served as an ensign in the local militia, and as one of six township constables (1828-29). One of Eight Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, he and Ann were baptized by Oliver Cowdery on 11 April 1830, and Christian was ordained an elder. They moved with the family to Missouri where Christian was appointed to preside over the elders in Jackson County on 15 September 1832, was ordained a high priest by Simeon Carter (21 August 1833), served on the Far West high council (1834), and died in 1835, leaving no children. Anne married Francis Hulett in Missouri, divorced him, and returned to Fayette, New York.

2. **Jacob** was born 27 January 1800, married Elizabeth Ann Schatt/Schott (born 1803) on 29 September 1825, fathered nine children of whom three survived (David P., Mary Ann, and John C.), was one of the Eight Witnesses (1829), and was baptized on 11 April 1830 by Oliver Cowdery. He was driven successively from Jackson, Clay, and Caldwell counties, served on the Far West high council, and left the church (1838) when John and David were excommunicated. An invalid from 1840-43, he was a shoemaker and farmer near Richmond, Ray County, Missouri. He died 21 April 1856, affirming his testimony of the Book of Mormon. Elizabeth was living with a daughter and son-in-law (J. P. Bisbee) in 1860 in Richmond, Missouri.

3. **John**, also one of the Eight Witnesses, was born 27 August 1802, baptized in June 1830, ordained an elder on 19 June, and appointed Church Historian (1831). He moved to Missouri (1831) where he served on the high council and as counselor to his brother David in the presidency, and received his patriarchal blessing on 22 September 1835 at Kirtland from Joseph Smith Sr. When members in Far West charged him with profiting economically from land transactions, he refused to appear for trial and was excommunicated on 10 March 1838. He married Sarah Jackson on 10 February 1833, and they became the parents of five children: Nancy Jane, John Oliver, Sarah Elizabeth, Jacob David Jackson, and Alexander Peter Jefferson. John was driven from Far West by the Danites but returned and became a successful farmer, continuing to affirm his faith in the Book of Mormon until his death on 11 June 1878 at Far West.

4. **David** (*q.v.*) was born 7 January 1805.

5. Catherine was born 22 April 1807. *See* Hiram Page.

6. **Peter Jr.** was born 27 September 1809 at Fayette, Seneca County, New York, one of the Eight Witnesses (1829), baptized by Oliver Cowdery and ordained an elder by 9 June, called with Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, and Ziba Peterson on a mission to the Indians in Missouri, made numerous converts at Kirtland en route (1830-31), and was ordained a high priest at Kirtland on 25 October 1831. He married Washti Higley on 14 October 1832 in Jackson County with Oliver Cowdery officiating. They had three daughters: Emma, Kate, and Vashti P. He served on the Far West high council and died near Liberty, Clay County, of tuberculosis on 22 September 1836.

7. Nancy was born 24 December 1812.

8. Elizabeth Ann was born 22 January 1815. See Oliver Cowdery. Richard Anderson, *Investigating*, 125-27, 129, 131-32; Cannon and Cook, 294-95; Black, *Membership*; Vogel 1:99; LeSueur, 201.

**Whitney, Elizabeth Ann Smith.** See Newel K. Whitney.

**Whitney, Newel Kimball**, the second Presiding Bishop of the church, was born 5 February 1795, at Marlborough, Windham County, Vermont, the second of Samuel Whitney and Susanna Kimball Whitney's nine children. He participated in a naval engagement near the west shore of Lake Champlain in 1814, lost his property in the war, became an Indian trader, was nearly killed by a drunken Indian but was saved when a young Indian woman named Moudalina held the attacker until Whitney could escape (he named a daughter for her), moved to Painesville, Ohio, and clerked for Algernon Sidney Gilbert about 1817. Several years later, he was a junior partner.

He married Elizabeth Ann Smith of Connecticut on 20 October 1822. She had been born 26 December 1800 at Derby, New Haven County, Connecticut, to Gibson Smith and Polly Bradley Smith. They had eleven children: Horace Kimball (born 25 July 1823 at Kirtland, married Helen Mar Kimball, daughter of Heber and Vilate Kimball and a plural wife of Joseph Smith, on 3 February 1846; died 22 November 1884 at Salt Lake City); Sarah Ann (born 22 March 1825; Newel officiated in marrying Sarah Ann to Joseph Smith on 27 July 1842; Joseph Smith also performed a sham ceremony on 29 April 1843 marrying her to Joseph C. Kingsbury (*q.v.*); she was married for time to Heber C. Kimball after Joseph Smith's death and died 4 September 1873 at Salt Lake City), Franklin Kimball (1827), Mary Elizabeth (twin daughters and a single daughter born in 1828 were all given this name; none survived), Orson Kimball (born 1830; married Johannah Hickey Robertson; baptized 1841, endowed in the Nauvoo temple 1 January 1846, ordained a Seventy; died 1884 in Utah); John Kimball (1832), Joshua Kimball (1835), Ann Maria (1836), Don Carlos (1841), Mary Jane (born at Nauvoo), and Newel Melchizedek (born at Winter Quarters).

Newel and Elizabeth were Campbellites when they heard Parley P. Pratt preach Mormonism and were baptized in November 1830. About 1 February 1831, Joseph and Emma Smith arrived at Kirtland. On 4 December 1831, Whitney was called as bishop of Kirtland, counterpart to Edward Partridge (*q.v.*) who was bishop of "Zion" in Missouri. Newel accompanied Joseph Smith to Missouri (1 April 1832-6 May 1832) and was detained four weeks in Indiana when he broke his leg. He served missions to New York City, Albany, and Boston (1832), received his patriarchal blessing on 14 September 1835, worked on the Kirtland temple, and participated in its dedication (March 1836). He started to move his family to Missouri (November 1838) but learned of the extermination order and stopped at St. Louis.

He moved to Nauvoo where he was appointed a ward bishop on 6 October 1839, served on the city council, was endowed 4 May 1842, was a member of the Council of Fifty, and was sealed to seven plural wives. He was sealed first to Emmeline B. Woodward on 24 February 1845 and fathered two daughters: Isabel Modalena and Melvina Caroline Blanch. On 26 January 1846, he was married to six women: Olive Maria



Bishop, Anna Houston (one son, Jethro Houston), Elizabeth Moore, Elizabeth Almira Pond, Abigail Augusta Pond, and Henrietta Keys.

At Kirtland, Elizabeth made the first wine used for the sacrament, received the gift of tongues during a patriarchal blessing meeting, and last exercised this gift at her eighty-first birthday party in the home of Emmeline B. Wells, formerly a sister wife, now married to Daniel H. Wells. Elizabeth was first counselor in the Relief Society to Emma Smith (1842-44); Joseph Smith also set her apart "to administer to the sick and comfort the sorrowful." She and Newel were sealed on 7 January 1846 in the Nauvoo temple.

The family moved to Winter Quarters in 1846 and reached Utah in 1848. Elizabeth Ann suffered all her life from rheumatism caught by sleeping on the ground during the trek west. In Utah, Newel served as justice of the peace and bishop of Eighteenth Ward until his death on 23 September 1850. Elizabeth died 15 February 1882 at Salt Lake City. Cook, *Revelations*, 102-3; Jenson 1:222; *Profile*, 106; Compton, 342-63.

**Wight, Lyman**, was born 9 May 1796 at Fairfield Township, Herkimer County, New York, to Levi Wight and Sarah Corbon Wight. A veteran of the War of 1812, he moved to Ohio about 1826, became a Campbellite, and was baptized Mormon by Oliver Cowdery on 14 November 1830. He was the first man ordained a high priest (3 June 1831). He moved to Independence in 1831, served numerous missions, participated in Zion's Camp, was endowed at Kirtland (June 1834), and received his patriarchal blessing (29 December 1835). He was forced out of Jackson County; Harriet, pregnant with their fourth child, rafted fourteen miles down the Big Blue River in October, and gave birth in a tent made of two poles and a quilt on 27 December 1833. They moved to Clay County in 1834 where Harriet gave birth to their fifth child in 1836 while Lyman was on a mission, then moved to Ray County (1837), where he was elected colonel of Ray County militia, and then to Daviess County in June 1838 where he commanded a Mormon militia unit of approximately 300 at Adam-ondi-Ahman and served as stake president John Smith's second counselor. He was arrested at Far West on 29 October 1838 with Joseph Smith and others and refused amnesty in exchange for testifying against Joseph Smith. Harriet gave birth to their sixth child at Adam-ondi-Ahman while a yelling mob surrounded her home. Lyman was imprisoned in Liberty Jail with Joseph and Hyrum Smith but was allowed to escape (1839).

At Nauvoo he was ordained an apostle (8 April 1841), collected affidavits on the Missouri injuries, helped collect money for the temple, became a Mason (25 April 1842), served in the Nauvoo Legion and on the high council, supervised the pineries project in Wisconsin, was endowed 14 May 1844, and was assigned to organize a colony in Texas. He left for Texas in May 1845, founded Zodiac in Gillespie County, Texas (1846), married three plural wives and fathered six children, wrote a pamphlet rejecting the leadership of the Twelve (1848), and was disfellowshipped on 3 December 1848. In Texas he was elected a county judge and died 31 March 1858 at Dexter, Medina County, Texas. Cannon and Cook, 273, 295, Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 652; LeSueur, 155; Black, *Who's Who*, 342-43; Cook, *Revelations*, 82-83.

**Wilber.** Lucy refers to a member by this name in New York. Possible (but by no means



the only) candidates are: (1) *Benjamin S. Wilber/Wilbur* was born in 1811 and was ordained an elder on 28 December 1836 at Kirtland and a seventy in 1837. He moved to Daviess County, Missouri, in 1838 as one of the presidents of the First Council of Seventy with Kirtland Camp. His baby son died en route on 11 July 1838. (2) *Melvin L. Wilbur* was born 10 August 1802/1801 at Bridgewater, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, to Lemuel Wilbur and Jane Leach Wilbur. He married Eunice Dennis on 15 February 1824 and fathered eight children, then married five plural wives. By 1836 the family had reached Kirtland from Rhode Island. In Missouri he moved to "wells vill" on 1 March 1838, then to Richmond, in Ray County, then to Far West in April. He was driven out of Far West on 10 November when he had ague and his wife was "Scared in to fits." He represented Rhode Island as a delegate in nominating Joseph Smith for the U.S. presidency on 17 May 1844. He died 15 November 1885/1888 at Salt Lake City. Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 375-76; Cook and Backman, 106; Backman, *Heavens*, 358, 360; HC 6:390.

**Williams, Frederick G.**, was born 28 October 1787 at Suffield, Hartford County, Connecticut, to William (or Warren) Williams and Ruth Granger Williams. He became a Thompsonian doctor, was a veteran of the War of 1812, and piloted on the Great Lakes. He married Rebecca Swain and they settled in Kirtland, where he farmed, practiced medicine, was a Campbellite, and served as justice of the peace. He was baptized and ordained an elder in November 1830 when Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Ziba Peterson, and Peter Whitmer Jr. came through on their missionary journey to Missouri; he accompanied them for the next ten months. He was called as a scribe to Joseph Smith in July 1832, called as Joseph Smith's counselor in December 1832 or January 1833, edited the *Northern Times*, participated in Zion's Camp (1834), had spiritual manifestations at the dedication of the Kirtland temple, but became disaffected, was disfellowshipped in September 1837, and was rebaptized in August 1838. He suffered from ill health, exacerbated by the Missouri trials, and died of a lung hemorrhage on 25/10 October 1842 at Quincy, Adams County, Illinois. Black, *Who's Who*, 36-48.

**Williams, Levi.** A Baptist preacher and farmer at Green Plains, Illinois, Williams was also a militia colonel over troops from Hancock, McDonough, and Schuyler counties, who took an aggressive role in harassing Mormons and in the assassinations of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. In December 1843 he arrested Mormons Daniel Avery and his son Philander, apparently without a warrant; instead of taking them to Warsaw, he transported them to Missouri where they were imprisoned for alleged horse stealing. Philander managed to escape but Daniel was released only upon a writ of habeas corpus. Williams attempted to confiscate the arms of Mormons living near Lima. He was indicted with others for the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, released on bail, and acquitted at the trial. He headed a planned "wolf-hunt" in Hancock County in September 1844, in which Mormons would be the prey. Governor Ford raised a force of volunteers and dispersed them. Williams died quietly in Green Plains about 1858. HC 6:119, 471; 7:421; CHC 2:309-10, 331, 497.

**Wilson, Harmon**, a constable at Carthage, Illinois, was, according to Lucy, a Missourian “in principle” in his opposition to Joseph Smith.

**Wilson, Moses**, was a brigadier general in Missouri during the 1838 Mormon war. At the illegal court-martial under Samuel Lucas, he urged turning the prisoners over to the civil authorities. After Doniphan refused to carry out Lucas’s order to execute Joseph and Hyrum, Wilson was assigned on 2 November to transport Joseph Smith and the other prisoners to Richmond in Ray County to Judge Austin A. King’s preliminary hearing. Mrs. Wilson was greatly impressed with Joseph Smith. The Wilsons later moved to Texas. Launius, *Alexander*, 65; JD 17:92.

**Wood/Woods, Sashiel/Sachiel/Sashel**, was one of three ministers who led militia companies against the Mormons during the Missouri War of 1838. (The others were Samuel Bogard/Bogart and Cornelius Gillium.) Woods preached for the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, a less orthodox group that sponsored emotional camp-meetings. He claimed that George M. Hinckle threatened him when he brought a committee to De Witt, Carroll County, to investigate resident complaints in July 1838; Woods failed to appear at the trial. Elected a major in a volunteer militia group at the siege of De Witt, he ordered the Mormons out by 7 August 1838. After the Mormon evacuation of Adam-ondi-Ahman and surrender at Far West, the next land payment for Diahman fell due on 12 November 1838. Woods, John Cravens, and Thomas Callaway purchased the town for \$1.25 an acre. Woods and Cravens also purchased more than twelve tracts of land in Daviess County, possibly Mormon farms, in December 1838. Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 503; LeSueur, 22, 103, 237-38.

**Woodbridge, Colonel Ruggles**, of South Hadley, Massachusetts, was born 5 March 1739 and died 8 March 1819. His title comes from commanding a regiment in the Revolutionary War. An unmarried philanthropist, he operated a select boys’ school. In 1791 he donated a bell to the town, and it was hung in a steeple and belfry, which were completed by 18 June 1792 for South Hadley church. The bell, however, was flawed, and recast in 1793. Since Lucy visited Lovina “when it was first hung,” her visit occurred sometime between the summer of 1792 and the following year. Richard Anderson, *New England*, 68-69, 182-83.

**Woodruff, Wilford**, was born 1 March 1807 at Farmington, Hartford County, Connecticut, to Aphek Woodruff and Beulah Thompson Woodruff. A religious seeker as a youth, he learned about Mormonism through Zera Pulsipher’s preaching and was baptized by him on 31 December 1833 in New York. He moved to Kirtland in April 1834, participated in Zion’s Camp (1834), received his patriarchal blessing (15 April 1837) from Joseph Smith Sr., and was ordained an apostle at Far West on 26 April 1839. He served missions to the Southern States (1834-36), to the Fox Islands (1837), to Great Britain (1840-41, 1844-46), and the eastern states (1844). At Nauvoo he served on the city council, was sealed to Phoebe on 11 November 1843, and was endowed 2 December 1843.

He kept a remarkable journal for sixty-three years, was active in promoting agri-

culture in Utah, was assistant church historian, and served as church president from 1889 until his death on 2 September 1898 at San Francisco. He issued the Manifesto withdrawing public authorization for new plural marriages (September 1890), presided over the dedication of the Salt Lake temple (1893), and saw Utah become a state (1896).

He married Phoebe Whitmore Carter on 13 April 1837, and they became the parents of nine: Sarah Emma, Wilford Jr., Phoebe Amelia, Susan Cornelia, Joseph, Ezra, Sarah Carter, Beulah Augusta, and Aphek. He fathered twenty-four more children by his plural wives: Mary Ann Jackson (1846), Mary Caroline Barton (1846), Mary Meek Giles (1852), Clarissa Hardy (1852), Sarah E. Brown (1853), Emma Smith (1853), and Sarah Delight Stocking (1857). Mary Jackson divorced him in 1848 and Clarissa Hardy in 1853. Cannon and Cook, 297; Black, *Who's Who*, 353-55; Van Wagoner and Walker, 396; Cook, *Revelations*, 236-37.

**Woolley, Edwin Dilworth**, was born 28 June 1807 at West Chester, Chester County, Pennsylvania, the oldest of John Woolley's and Rachel Dilworth Woolley's six children. He was baptized on 24 December 1837. Two of his brothers also joined the church: (1) John Mill Woolley, was born 20 November/December 1822; received a patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith Sr. in 1838; was baptized 7 October 1840 by Almon W. Babbitt; married three wives; fathered eleven children; and died 18 August 1864 at Salt Lake City; and (2) Samuel Amos, born 11 September 1825 at Newlin, Columbia/Chester County, Pennsylvania; baptized 7 October 1840; married four wives; fathered twenty-one children; bishop of Ninth Ward; died 23 March 1900 at Salt Lake City. In Nauvoo, Edwin D. was endowed on 22 December 1845. They reached Utah in 1848. In Salt Lake City, he served as bishop of Thirteenth Ward (1853-81), was a merchandiser, county recorder, a territorial legislator, and Brigham Young's business manager. He served on the high council and helped found the Deseret Telegraph Company.

He married Mary Wickersham on 24 March 1831 in Ohio. She was born 10 November 1808 at Newlin, Columbia County, Pennsylvania, to Ames Wickersham and Amy Ward Wickersham. Mary died at Salt Lake City in 1859. They had eight children: John Wickersham (born 30 December 1831 in Newlin, Columbia/Chester County, Pennsylvania; married three women and fathered at least six children; died 13/28 December 1928 at Centerville, Davis County, Utah), Franklin Benjamin (born 11 June 1834 at East Rochester, Columbia/Columbiana County, Ohio; married Olive Carl/Carter Foss on 11 February 1857 and Artimesia Snow in April 1868; fathered eight children; and died 21 March 1869 in the Mojave Desert near San Bernardino, California), Rachel Emma (born 7 August 1836 at East Rochester, Columbia County, Ohio; married Joseph Marcellus Simmons; died 30 November 1926), Samuel Wickersham (born 2 April 1840 at Nauvoo; married three wives; fathered nineteen children; died 28 January 1908 at Grantsville, Tooele County, Utah), Henrietta (born at 6 January 1843 at Nauvoo; married Joseph Marcellus Simmons; died 15 January 1910), Edwin Dilworth Jr. (born 30 April 1845 at Nauvoo; married two wives and fathered eighteen children; was sheriff of Washington County and president of Kanab Stake; he died 20 July 1920

at Kanab, Kane County), Mary Louisa (born 5 July 1848 at Keith County, Nebraska; married Joshua Reuben Clark; died 10 February 1938), Marcellus Simmons (born 27 August 1854 at Salt Lake City). He also married Louisa Chapin Gordon on 6 February 1846 at Nauvoo (one son, Edwin Gordon, was born 30 July 1845 at Nauvoo; married Mary Lavinia Bentley on 8 October 1869; fathered eleven children; and died 13 June 1930 at Salt Lake City); Ellen Wilding on the same day (children: Sarah, Joseph Wilding, Hyrum Smith, Edwin Thomas, and Mary Ellen); Mary Ann Alpin on 10 November 1850 (children: Henry Alberto, Amelia, Orson, Ruth, Olive, Fannie, George, and Carlos), and two unnamed wives (one son, Oceolo). He fathered a total of twenty-six children. Edwin died 14 October 1881 at Salt Lake City. Jessee 2:606; Black, *Membership*.

**Worcester**, this individual, whom Solomon Mack identifies as an ensign, received nine wounds, and was scalped and tomahawked, but survived. Richard L. Anderson identifies him as Peter Wooster, who participated in the 1758 Ticonderoga campaign; Solomon Mack is listed in an adjoining company. Richard Anderson, *New England*, 163.

**Yocum/Yokum, William S.**, was born in 1805 and married a woman named Susan. At Haun's Mill in Caldwell County on 30 October 1838, he was shot in the arm, in the head (the bullet entered near his eye and came out the back of his head), and in his leg, which was amputated on 25 July 1841. At Nauvoo he was a member of Second Ward and was endowed on 22 December 1845 at the Nauvoo temple. HC 4:390; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 627; Black, *Membership*.

**Young, Brigham**, was born 1 June 1801 at Whitingham, Vermont, the ninth of John Young's and Abigail Howe Young's eleven children. The family had recently moved from Massachusetts and, during Brigham's childhood, relocated to New York where Abigail died when Brigham was fourteen. He became a carpenter, painter, and glazier, married Miriam Works on 5 October 1824, and had two children: Elizabeth (1825) and Vilate (1828). Brigham was baptized in April 1832 after reading the Book of Mormon. Miriam died in September, and Brigham began a series of missions. In the summer of 1833, he moved to Kirtland, where he married Mary Ann Angell of Seneca, Ontario County, New York, on 18 February 1834. They had six children. Young participated in Zion's Camp (1834), was ordained an apostle in February 1835, helped construct the Kirtland temple, moved to Missouri in the summer of 1838, directed the Mormon evacuation from the state in the winter of 1838-39, served a mission in Great Britain with the other apostles (April 1840-January 1842), was a member of the Council of Fifty, helped build the Nauvoo temple, was endowed in 1842, was later sealed to Mary Ann, and married the first of fifty-three plural wives in June 1842.

As president of the Twelve after the assassination of Joseph Smith, he directed the completion of the Nauvoo temple and bestowal of the endowment on thousands of Saints, then led the vanguard company to the Salt Lake Valley on 5 April 1847. In Utah he oversaw the construction of three more temples, oversaw the founding of almost 400 towns and cities, fathered a total of fifty-seven children, gave more than 500 sermons, and died 19 August 1877 of peritonitis. Cannon and Cook, 297; Jessee 5:607; Arrington, *American*, 418-19; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 559; Jessee 2:607.

**Young Family.** John Young and Abigail Howe Young had eleven children, the first eight born at Hopkinton, Massachusetts:

1. Nancy was born 6 August 1786, married Daniel Kent in 1803, had eight children, and died 22 September 1860 at Salt Lake City.

2. Fanny was born 8 November 1787, cared for Brigham as a baby because of her mother's lingering illness, married Robert Carr in 1803, moved back home (he was reportedly "unfaithful and profligate") when Abigail died in 1815, lived for a time with Heber and Vilate Kimball (she gave their daughter, Helen Mar, one of Joseph Smith's plural wives, her name), married Roswell Murray (Vilate's widowed father) on 2 February 1832, was baptized in April 1832, was widowed in 1840, was sealed to Joseph Smith by her brother Brigham in November 1843 (probably Joseph's last plural wife), and died 11 June 1859 at Salt Lake City.

3. **Rhoda.** See John P. Greene.

4. John Jr. was born 22 May 1791, married Theodosia Kimball in 1813, fathered five children, and died 27 April 1870 at Salt Lake City.

5. Nabby was born 23 April 1793 and died 1807 at Smyrna, New York.

6. Susannah was born 7 June 1795, married James Little in 1814, had four children, and died 5 May 1852 at Salt Lake City.

7. **Joseph** was born 7 April 1797, was baptized in April 1832, married Jane A. Bicknell 18 February 1834 plus plural wives Lydia C. H. Fleming, Lucinda Allen, Mary Ann Huntley, and Sarah Jane Snow, and fathered a total of nineteen children, eleven of them by his first wife. Like Brigham, he was a painter and glazier. He was a president of the First Quorum of Seventy (1835-81), participated in Zion's Camp (1834), moved to Missouri with Kirtland Camp (1838), was present at the Haun's Mill massacre (1838), moved to Nauvoo in 1840 and to Utah in 1850, served a mission to England (1870), and died at Salt Lake City on 16 July 1881.

8. **Phinehas/Phineas Howe** was born 16 February 1799, married Clarissa Hamilton on 18 January 1818, and fathered five children. A printer, lawyer, and saddler, he became a minister in the Methodist Reformed Church but was converted to Mormonism by the Book of Mormon, was baptized (April 1832), and moved to Kirtland, where Clarissa died (1834). He served missions in England (1856-57), Canada, Virginia (1835), New York (1834), Ohio (1842-43), Michigan (1836), and other states (1835, 1843-44). On 25 August 1837, he moved to Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri, led a company to Black Hawk, Iowa (1839), and moved to Nauvoo (1840) where he was ordained a high priest. He reached Utah in Brigham Young's pioneer company on 24 July 1847 and served as bishop of the Salt Lake Second Ward (1864-71). He married three additional wives (Lucy Pearce Cowdery, Phebe Clark, and Elinor Maria James) and fathered fourteen children. He died 10 October 1879 in Salt Lake City.

9. **Brigham** (*q.v.*) was born 1 June 1801.

10. Louisa was born 25 September 1804 at Sherburne, New York, married Joel Sanford on 6 October 1824, and died in 1833 at Independence, Missouri.

11. Lorenzo Dow was born 19 October 1807 at Sherburne, New York, married Persis Goodall on 6 June 1825, fathered ten children, and married four plural wives:

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARIES OF NAMED INDIVIDUALS

Harriet P. Wheeler (9 March 1843, two children), Hannah I. Hewitt (29 April 1856, two children), Eleanor Jones (29 April 1856, five children), and Joanna (An) Larson (18 April 1863, three children). He died in 1895 at Salt Lake City. Cannon and Cook, 297; Jesse 2:607, 5:607; Arrington, *American*, 418-19; Johnson, *Mormon Reversal Petitions*, 559; Vogel 1:439; Compton, 609-21.

**Young, Joseph.** *See* Young Family.

**Young, Phineas Howe.** *See* Young Family.

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#### ABOUT THE EDITOR

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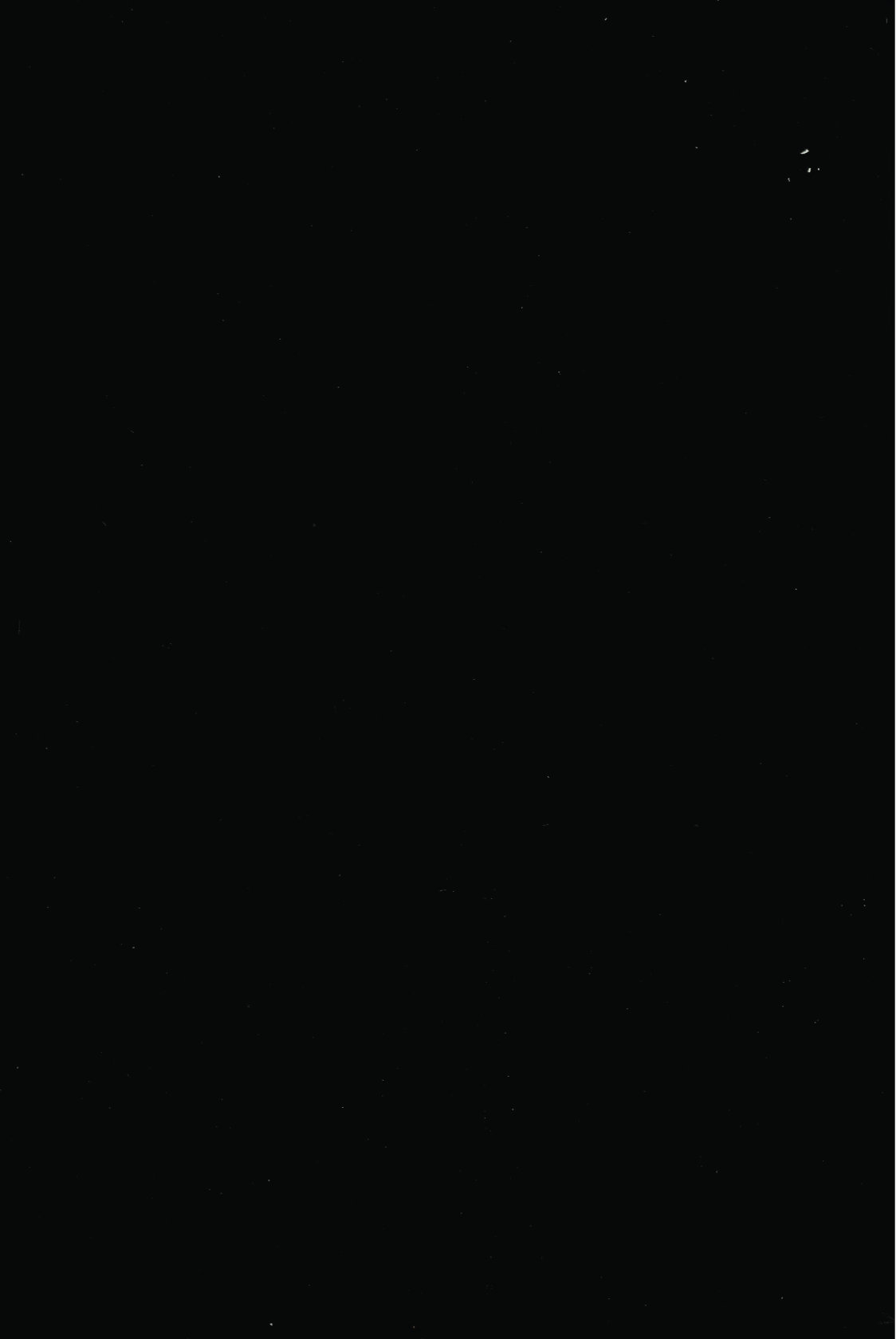












(continued from front flap)

Lucy, who lived comfortably in both. A popular novelist in her day, von Goethe, described a young man spending a day in the country and sensing unseen spirits that held sway over his emotions, and proclaiming that "God in His Infinity bears us aloft in perpetual joy." Lucy similarly felt that she was often "in the purview of angels," and her heart "bounded at the thought." Though "surrounded by enemies," she was "yet in extacy [sic] of happiness"; and "truly," she said, "my soul did magnify and my spirit rejoiced in God my savior." Her ability to express the reality of this spiritual world and the intensity of her emotional responses make her, among a handful of eyewitnesses, one of the most compelling chroniclers of early Mormonism.

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Jacket design by Ron Stucki

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*M*ormonism begins with Lucy Mack, mother of the prophet Joseph Smith. In her dictated memoir, readers detect the same seeds of religious fervor and frontier idiom that characterized her son's writings and sermons.

Although much of her original voice was lost through editing in the more formal, first published edition of her memoir—14 percent of the overall content having been discarded—Lucy's original manuscript survives and is presented here for the first time in its entirety. For comparison's sake, it is arranged in parallel columns with the first (1853) edition. Significant variants from later printings are indicated in the editor's footnotes, with prefatory chapters that provide historical background and textual genealogy.

Lucy's story is gripping and occasionally heart-breaking. As Irene Bates notes in the foreword, the memoir is given "to a new generation of [Lucy's] spiritual grandchildren" as both history and as inspiration. By restoring passages that relate Mother Smith's own, personal understanding of important events, her reactions to them, and her portrayal of Mormon women as competent and strong (a theme that was removed from later editions), editor Lavina Fielding Anderson has allowed Lucy to say what she originally intended.

ISBN 1-56085-137-6



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